

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ
ДРОГОБИЦЬКИЙ ДЕРЖАВНИЙ ПЕДАГОГІЧНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
ІМЕНІ ІВАНА ФРАНКА
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF UKRAINE
DROHOBYCH IVAN FRANKO STATE PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY

ISSN 2519-058X (Print)
ISSN 2664-2735 (Online)

СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ВІСНИК

EAST EUROPEAN HISTORICAL BULLETIN

ВИПУСК 16
ISSUE 16

Дрогобич, 2020
Drohobych, 2020

*Рекомендовано до друку Вченою радою
Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка
(протокол від 28 серпня 2020 року № 12)*

Наказом Міністерства освіти і науки України збірник включено до КАТЕГОРІЇ «А» Переліку наукових фахових видань України, в яких можуть публікуватися результати дисертаційних робіт на здобуття наукових ступенів доктора і кандидата наук у галузі «ІСТОРИЧНІ НАУКИ» (Наказ МОН України № 358 від 15.03.2019 р., додаток 9).

Східноєвропейський історичний вісник / [головний редактор В. Ільницький]. – Дрогобич: Видавничий дім «Гельветика», 2020. – Випуск 16. – 268 с.

Збірник розрахований на науковців, викладачів історії, аспірантів, докторантів, студентів й усіх, хто цікавиться історичним минулим.

Редакційна колегія не обов'язково поділяє позицію, висловлену авторами у статтях, та не несе відповідальності за достовірність наведених даних і посилань.

Головний редактор: Ільницький В. І. – д.іст.н., проф.

Відповідальний редактор: Галів М. Д. – д.пед.н., доц.

Редакційна колегія:

Манвідас Віткунас – д.іст.н., доц. (Литва); **Вацлав Вєжбенєц** – д.габ. з історії, проф. (Польща); **Дюра Гарді** – д.філос. з історії, професор (Сербія); **Дарко Даровец** – д. філос. з історії, проф. (Італія); **Дегтярьов С. І.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Пол Джозефсон** – д. філос. з історії, проф. (США); **Сергій Єсельчик** – д. філос. з історії, доц. (Канада); **Сергій Жук** – д.іст.н., проф. (США); **Саня Златановіч** – д.філос. з етнології та антропології, ст. наук. спів. (Сербія); **Мехмед Інбаши** – д.іст.н., проф. (Туреччина); **Корсак Р. В.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Андрій Кравчук** – д.філос., проф. (Канада); **Олександр Кухіанідзе** – д.філос., проф. (Грузія); **Литвин М. Р.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Юрай Марусяк** – д. філос. з історії (Словацька Республіка); **Морозов А. Г.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Роман Новацький** – д.габ. з історії, проф. (Польща); **Падалка С. С.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Патриляк І.К.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Петречко О. М.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Потехіна І. Д.** – к.іст.н., доц. (Україна); **Рассамакін Ю. Я.** – к.іст.н., ст. наук. спів. (Україна); **Сергійчук В. І.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Ситник О. М.** – д.іст.н., доц. (Україна); **Стародубець Г. М.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Анджей Стемплік** – д.габ. з іст., проф. (Польща); **Степанчук В. М.** – д.іст.н., ст. наук. спів. (Україна); **Тельвак В. В.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Данієла Ля Фореста** – проф. (Італія); **Футала В. П.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Сильвестер Чопек** – д.габ. з історії, проф. (Польща); **Чучко М. К.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Шаравара Т. О.** – д.іст.н., проф. (Україна); **Міхал Шмігель** – д.іст.н., доц. (Словацька Республіка).

**Збірник індексується в міжнародних базах даних:
Web of Science (Emerging Sources Citation Index), “Index Copernicus”
(ICV 2016-50.70; 2017-71.75; 2018-86.66).**

Статті збірника прирівнюються до публікацій у виданнях України, які включені до міжнародних науково-метричних баз відповідно до вимог наказу МОН України від 17 жовтня 2012 р. № 1112 (зі змінами, внесеними наказом МОН України від 03.12.2012 р. № 1380).

*Свідоцтво про державну реєстрацію друкованого засобу масової інформації
«Східноєвропейський історичний вісник» Серія КВ № 22449-12349Р від 28.12.2016 р.*

Усі електронні версії статей збірника оприлюднюються на офіційній сторінці видання
<http://eehb.dspu.edu.ua>

Засновник і видавець – Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка.
Адреса редакції: Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, обл. Львівська, 82100.
тел.: (0324) 41-04-74, факс: (03244) 3-38-77, e-mail: halivm@yahoo.com

© Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, 2020
© Автори статей, 2020

Recommended for publication
by Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University Academic Council
(protocol dd. 28.08.2020 No. 12)

Under the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, the collection is included in CATEGORY "A" of the List of electronic professional publications of Ukraine authorized to publish theses of applicants for the degree of doctor and candidate of sciences in the field "HISTORICAL SCIENCES" (Order of the MES of Ukraine № 358 on 15.03.2019, Appendix 9)

East European Historical Bulletin / [chief editor Vasyl Ilnytskyi]. – Drohobych: Publishing House "Helvetica", 2020. – Issue 16. – 268 p.

This collection is meant for scholars, history lecturers, postgraduates, doctorants, students and all the readership interested in historical past.

Editorial board do not necessarily reflect the position expressed by the authors of articles, and are not responsible for the accuracy of the data and references.

Chief editor: Vasyl Ilnytskyi – PhD hab. (History), Professor

Executive editor: Mykola Haliv – PhD hab. (Education), Assist. Professor

Editorial Board:

Mykhailo Chuchko – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Sylwester Czopek** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Darko Darovec** – PhD (History), Professor (Italy); **Paul Josephson** – PhD (History), Professor (USA); **Serhii Degtyarev** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Daniela La Foresta** – Professor (Italy); **Vasyl Futala** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Dura Hardi** – PhD (History), Professor (Serbia); **Mehmet İbbaşı** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Turkey); **Roman Korsak** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Andrii Krawchuk** – PhD (History), Professor (Canada); **Alexandre Kukhianidze** – PhD (Philosophy), Professor (Georgia); **Mykola Lytvyn** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Juraj Marušiak** – Mgr., PhD (History), (Slovak Republic); **Anatoliy Morozov** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Roman Nowacki** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Serhiy Padalka** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Ivan Patryliak** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Oleh Petrechko** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Inna Potiekhina** – PhD (History), Associate Professor (Ukraine); **Yuriy Rassamakin** – PhD (History), Senior Research Fellow (Ukraine); **Volodymyr Serhiychuk** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Tamara Sharavara** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Michal Smigel** – PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor (Slovak Republic); **Galyna Starodubets** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Andrzej Stępnik** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Vasyl' Stepanchuk** – PhD hab. (History), Senior Research Fellow (Ukraine); **Olexander Sytnyk** – PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor (Ukraine); **Vitaliy Tel'vak** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Ukraine); **Manvydas Vitkūnas** – PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor (Lithuania); **Wacław Wierzbieniec** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (Poland); **Serhy Yekelchyk** – PhD (History), Associate Professor (Canada); **Sergei Zhuk** – PhD hab. (History), Professor (USA); **Sanja Zlatanović** – PhD (Ethnology and Anthropology), Senior Researcher Associate (Serbia).

The collection is indexed in the international databases:
Web of Science (Emerging Sources Citation Index), "Index Copernicus"
(ICV 2016-50.70; 2017-71.75; 2018-86.66).

The articles are equaled to publications in Ukrainian journals entered in international scientometric databases in accordance with the MES of Ukraine order dd. 17 november 2012 p. No. 1112 (amended by the MES of Ukraine order dd. 03.12.2012 No. 1380).
Print media registration certifi cate «East European Historical Bulletin» series KV No. 22449-12349P dd. 28.12.2016

All electronic versions of articles in the collection are available on the official website edition
<http://eehb.dspu.edu.ua>

Founder and Publisher: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University.
Office address: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, Ivan Franko Str., 24, Drohobych, Lviv Region, 82100. tel.: (0324) 41-04-74, fax: (03244) 3-38-77, e-mail: halivm@yahoo.com

© Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 2020
© Copyright by the contributors, 2020

ЗМІСТ

Руслана ШЕРЕТЮК ХУДОЖНЬО-МИСТЕЦЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РИМО-КАТОЛИЦЬКИХ ОРДЕНІВ НА СХІДНИХ ЗЕМЛЯХ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ: ВИДАТНІ ОСОБИСТОСТІ І ПАМ'ЯТКИ (XVII – XVIII ст.).....	8
Олена БОРОДЕНКО, Тамара ШАРАВАРА, Кароліна ВАЛАНЧИК-РИБА НЕЗАКОННІ ШЛЮБИ: ПОРУШЕННЯ МАТРИМОНІАЛЬНИХ ВИМОГ УКРАЇНСЬКИМ ПРАВОСЛАВНИМ НАСЕЛЕННЯМ XVIII – ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XIX ст.	16
Богдан ЯКИМОВИЧ, Оксана ВЕЛИЧКО ТВОРЧИЙ ДОРОБОК СТАРОВІДЕНСЬКИХ КЛАСИКІВ В ІСТОРИЧНІЙ РЕТРОСПЕКТИВІ	28
Володимир ШУЛЬГА СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І РОЗВИТОК ЗАГАЛЬНОЇ ФІЗІОЛОГІЇ ЯК НАУКИ НА ТЕРЕНАХ УКРАЇНИ В XIX – 30-х рр. XX ст.	36
Людмила ПЕТРИШИН, Інна ДЕМУЗ ВІЙСЬКОВЕ ВИХОВАННЯ В АРМІЇ ВАРШАВСЬКОГО ГЕРЦОГСТВА (1807 – 1815)	50
Володимир МАСЛАК, Лариса БУТКО РОМАН В. Т. НАРЕЖНОГО “БУРСАК, МАЛОРОССИЙСКАЯ ПОВЕСТЬ” ЯК ПАМ'ЯТКА ІСТОРИЧНОЇ БЕЛЕТРИСТИКИ.....	63
Світлана БІЛА, Валерій КОЛПАКОВ ІНСТРУКТИВНІ ДОКУМЕНТИ ДЛЯ ШКІЛЬНОЇ РАДИ У КРАКОВІ (1876): ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧИЙ ОПИС	71
Віталій АНДРЕЄВ, Світлана АНДРЕЄВА БОРИС ГРИНЧЕНКО ТА ДМИТРО ДОРОШЕНКО: ІСТОРІЯ СПІВПРАЦІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛІВ	85
Віктор ВЕРГУНОВ ПРОФЕСОР ОЛЕКСІЙ СТЕПАНОВИЧ ШКАБАРА (1886 – 1959) – ФУНДАТОР НАУКОВО-ОСВІТНЬОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ БОЛІТ ТА ЛУКІВНИЦТВА В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ПОЛІССІ.....	96
Андрій СЛЮСАРЕНКО, Тетяна КОЛОМОЄЦЬ “МЕМОРІАЛ” УЧИТЕЛІВ НАРОДНИХ ШКІЛ БІБРСЬКОГО ПОВІТУ КОРОЛІВСТВА ГАЛИЧИНИ І ЛОДОМЕРІЇ (1891) ЯК ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО.....	112
Сергій ВОДОТИКА, Ігор РОБАК AD FONTES: ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧИЙ ПОТЕНЦІАЛ ПЕРШОГО ЗАГАЛЬНОГО ПЕРЕПИСУ НАСЕЛЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ 1897 року.....	127
Андрій КОРОЛЬКО, Ігор ФЕДОРИШИН ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ФІЛІЙ ТОВАРИСТВА “РІДНА ШКОЛА” НА ПОКУТТІ (1900 – 1939): ЗМІСТ І НАПРЯМИ РОБОТИ.....	140
Світлана ОРЛИК, Аліна МЕХЕДА НАТУРАЛЬНІ ПОВИННОСТІ НАСЕЛЕННЯ СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ ТА ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ (1914 – 1917).....	153

Юрій КРАМАР, Анатолій ШВАБ ПРОПАГАНДИСТСЬКА ТА ДИВЕРСІЙНО-ШПИГУНСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РАДЯНСЬКИХ СПЕЦСЛУЖБ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ЗАХІДНОЇ ВОЛИНИ (1919 – 1921).....	163
Віталій ТЕЛЬВАК, Ірина ЛОЗИНСЬКА, Роман НОВАЦЬКИЙ УКРАЇНСЬКА ІСТОРИЧНА НАУКА В ДРУГІЙ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТИЙ: ІНСТИТУЦІЙНИЙ АСПЕКТ	176
Надія КОЦУР, Світлана ГОРДЕНКО СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І РОЗВИТОК ОХОРОНИ ЗДОРОВ'Я МІСЬКОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ УСРР У 20-х рр. ХХ ст.....	184
Валерія МОТУЗ РУЙНУВАННЯ ФУНДАМЕНТАЛЬНИХ ОСНОВ ТРАДИЦІЙНОГО УКЛАДУ ЖИТТЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛА У РОКИ ЙОГО ТОТАЛЬНОГО ОДЕРЖАВЛЕННЯ (кінець 20 – перша половина 30-х рр. ХХ ст.)	195
Маруся КИРСТЯ ПЕРШИЙ РАДЯНСЬКИЙ П'ЯТИРІЧНИЙ ПЛАН: ВІДОБРАЖЕННЯ У РУМУНСЬКИХ АРХІВНИХ ДЖЕРЕЛАХ	208
Марія МАНДРИК-МЕЛЬНИЧУК, Галина КОЦУР ПРОПАГАНДА ЯК СКЛАДОВА ПРОЦЕСІВ РАДЯНІЗАЦІЇ ТЕРЕНІВ ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ ТА БЕССАРАБІЇ (1944 – 1947).....	218
Ірина ГРІДІНА, Марина ФРОТВЕЙТ ПРОБЛЕМА НЕВИЗНАНИХ ДЕРЖАВ ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКОГО ПРОСТОРУ В ПОЛІТИЦІ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ФЕДЕРАЦІЇ	229
Василь ФУТАЛА УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ У ПОЛІТИЧНИХ СТРАТЕГІЯХ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПАРТІЙНИХ СЕРЕДОВИЩ МІЖВОЄННОЇ ДОБИ ХХ ст.: ПОЛЬСЬКЕ БАЧЕННЯ.....	239
РЕЦЕНЗІЇ	
Галина ГРИЦЕНКО, Михайло ВІХЛЯЄВ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ТА ЕВОЛЮЦІЙНИЙ РОЗВИТОК ФАЛЬШИВИХ МОНЕТ Рецензія на монографію: Бойко-Гагарін А. С. Фальшивомонетничество в Центральной и Восточной Европе в эпоху Средневековья и раннего Нового времени. Киев: “Украинская академия геральдики, товарного знака и логотипа”, 2017. 560 с.	250
Надія СКОТНА, Тетяна ПАНТЮК НОВЕ ДОСЯГНЕННЯ ФРАНКОЗНАВСТВА (рецензія на: Франко про освіту та виховання / упорядкування і коментарі Галини Сабат. Дрогобич: Коло, 2020. 436 с., іл.)	255
Григорій ПУСТОВІТ, Олена ЗИМОМРЯ МІЖЕТНІЧНА ТА СОЦІОКУЛЬТУРНА ПОЛІФОНІЯ МІЖВОЄННОГО МІСТА РІВНЕ (рецензія на монографію: Гон М. RÓWNE: обриси зниклого міста. 2-е вид. Рівне: Волинські обереди, 2019. 160 с.).....	261

CONTENTS

Ruslana SHERETIUK ARTISTIC ACTIVITY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ORDERS IN THE EASTERN LANDS OF THE COMMONWEALTH: OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES AND MONUMENTS (the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries).....	8
Olena BORODENKO, Tamara SHARAVARA, Karolina WALANCIK-RYBA ILLEGAL MARRIAGES: VIOLATION OF THE MATRIMONIAL REQUIREMENTS BY THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION DURING THE XVIIIth – THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIXth CENTURIES	16
Bohdan YAKYMOVYCH, Oksana VELYCHKO CREATIVE WORK OF THE EARLY VIENNESE CLASSICS IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE.....	28
Volodymyr SHULHA GENERAL PHYSIOLOGY FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT AS A SCIENCE IN UKRAINE IN THE XIXth – DURING THE 30-ies OF THE XXth century	36
Liudmyla PETRYSHYN, Inna DEMUZ MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE ARMY OF THE DUCHY OF WARSAW (1807 – 1815) ..	50
Volodymyr MASLAK, Larysa BUTKO THE NOVEL BY V. T. NARIEZHNYI “BURSAK, MALOROSIYSK STORY” AS THE MONUMENT OF THE HISTORICAL FICTION.....	63
Svitlana BILA, Valerii KOLPAKOV INSTRUCTIONAL DOCUMENTS FOR THE SCHOOL COUNCIL IN KRAKOW (1876): SOURCE DESCRIPTION	71
Vitaliy ANDRYEYEV, Svitlana ANDRYEYEVA BORYS HRINCHENKO AND DMYTRO DOROSHENKO: HISTORY OF COOPERATION OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS	85
Viktor VERHUNOV PROFESSOR OLEKSIY STEPANOVYCH SHKABARA (1886–1959) – A FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL SWAMP CULTURE AND MEADOW PLANTING IN UKRAINIAN POLISSIA	96
Andrii SLUSARENKO, Tetiana KOLOMOETS “THE MEMORIAL” OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS OF BIBRKA COUNTY OF THE KINGDOM OF GALICIA AND LODOMERIA (1891) AS A HISTORICAL AND LEGAL SOURCE	112
Serhiy VODOTYKA, Ihor ROBAK AD FONTES: SOURCE CAPACITY OF THE FIRST GENERAL CENSUS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE POPULATION OF 1897	127
Andrii KOROLKO, Ihor FEDORYSHYN BRANCHES ACTIVITY OF “NATIVE SCHOOL” SOCIETY IN POKUTTIA (1900 – 1939): CONTENT AND ACTIVITY DIRECTIONS	140
Svitlana ORLYK, Alina MEKHEDA NATURAL DUTIES OF THE POPULATION OF EASTERN GALICIA AND NORTHERN BUKOVYNA UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION (1914 – 1917).....	153

Yurii KRAMAR, Anatolii SHVAB THE SOVIET SPECIAL SERVICES' PROPAGANDA AND SABOTAGE ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN THE TERRITORY OF WESTERN VOLYN (1919 – 1921).....	163
Vitalii TELVAK, Iryna LOZYNSKA, Roman NOWACKI UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC: INSTITUTIONAL ASPECT	176
Nadiia KOTSUR, Svetlana HORDENKO FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH CARE OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF THE UKSSR DURING THE 20-ies OF THE XXth CENTURY	184
Valeriya MOTUZ DESTRUCTION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE OF THE UKRAINIAN COUNTRYSIDE DURING THE YEARS OF ITS TOTAL GOVERNMENTALIZATION (the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century).....	195
Marusia CÎRSTEA THE FIRST SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLAN – AS REFLECTED IN THE ROMANIAN ARCHIVAL SOURCES	208
Mariia MANDRYK-MELNYCHUK, Halyna KOTSUR PROPAGANDA AS A COMPONENT OF THE PROCESSES OF SOVIETIZATION OF THE TERRITORIES OF NORTHERN BUKOVYNA AND BESSARABIA (1944 – 1947).....	218
Iryna GRIDINA, Maryna FROTVEIT THE PROBLEM OF THE UNRECOGNIZED STATES OF THE POST-SOVIET SPACE IN THE POLITICS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION	229
Vasyl FUTALA THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE IN THE POLITICAL STRATEGIES OF THE POLISH PARTY ENVIRONMENTS OF THE INTERWAR ERA OF THE XXth CENTURY: THE POLISH VISION	239
REVIEWS	
Galyna GRYTSENKO, Mykhailo VIKHLIAIEV FORMATION AND EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTERFEIT COINS Review of the monograph: Boiko-Gagarin A. S. Coin counterfeiting in Central and Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. Kyiv: “Ukrainian Academy of Heraldry, Trademark and Logo”, 2017. 560 p.....	250
Nadiia SKOTNA, Tetiana PANTYUK THE NEW ACHIEVEMENTS OF IVAN FRANKO STUDIES (Review of: I. Franko on Education and Upbringing / Arrangement and Comments by Halyna Sabat. Drohobych: Kolo, 2020. 436 p.).....	255
Hryhorii PUSTOVIT, Olena ZYMOMRYA INTERETHNIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL POLYPHONY OF THE INTERWAR RIVNE (review of: (Gon M. RÓWNE: The Outlines of the Missing Town. 2 nd ed. Rivne: Volynski oberehy, 2019. 160 p.)	261

UDC 272-789(477)“16/17”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210907

Ruslana SHERETIUK

PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor; Professor, Rivne State Humanities University, 12 Stepan Bandera Street, Rivne, Ukraine, postal code 33000 (sheretyuk.r@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6278-0132>

Руслана ШЕРЕТЮК

докторка історичних наук, доцентка, професорка Рівненського державного гуманітарного університету, вул. Степана Бандери, 12, Рівне, Україна, індекс 33000 (sheretyuk.r@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Sheretiuk, R. (2020). Artistic activity of the Roman Catholic Orders in the Eastern lands of the Commonwealth: outstanding personalities and monuments (the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries). *Skhidnoevropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 8–15. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210907

**ARTISTIC ACTIVITY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ORDERS
IN THE EASTERN LANDS OF THE COMMONWEALTH:
OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES AND MONUMENTS
(THE XVIIth – XVIIIth CENTURIES)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research consists in the analysis of the essence and direction of artistic activity of the Roman Catholic monastic orders, characteristics of the circle of artists, who worked in the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands of the Commonwealth during the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries, as well as the characteristics of their creative work. The research methodology is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, a systemic principle. During the research work, both general scientific (analysis and synthesis, systematization and generalization) and special scientific methods have been used: problem-thematic, prosopographic, chronological, as well as systemic structural. The scientific novelty of the article is to reveal the little-known pages of the history of the Roman Catholic monastic orders in the Ukrainian and Belorussian territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries, to clarify biographical information and analyze the creative achievements of prominent representatives of the artistic circle. The Conclusions. The Roman Catholic Orders occupy a special place in the history of religion and church in the territory of the Commonwealth, which included Volyn and Podillya during the second half of the XVIth – the end of the VIIIth century. Undoubtedly, their missionary work was aimed at strengthening the position of the Roman Catholic Church, however, at the same time the local Roman Catholic monasteries played a leading role in promoting and affirming the cultural and artistic heritage of the Western civilization, including the artistic heritage of the Baroque era. They were the place where outstanding artists of the Order worked – architects, artists, sculptors, whose activities became a significant factor not only of Western European influence on the cultural and artistic life of the eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also the process of intensive development of a national art. Thus, owing to the work of hundreds of Western European educators, architects, artists, writers, whose creative destiny was closely connected with the Catholic monastic orders, Ukraine became not only the country, which over the centuries accumulated and preserved the cultural heritage of its own people, but also gradually became involved into the European process of creating something new.*

Key words: *the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Roman Catholic Order, artistic activity, sacred art, baroque.*

ХУДОЖНЬО-МИСТЕЦЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РИМО-КАТОЛИЦЬКИХ ОРДЕНІВ НА СХІДНИХ ЗЕМЛЯХ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ: ВИДАТНІ ОСОБИСТОСТІ І ПАМ'ЯТКИ (XVII – XVIII ст.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження. У статті крізь призму ідеології католицизму і руху Контрреформації досліджено сутність і спрямованість мистецької діяльності римо-католицьких чернечих орденів на українських та білоруських землях Речі Посполитої впродовж XVII – XVIII ст., окреслено коло митців, а також охарактеризовано їхній творчий доробок. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах науковості, історизму, системності. Під час дослідницької роботи використовувалися як загальнонаукові (аналізу і синтезу, систематизації та узагальнення), так і спеціально-наукові методи: проблемно-тематичний, просопографічний, хронологічний, а також системно-структурний. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у розкритті маловідомих сторінок історії римо-католицьких чернечих орденів на українських та білоруських теренах Речі Посполитої XVII – XVIII ст., з'ясуванні біографічних відомостей і аналізі творчих здобутків видатних представників їхнього мистецького кола. **Висновки.** Було встановлено, що особливе місце в історії релігії і Церкви на теренах Речі Посполитої, до складу якої продовже другу половину XVI – кінця XVIII ст. входили Волинь і Поділля, посідають римо-католицькі ордени. Їхня місіонерська діяльність була спрямована на зміцнення позицій Римо-Католицької Церкви. Водночас тамтешні римо-католицькі монастирі відігравали провідну роль у пропагуванні та утвердженні культурно-мистецьких набутоків західної цивілізації, зокрема художніх надбань доби бароко. Вони були місцем, де працювали видатні орденські митці – архітектори, художники, скульптори. З'ясовано, що творчий доробок окремих представників їхнього мистецького кола, зокрема домініканця Гіларія Хоєцького, бригідки Йоанни Потіївни, єзуїта Ієнатія Барча, піара Кароля (Лукаша) Гюбеля, а також тринітарія Яна (Йосифа) Прехтля є яскравим прикладом привнесення на вітчизняний ґрунт культурно-мистецьких набутоків західної цивілізації. Підсумовано, що Україна, завдяки праці сотень західноєвропейських діячів освіти, архітекторів, художників, письменників, творча доля яких тісно була пов'язана з католицькими чернечими орденами, стала не лише країною, яка впродовж віків накопичувала і зберігала культурні надбання власного народу, але й поступово включалася у загальноєвропейський процес творення нового.

Ключові слова: Річ Посполита, римо-католицький орден, художня діяльність, сакральне мистецтво, бароко.

The Problem Statement. With the emergence of the independent state of Ukraine on the political map of the world and with the emergence of new socio-political realities, the need for a radical revision of established approaches to assessing the national cultural and artistic heritage became relevant. Primarily, it is due to the fact that traditional views on Ukraine's geographical boundaries, components and stylistic features, as well as basic theoretical principles, conceptual positions and directions were formed during the unfavourable times of statelessness, under conditions of an ideological dictatorship and the party voluntarism of the Soviet era. The change of the geopolitical status of the Ukrainian lands, legitimization of the Ukrainians as a self-sufficient national community, equal to other European nations caused the need for rethinking of common stereotypes and the development of new views on the entire artistic heritage of the nation, new approaches to the periodization and expansion of the geography of the Ukrainian artistic heritage, without restricting it to the administrative boundaries of modern Ukraine (Skrypyuk, 2008, p. 3).

Among these tasks there became topical the need to return from being forgotten the lost pages of the history of the Ukrainian art, the memory of artistic achievements was made a taboo by the totalitarian system, and artistic achievements themselves were for a long time removed from the artistic heritage of the nation. We mean, in particular, the artistic heritage

of the Roman Catholic monastic orders, the achievements of which for a long time were deliberately levelled first by the Russian autocracy and later by the Soviet authorities. One of the consequences of this was that “In the darkness of the past there remained the names of domestic and invited artists from other countries – the creators of the sacred space of Catholic churches”, which eventually led to “erasing in people’s minds the value of giant work in the history of national art” (Ursu, 2006, p. 10).

The Analysis of Recent Researches. In modern domestic art history the evidence of actualization of artistic achievements of Roman Catholic orders in Ukraine are, in particular, the researches of Peter Rychkov (Rychkov, 1989) and Natalia Ursu (Ursu, 2006). Polish historiography in this context has a more significant array of researches. The subject of scientific attention of Ioannina Dzik (Dzik, 2015) and Róże Jodłowska (Jodłowska, 1962 – 1964) was the study of the creative path of individual representatives of the artistic circle of Roman Catholic orders, which functioned in the eastern territories of the Commonwealth, in particular, in Volyn. Thorough works of well-known Polish art critics Edward Rastawiecki (Rastawiecki, 1850) and Thaddeus Dobrowolski (Dobrowolski, 1948) contain both valuable factual material on various aspects of the artistic activity of the Order’s artists, and a number of important analytical generalizations about its stylistic features. The source base of the study was the fundamental publication of the Institute of Arts of the Polish Academy of Sciences “Dictionary of Polish and foreign artists...” (Słownik, 1971; Słownik, 2003; Słownik, 2007), where biographical data and characteristics of the creative work of the Polish artists during the XVth – the middle of the XXth centuries are represented.

The purpose of the research consists in the analysis of the essence and direction of artistic activity of the Roman Catholic monastic orders, characteristics of the circle of artists, who worked in the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands of the Commonwealth during the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries, as well as the characteristics of their creative work.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In the middle of the XVIth century the wide spread of the Reformation and social movements, which took place against the Reformation’s background, led to resistance and a general offensive of the forces of the feudal Catholic reaction, which was called the Counter-Reformation (Lat. *contra* – against, *reformatio* – reformation). Its task was, on the one hand, to stop the onset of the Protestant Reformation and, on the other, – to complete the renewal of the Roman Catholic Church. The quintessence of the Counter-Reformation was the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563), which declared any deviation from Catholicism – a heresy. During the Council, in particular, a number of resolutions were adopted on the activities of monastic orders.

As monastic orders were entrusted with a special mission in the struggle against Protestantism, it was during this time that the renewal of existing and active formation of a number of new monastic communities took place. In 1540 the Roman Catholic Jesuit order was founded (“Society of Jesus”). In 1525 the Order of the Capuchins was founded, in 1527 – the Order of the Theatines, in 1530 – the Order of the Barbanites and Ursulians, in 1535 – the Order of the Oratorians, in 1537 – the Order of the Bonifratrri, in 1617 – the Order of the Piarists, in 1633 – the society of apostolic life or sharytok, etc. They expanded their activities not only in Western Europe, but also in the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later – the Commonwealth.

In this regard, it should be noted that the less well-known but not less important consequence of the Council of Trent was its decrees concerning religious art. In particular, at the Council it was proclaimed that not only education but also art should be used to explain the

dogmas of the faith. To achieve this goal, religious art was required to be direct, emotionally persuasive, powerful, focused on the spiritual imagination, and it should inspire the person, who contemplates religious art, to even more piety.

All these tasks were successfully performed by a new artistic style – Baroque, which was, according to the French medieval scholar E. Malia, “The highest embodiment of the ideas of Christian art” (Vlasov, 2000, p. 562). Being closely connected with the ideology of Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation movement, Baroque embodied the same features that were peculiar to the religious worldview: increased expressiveness, mysticism, illusionism, immateriality. Therefore, precisely because of the combination of Baroque art forms with the official ideology of the Vatican, this style is also called “Jesuit” (Vlasov, 2000, p. 575). At the same time, it was also called because of the very representatives of the Catholic orders, especially the Jesuits, who promoted and affirmed it in every possible way.

The evidence of this promotion is the artistic heritage of the Roman Catholic monastic orders in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of the Commonwealth, the pages of the history of which the researchers try to return from oblivion nowadays, collecting information, literally, pieces by pieces. In this context, the information presented by the author contains important empirical material.

Thus, in the XVIIth century Hilary Khoyetsky, a monk of the Dominican Order, lived in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and created in the field of oil painting. Nowadays very little information is preserved about him. It is known that Hilary Khoyetsky was the author of the icon painting “Holy Family”, which until 1939 was in the fund collection of the Museum of Grodno. At the same time, experts hypothetically associate his name with paintings of a completely secular nature, dating from 1636 – 1645, which were found in one of Grodno’s Catholic monasteries. These are “Portrait of Marshal of the Great Lithuanian Krzysztof Veselowski”, “Portrait of Gryselda Veselowska”, and “Portrait of Alexandra of Sobieski Veselowska” (Słownik, 1971, p. 329), which are now the part of the collection of the National Art Museum of the Republic of Belarus in Minsk.

The Roman Catholic Monastic Order of the Brigids, whose activities were closely connected with the book – not only with its study, but also with the book’s copying and artistic design, also had its artistic achievements in the Commonwealth. In particular, the nun of the Order of Brigids, which had its headquarters in Brest, was Joanna Potiivna, the daughter of the mayor of Brest, Adam Poti, who occupied the post of a commander of the royal troops in 1664. Joanna Potiivna was recorded in the register of outstanding artists of that time as a well-known scriptwriter and illuminator. Thus, it is known that she, together with another nun, Constance Kropinska, copied and illustrated the books on church singing, in particular, “Antiphonies” for the monasteries in Sokal (1707) and Brest (1720) (Słownik, 2003, p. 333).

At that time, the reputation of a highly qualified master of wood gained a representative of the Jesuit order – Ignatius Barch (or Barsch) (July 27, 1697 – July 5, 1753). In the archival documents he is mentioned as a skilled craftsman, a good connoisseur of woodworking (“*arcularius, opificio arcarius fabriliumque e ligno operum artifex peritus*”) (Słownik, 1971, p. 100).

It is known that on September 4, 1720, in Krakow, Ignatius Barch joined the Jesuit Order, and for the next 5 years (1720 – 1725), while being at the local cathedral of St. Stephen, he served as a carpenter. He worked in the Jesuit collegiums in Brest (1725 – 1728), Kalisz (1728 – 1730) and Piotrkow Trybunalski (1730 – 1731) as a carpenter as well. In 1731 he

was sent to the Lithuanian province of the Jesuit Order. Finally, Ignatius settled in Vilnius at the cathedral of St. John. In Vilnius he performed extensive work on furnishing both the Roman Catholic cathedral and its collegium, the premises of which were damaged by a series of fires. Thus, there is information that during 1733 – 1736 and 1738 – 1744 Ignatius worked on the artistic decoration of the theatre hall of the local Jesuit collegium. In 1744, he finished the artistic decoration of a wooden construction for the seating of the clergy, who sat in the presbytery during prayers or important cathedral meetings. In 1752 he finished the work on the decorative design of the premises of the Jesuit collegium, namely, the laboratory of experimental physics and the library. It should be noted that Vilnius period of Ignatius Barch's work in the field of wood carving was highly appreciated by experts, as evidenced by the fact that his artistic achievements were included into the striking examples of Vilnius Baroque of the XVIIIth century (Słownik, 1971, p. 100).

In his work "Polish portrait painting. From studies on the art of the Sarmatian era" (Краків, 1948) an authoritative Polish art critic T. Dobrowolski provides the data on the activities of monks and artists in the Commonwealth. In particular, for the XVIIIth century T. Dobrowolski defines the following leading circle of artists of the Order: the Anthony Vengzhynovych – a reformer, the Dominicans – Casimir Tsisovsky and Bernard Voshchinsky, the Basilians – Anthony, Lukasz Gubel, the Carmelite – Gregoz Tchaikovsky, the Bernardines – Benedict Mazurkiewicz and Valenty Zhebravsky, the Jesuit – Andrzej Ahorn and the Trynitarian Joseph Precht (Dobrowolski, 1948, pp. 164–165).

Karol Hubel (in monasticism – Father Łukasz, in Polish – *Karol* (*Lukasz Hubel* or *Hübel*, *Huebel*, *Hybel*) was born on January 19, 1722 in Świdnica, a small town in Silesia. It is known that on August 24, 1748, Karol Hubel joined the Order of Piarists, under the monastic name Łukasz, and the following month, in September 1748, he was sent to the novitiate in Lyubeshiv in Volyn. It was there that for the next few years he worked on the interior decoration of Lyubeshiv Collegium of the Piarists (Rastawiecki, 1850, pp. 199–200).

The works of art painted by Karol Hubel in Lyubeshiv Piarist's center occupy a prominent place in his artistic career. Thus, from 1751 to 1754, he painted the wall of his monastery refectory with oil paints, which included the compositions depicting Saints Joseph de Calasans and Anthony of Padua, as well as Our Lady of Sorrows. It is known that other premises of Lyubeshiv Collegium were decorated with his works "Holy Family" (after Raphael), "Saint Joseph de Calasans Accepts the Vows of the Novice Skomorowski", "Saint Joseph – the Elected with the Baby Jesus", "Saint Michael – the Archangel Defeats the Evil Spirit", "Saint Jerome", "Saint Augustine", "Saint Mary Magdalene", "Saint John the Evangelist", "Saint Peter the Apostle". In the premises of the rector of Lyubeshiv Collegium there were portraits painted by Karol Hubel: Saint Francis, Saint Joseph de Calasans, Saint Elizabeth, as well as the portraits of the Polish Kings Jan III and Stanislaw August. On the walls of the corridors of Lyubeshiv monastery, there were found oil portraits of Joseph de Calasans, the provincials of the Order and prominent Piarists, as well as 15 landscapes of Lyubeshiv area and scenes of a rural life (Rastawiecki, 1850, pp. 201–202).

Karol Hubel created in the style of the late Baroque. It is noteworthy that his paintbrush included not only paintings on religious themes, but also compositions of a secular content. The evidence of this is the fact that his artistic work contained a number of portraits of both cathedral figures, such as provincials and well-known members of the Order of the Piarists and prominent politicians. The latter include, first of all, the portraits of the Polish kings Jan III Sobieski and Stanislaw August Poniatowski, and according to some researchers,

the portrait of the Russian Tsar Peter III. In addition, Karol Hubel was also the author of landscapes and pastorals (Jodłowska, 1962 – 1964, pp. 124–125).

In 1755 Karol Hubel was sent to the Piarists center in Dubrovytsia, where the work on the construction of the brick buildings of the cathedral and collegium premises had been recently finished. It should be noted that the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist (1742), which was the part of the architectural ensemble of the monastic center of public relations in Dubrovytsia, was a vivid embodiment of the best achievements of Western European late Baroque architecture. The Cathedral, as well as other Piarist sacred buildings in Volyn, in particular, the Cathedral of Saint Anthony of Padua in Mezhyrich Koretsky (1725), according to Peter Rychkov, are illustrative examples of the Catholic cathedrals of Baroque architecture, which was actively established in Western Ukraine by the monastic orders, in this case – by the Piarists (Rychkov, 1989, p. 31).

Of all the picturesque images of the Dubrovytsia Piarist Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist, only one fresco survived till nowadays. The fresco is located in the central part of the apsis of the cathedral. Rectangular in shape, the size of 4,65 x 1,97 m, it recreates the scene of Baptism of Jesus Christ by John in the Jordan River. Its author is Karol Hubel. It should be noted that of all his artistic achievements in the lands of Volyn, only this painting survived in the interior of the former Piarist cathedral, and nowadays – the parochial Roman Catholic Cathedral in Dubrovytsia.

260 years ago, Jan (Joseph) Prechtl, an outstanding artist of Austrian origin, a monk of the Trinitarian order, began working in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, decorating the local cathedrals with frescoes for the next 40 years.

Jan (Joseph) Prechtl (Prächtl, Prestl) – an artist, a monk of the Order of the Trinitarians, his monastic name – Joseph of Saint Teresa (born in 1737, Vienna – died in 1799, Brailov). Jan (Joseph) Prechtl belongs to the circle of prominent, but little-known artists of the XVIIIth century. This is primarily due to the fact that the vast majority of his works of art, which adorned the cult buildings of monastic complexes of the Roman Catholic Orders in the lands of the Right Bank Ukraine, were destroyed during World War II and the Soviet totalitarian regime.

Jan Prechtl received his art education at the Academy of Arts in Vienna. After that, for unknown reasons, he moved to the south-eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, namely to Berestechko in Volyn. It is known that there on March 6, 1758 he joined the Roman Catholic Order of the Trinitarians (Dzik, 2015, p. 246).

Jan Prechtl worked, primarily, for cathedrals and monasteries of the Catholic Order of the Trinitarians, but experts also know about his ornament work in the sacred buildings of other Roman Catholic Orders. Father – Joseph was the only known Trinitarian artist of the second half of the XVIIIth century in the south-eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was extremely hardworking. That is why, he left behind a huge artistic output.

Thus, to his paintbrush belong about 30 large religious paintings, illustrating the circumstances of the life of the founders of the Order of the Trinitarians, Jan of Mafi and Felix de Valois of the Order Cathedral (Lutsk), the icon of Saint Michael in the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul (Vilno), the frescoes on the walls and vaults, as well as 16 altar icons in the Trinitarian Cathedral (Berestechko), the fresco ornament, as well as 20 large paintings in the monastery corridors (Braille), the wall paintings and altar icons in the parochial Cathedral of Holoby (in Volyn), the fresco decor in the Trinitarian Cathedral in Kamianets-Podilskyi, as well as artistic decoration of the Dominican Cathedral in Sharovky (nowadays – Sharivka) in Podillya and the Chatsky palace in Boremlya, in Volyn (Słownik, 2007, pp. 10–11).

According to the Polish researcher J. Dzik, Jan Prechtl perfectly mastered the artistic techniques of creating the illusion of space, depicted perspective brilliantly, as well as composed large planes freely. His virtuosity is also evidenced by the fact that his frescoes on the vaults were marked by the lightness of the Rococo style, but his religious paintings were created in the best traditions of the Baroque style (Dzik, 2015, p. 246).

An analysis of Jan Prechtl's paintings preserved till nowadays, namely, the illusionist altars, frescoes on vaults and religious paintings, gives grounds to conclude not only about his high skill level in the execution, but also the original style of this artist, whose work has its own compositional and stylistic features (Dzik, 2015, p. 254). One of the evidences of his talent was the following fact: in 1787 King Stanislaw August of Poland visited Brailov on purpose, where Jan Prechtl stayed at that time, to get acquainted with the creative work of this outstanding artist. The admiration of the monarch after meeting the painter, as well as the positive reviews of experts are explained, in particular, by the fact that the works of Father Joseph were characterized by "a perfect acquaintance with the rules of spatial illusion and masterful freedom of composition" (Słownik, 2007, p. 11).

The Conclusions. The Roman Catholic Orders occupy a special place in the history of religion and church in the territory of the Commonwealth, which included Volyn and Podillya during the second half of the XVIth – the end of the VIIIth century. Undoubtedly, their missionary work was aimed at strengthening the position of the Roman Catholic Church, however, at the same time the local Roman Catholic monasteries played a leading role in promoting and affirming the cultural and artistic heritage of the Western civilization, including the artistic heritage of the Baroque era. They were the place where outstanding artists of the Order worked – architects, artists, sculptors, whose activities became a significant factor not only of Western European influence on the cultural and artistic life of the eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also the process of intensive development of a national art. Thus, owing to the work of hundreds of Western European educators, architects, artists, writers, whose creative destiny was closely connected with the Catholic monastic orders, Ukraine became not only the country, which over the centuries accumulated and preserved the cultural heritage of its own people, but also gradually became involved into the European process of creating something new. The author considers the **prospects** for further researches in this direction – the return from oblivion of the names of prominent architects, artists, sculptors from the environment of the Order's monasticism, as well as the revitalization of their artistic works.

Acknowledgments. The author of the article is grateful to the staff of the library of the Polish Academy of Arts and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow (the Republic of Poland), who kindly helped to find the information necessary for the realization of the author's idea.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Vlasov, V. (2000). *Bolshoi entsyklopedycheskyi slovar izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva [The Big Encyclopedic Dictionary of Fine Arts]*. (in 8 vol.). Vol. 1. San-Petersburg: LITA, 864 p. [in Russian]
- Rychkov, P. (1989). *Dorohamy Yuzhnoi Rovenshchyny (Ot Kortsy do Plyashevoi) [By the roads of the South Rovenshchyna (From Korets to Plyasheva)]*. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1989, 175 p. [in Russian]
- Skrypnyk, H. (2008). *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva: novi naukovi konteksty ta suspilni vyklyky [History of the Ukrainian art: new scientific contexts and public calls]*. URL: <http://dspace.nbuv.gov.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/16867/01-Skrypnyk.pdf?sequence=1> [in Ukrainian]

Ursu, N. (2006). *Mystetska spadshchyna dominikanskooho ordenu na terytorii Ukrainy XVII – XVIII st.* [The artistic heritage of the Dominican Order on the territory of Ukraine in the XVII – XVIII centuries]. Kamianets-Podilskyi: Abetka, 372 p. [in Ukrainian]

Dobrowolski, T. (1948). *Polskie malarstwo portretowe. Ze studiów nad sztuką epoki sarmatyzmu* [Polish portrait painting. From studies of art of the era of sarmatism]. Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 239 p. [in Polish]

Dzik, J. (2015). Kilka uwag o twórczości malarza trynitarskiego Johanna Prechtle [A few remarks about work of artist of trinitarian Johan Prehtl]. *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, 245–257. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4467/25440500RBN.15.016.6608> [in Polish].

Jodłowska, R. (1962 – 1964). Hübel Karol [Gyubel Karol]. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Vol. X. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 124–125. [in Polish].

Rastawiecki, E. (1850). *Słownik malarzów polskich, tudzież obcych w Polsce osadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających* [Dictionary of Polish artists, as well as foreigners, settled in Poland or temporarily staying there]. (in 3 vol.). Vol I. Warszawa: Druk S. Orgelbranda, 334 p. [in Polish]

Słownik. (1971). *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy* [Dictionary of Polish and foreign artists that worked in Poland. Artists, carvers, graphics]. Vol. I. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 418 p. [in Polish]

Słownik. (2003). *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.). Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy* [Dictionary of Polish and foreign artists that worked in Poland (died before 1966). Artists, carvers, graphics]. Vol VII. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 463 p. [in Polish]

Słownik. (2007). *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.). Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy* [Dictionary of Polish and foreign artists that worked in Poland (died before 1966). Artists, carvers, graphics]. Vol. VIII. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 374 p. [in Polish]

*The article was received on November 21, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 304.3(477):316.361.1-027.582“17/182”

DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210880

Olena BORODENKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Poltava V. G. Korolenko National Pedagogical University, 2 M. Ostrogradski Street, Poltava, Ukraine, postal code 36000 (elena_bs@ukr.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0292-9310>

Tamara SHARAVARA

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Vice-rector for academic work and prospective development, Poltava State Agrarian Academy, 1/3 H. Skovorody Street, Poltava, Ukraine, postal code 36000 (125125.tsh@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6370-6663>

Karolina WALANCIK-RYBA

PhD (Law), Adjunct at the Department of pedagogy at the WSB University in Dąbrowa Górnicza, 1c Ciepłaka Street, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Poland, postal code 41-300 (kwakancic@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9988-0145>

Олена БОРОДЕНКО

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри історії України Полтавського національного педагогічного університету ім. В. Г. Короленка, вул. М. Остроградського, 2, м. Полтава, Україна, індекс 36000 (elena_bs@ukr.net)

Тамара ШАРАВАРА

докторка історичних наук, професорка, проректорка з науково-педагогічної роботи і перспективного розвитку Полтавської державної аграрної академії, вул. Г. Сковороди 1/3, м. Полтава, Україна, індекс 36000 (125125.tsh@gmail.com)

Кароліна ВАЛАНЧИК-РИБА

кандидатка юридичних наук, асистентка кафедри педагогіки Вищої Школи Бізнесу Університету в Домбровій Гурнічій, вул. Цеплака 1с, м. Домброва Гурніча, Республіка Польща, індекс 41-300 (kwakancic@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Borodenko, O., Sharavara, T. & Walancik-Ryba, K. (2020). Illegal marriages: violation of the matrimonial requirements by the Ukrainian Orthodox population during the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries. *Skhidnoievropejskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 16–27. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210880

ILLEGAL MARRIAGES: VIOLATION OF THE MATRIMONIAL REQUIREMENTS BY THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION DURING THE XVIIIth – THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIXth CENTURIES

Abstract. The Purpose. The article deals with the problem of illegal marriages among the Ukrainian Orthodox population of the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth centuries. **The Scientific Novelty.** The study of the common people family life in the context of various directions of a historical anthropology has determined the topicality, the scientific novelty of the issue under analysis and the need to study a significant array of sources of an administrative, procedural and legal direction, especially, the ego-documents from seven state archives. **The Methodology of the Research.** The research objectives were solved at the sensory and rational levels of cognition, but with the use of the general scientific (analysis and synthesis, abstraction and concretization, verification, etc.), special historical methods – prosopographic, a critical analysis and sources deconstruction and the principle of objectivity. **The Conclusions.** The marriages of persons of both sexes were considered invalid: if concluded between one or both mentally disabled brides; not divorced but remarried; divorced, when one representative of the couple did not have a permission for a new marriage and violated this requirement. The factors that caused a disorderly marital mobility and illegal marriages have been determined – the restrictions on divorce rights, an uncontrolled mobility of the population, the lack of an effective institution of a passport control, church ceremony weddings of brides not in their native parishes, a long-term absence of one marital partner, documents falsification, giving false information by witnesses, etc. It has been determined that violation of matrimonial requirements could give rise to a special type of adultery – bigamy (polygamy (polygyny) and polygamy (polyandry)). According to a civil law, an invalid marriage was terminated and the bigamist had to return to his legal spouse. In the case of divorce – the victim had the right to form a new family union, and the bigamist as a violator was doomed to celibacy. Soldiers' wives had a special status: the divorce process had certain restrictions. Since 1812, on condition of an unknown absence of a military man for seven years, his wife could file for divorce. Beginning in 1841, no terms of a military man absence were taken into account by the court, only a documentary evidence of the death of an officer or soldier allowed his wife to remarry.

Key words: bigamy, church wedding ceremony, illegal marriage, matrimonial requirements, soldier's wife.

НЕЗАКОННІ ШЛЮБИ: ПОРУШЕННЯ МАТРИМОНІАЛЬНИХ ВИМОГ УКРАЇНСЬКИМ ПРАВОСЛАВНИМ НАСЕЛЕННЯМ XVIII – ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XIX ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження. У статті порушено проблему незаконних шлюбів серед українського православного населення XVIII – першої половини XIX ст. **Наукова новизна.** Вивчення родинного життя простолюду в контексті різних напрямів історичної антропології визначило актуальність, наукову новизну досліджуваного питання та необхідність опрацювання значного масиву джерел директивно-розпорядчого, процесуально-юридичного спрямування, передусім матеріалів его-документів із фондів семи державних архівних установ. **Методологія дослідження.** Розв'язання дослідницьких завдань відбувалося на чуттєвому та раціональному рівнях пізнання, але із застосуванням загальнонаукових (аналіз і синтез, абстрагування та конкретизація, верифікація тощо), спеціально-історичних методів – просопографічного, критичного аналізу та деконструкції джерел, та дотриманням принципу об'єктивності. **Основні результати.** Недійсними визнавалися шлюбні поєднання осіб обох статей: укладені між одним або обома психічно недієздатними нареченими; нерозлучених, але наново незаконно одружених; розлучених, коли один представник подружньої пари не мав дозволу на нове вінчання та порушив цю вимогу. Визначено чинники, які спричиняли неупорядковану шлюбну мобільність і незаконні одруження, – обмеження шлюбнорозлучних прав, неконтрольований рух населення, несформованість дієвого інституту паспортного контролю, вінчання наречених не в рідних парафіях, довготривала відсутність одного шлюбного партнера, фальшування документів, надання неправдивих відомостей свідками тощо. Встановлено, що порушення матримоніальних вимог могло

породжувати особливий вид перелюбу – бігамію (багатоженство (полігінія) і багатомужество (поліандрія)). Відповідно до цивільного законодавства, недійсний шлюб припиняв дію, а бігаміста зобов'язували повернутися до законного шлюбного партнера. У випадку із розлученням – постраждала особа мала право на утворення нового сімейного союзу, а бігаміст як порушник був приречений на безшлюбність. Особливий статус мали солдатки: шлюбозрозлучний процес мав певні обмеження. З 1812 р. за умови безвісної відсутності військового чоловіка впродовж семи років дружина могла подати позов на розлучення. Починаючи з 1841 р., жодні терміни відсутності не бралися судом до уваги, лише документальне підтвердження смерті офіцера чи солдата давало змогу дружині військового повторно укласти шлюб.

Ключові слова: бігамія, вінчання, незаконний шлюб, матримоніальні вимоги, солдатка.

The Problem Statement. It was impossible for outsiders to comprehend the inner world of family relations, because the family environment of the majority was usually “closed” to outsiders. Different family collisions and conflicts, certain motivating factors that led to illegal weddings, family breakdowns, were not always known to the community. Sometimes such circumstances were revealed unexpectedly: first and foremost, by not indifferent members of the community, including members of the parish clergy, who monitored the observance of the Christian morality by parishioners. Marital violations became the subject of a public debate when cases gained notoriety. After the revelation of illegal acts in a matrimonial sphere, the measure of punishment for violators was determined in accordance with the norms of law or a court sentence. **The Scientific Novelty.** The specifics of family relations, the disinterest of educated representatives of the past in describing the life of the common people and, conversely, the marked interest of modern researchers in the history of an everyday life of the XVIIIth – the XIXth centuries determined the topicality of the issue and influenced the choice of the research strategies.

The Orthodoxy, as a dominant religion in the Ukrainian lands, recognized the lawful monogamous marriage between a man and a woman. This form of marriage is still dominant nowadays. Sometimes such marriage lasted for a lifetime of two matrimonial partners, but monogamy was not always lifelong. In cases of widowhood, divorces, new family unions could arise – a gradual polygamy (Rybakovskyi, 2003, pp. 184–185). In some cases, illegal marriages were formed, being forced or on purpose. Such illegal marriages became the subject of our study.

The purpose of the research is to analyze illegal marriages and the factors, which led to their appearance among the Ukrainian Orthodox population of the XVIIIth – the first half of the XIXth century.

In the context of using certain provisions of a historical fiction, especially the popularization of this problem among a wide range of readers interested in the historical past of the Ukrainian people, the author tried to pay attention not to well-known figures, but to ordinary people. The shift of the historiography focus to the study of illiterate common people is complicated by the lack of biographies about their origins and peculiarities of a family life. The research of this issue became possible owing to identifying and deciphering of individual recollections, slips of the tongue, marital motivations about the family life of certain people, which are presented in the ego-documents.

The source base of the research is represented by the directive administrative documents and materials of the funds of seven state archival institutions in: Vinnytsia, Kyiv, Poltava, Sumy, Chernihiv, Kharkiv regions and the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv. The author used the classification of act sources, which can be found

in the collection “Business Documentation of the Hetmanate of the XVIIIth Century” (Dubrovina, 1993, p. 32).

The analysis and interpretation of the studied court cases information of various clerical departments, the documentation of a civil law contributed to the formation of certain interpretations and conclusions. The research goals required the application of a modern approach to the sources – a combination of the principle of objectivity, sensory and rational levels of cognition with the general scientific (analysis and synthesis, abstraction and concretization, verification, etc.) and special historical methods.

Different spheres of a historical anthropology made it possible to combine the methods of studying the socio-religious history, the history of an everyday life, the history of emotions, diseases, a sexual behaviour, and etc. The use of the prosopographic analysis method contributed to the study of this problem by singling out legal and illegal marital relations, righteous and antisocial behavioral strategies of people (Offenshtadt, 2011, pp. 143–144). The method of a critical analysis of sources prompted the author not to trust “the word” written, but to check, to compare the information with other revealed facts. Using the deconstruction method, important information was singled out from the texts of the written sources, which contributed to the systematization of information, the interpretations and the formulation of conclusions. Established by the civil law, a public opinion marital norms of behaviour and individual traits of offenders were revealed.

The Analysis of Scientific Research and Publications. Some aspects of divorce conditions in the lands of the Russian Empire were analyzed by the Russian and Ukrainian researchers: B. Mironov (Mironov, 2003), N. Nizhnik (Nizhnik, 2006), M. Tsaturova (Tsaturova, 1991), I. Petrenko (Petrenko, 2010). The issues of an everyday life, a marital, marginal, antisocial behaviour of Volyn population during the XVIth – the first half of the XVIIIth centuries were discussed by N. Starchenko (Starchenko, 2017, pp. 81–112) and I. Voronchuk (Voronchuk, 2018, pp. 82–109; Voronchuk, 2019, pp. 69–80). O. Dziuba analyzed the private life of the Cossack officers in the XVIIIth century on the materials of the epistolary genre (Dziuba, 2012).

The Statement of the Basic Material. Marriages were recognized as illegal when they were concluded with violations of the matrimonial requirements defined by the Orthodox doctrine and directive administrative acts of the matrimonial requirements. Let’s name some of them. Marriages were not recognized as legal and valid: 1) marriages concluded by the use of violence or insanity of one or both brides; 2) a new marriage, when the previous marriage was not abolished by the spiritual authority; 3) a marriage, in which one partner after divorce and termination of the family union, was forbidden to make a new married couple (Svod zakonov, 1857, p. 8).

These conditions of marriage, which declared the very marriage invalid, outlined the objectives of the research. Firstly, we will try to analyze the above-mentioned directive administrative acts of the above-mentioned matrimonial norms, according to which family unions were declared invalid. Secondly, we will “humanize” the declarative material by providing examples from the lives of different families. Thirdly, we’ll single out the reasons, which led to illegal marriages. Fourthly, we’ll pay attention to the marital relations of a military personnel. We’ll highlight some risks for women, who dared to marry a soldier or officer. We’ll determine the conditions under which a soldier’s wife could make a new family union legally. Fifthly, we’ll explain the specifics of using a certain terminology.

Based on the interpretation of the first provision of the marriages illegality, parents or guardians of the Orthodox faith, who forced their children to marry, were punished by the

spiritual court in accordance with the revealed offense. The guilty relatives were subjected to a church penance and could be imprisoned for a term of six months to one year (PSZRI, 1846, p. 972). In the case of insanity of one of the marriage partners, the law provided for the certification of a mental illness by doctors in a written form. Such information (a certified document) was sent to the clergy, and then, probably, to the Synod, where the decision was made to terminate the marriage (PSZRI, 1830c, p. 42). For instance, in 1773 a resident of the village of Belausovka, Vasyl Semeniuta asked to be allowed to remarry. The reason for it was his wife's mental incapacity. During the year and a half of living together, the wife suffered from the fits of the "black disease" (epilepsy): during the fits, the woman did not control her behaviour, ran away and barely survived. We assume that the parents concealed the fact of their daughter's mental disorders, which were not noticeable before the marriage, but the disease showed its symptoms. According to the civil law, Pyriatyn spiritual authority granted a permission for divorce (SAPR, f. 801, d. 1, c. 364).

According to the second point of marriages invalidation, the phenomenon of bigamy arose, i.e., this type of adultery, when a new marriage was concluded in spite of the previous legal marriage, which was not broken. The violator of matrimonial norms is called a bigamist. "Instruction for priests starosta" № 1612 of 26 December 1697 recommended to inform of these cases the Holy Patriarch (PSZRI, 1830a, p. 422). In the Act document of 1722 such "copulations" were called "stupid marriages" and according to the articles of the Spiritual regulations of 1721 they were the subject to the jurisdiction of the Synodal court (PSZRI, 1830b, p. 650). This form of adultery gave the spouse of the bigamist couple the right not to continue a legal cohabitation with him and to make a new family union (Nizhnik, 2006, pp. 168–169). If a man had several wives at the same time, this phenomenon was called polygyny. As it turned out from the court cases under analysis, a fairly common form of an illegal marriage in the Ukrainian lands was polyandry: one woman could have several husbands at the same time (Rybakovskyi, 2003, p. 215). In such situations, the question often arose: what kind of marriage should be considered valid if the bigamist could have several spouses?

The phenomenon of bigamy arose as a result of the restriction of divorce rights. The changes in the civil law during the XVIIIth century reduced their number from twenty-six to five or six (Nizhnik, 2006, pp. 71–110; Mironov, 2003, p. 174). The uncontrolled movement of people, unregulated mechanism of certification of persons or its obvious violations, ultimately, had the following consequences: a disorderly marital mobility, providing false information about persons, falsification of documents, registration of illegal church weddings in non-native for brides parishes, and etc. Thus, one of the main matrimonial requirements was violated: the prohibition of the second marriage if the spouses of the first married couple were alive and not divorced.

Various factors caused illegal marriages. Firstly, the long absence of men due to a military service. Secondly, one spouse could be employed somewhere for a long time or be considered missing, a fugitive, and etc. The conclusion of a new marriage became possible on condition of the submission of documents on the divorce or death of one representative of the first marriage. These and other legal norms were regulated by separate directives and administrative acts.

According to the Decree of the Synod of May 22, 1723, if the second marriage was invalid, the bigamist had to return to his first family (PSZRI, 1830c, p. 42). Despite the requirements of the directive administrative document, the priests resorted to illegal actions: they drew up

false divorce certificates and performed an illegal wedding ceremony. Therefore, by other Decrees of the Synod of December 11, 1730, July 10, 1767, representatives of the parish clergy were forbidden to commit these atrocities and the need was emphasized to bring them to justice, in particular, to deprivation of a spiritual dignity. The pastors had to keep to the decrees and they filled in a written form (PSZRI, 1830d, p. 348; PSZRI, 1830f, p. 171).

According to the terms of the Decree of the Synod of October 15, 1777, regimental priests were to receive the information during confession from soldiers, officers and other lower ranks and that information had to be recorded in the name books. In the documents there were registered the data on a social origin, a marital status and former place of residence (indicating the province, county, village, for serfs – the estate). For spouses, the territorial origin of the wife or the date of her death had to be registered. The information on alive or dead military men was submitted to the Holy Synod annually. In case of death of the military men, their wives, who lived mainly with relatives or parents, received the so-called death certificates of their husbands (PSZRI, 1830h, pp. 565, 865, 918; PSZRI, 1830i, p. 289; Borodenko, 2019, pp. 8–14). In paragraph 12 of the Instruction of August 28, 1797, the field priest was ordered to marry regimental servicemen only with a permission certificate, written by the commanders, the absence of alive wives from previous marriages or the presence of certificates of wives' death (PSZRI, 1830k, p. 701).

The Decree of July 4, 1748 regulated the resolution of property issues on condition of the conclusion of a legal matrimonial union. Thus, the Decree prohibited the validity of property relations in an illegal marriage. However, only the Senate Decree of June 26, 1774 regulated clearly the invalidity of marriage on the condition of marriage of the second representative of the couple if one of the spouse from the first marriage was alive (PSZRI, 1830e, p. 873; PSZRI, 1830g, p. 654). In support of this thesis, other Decrees were initiated on October 13, 1777, September 13, 1779, February 28, 1780, October 15, 1781, which were fixed in the civil law of 1832 (PSZRI, 1830g, pp. 654–655; PSZRI, 1830h, pp. 565, 863–864, 918; PSZRI, 1830i, pp. 288–289; Svod zakonov, 1832, p. 18).

The records of ego-documents showed that men of different social strata had several wives in different marriage unions. These are mainly those social categories of the population who, as a result of their professional activities, lived separately from their families or were absent for a long time, were outside the family circle. Military men or officers' / soldiers' wives were at risk. A certain record holder, who married three times, twice illegally, was a man, Maxym Petrovych Diachenko, from Borzensky district, whose social origin is unknown. In 1776 the man had three wives, who were alive and lived in different settlements (SACHR, f. 679, d. 14, c. 1060). In 1778 the Cossack, Leontiy Krasovsky, from the village of Seredyna-Buda had three wives and his second wife was alive (SASR, f. 624, d. 1, c. 20). In 1794 Fedir Morozenko had three wives, who were alive; Vasyl Pavlenko had three wives in 1784 (SAPR, f. 801, f. 1, c. 244; CSHAIK, f. 127, d. 1043, c. 59). A separate court case of a bigamist was considered by the Yampil county court of Podilsk province during 1865 – 1869, according to which the landowner Fokelman was accused of polygamy (SAVR, f. 474, d. 1, c. 1451). A nobleman Ustyn Fedotov Podvynsky was accused of having two wives and was punished by exile in Siberia in 1861. He was deprived of privileged estates and assigned an ecclesiastical repentance (SAKR, f. 227, d. 1, c. 1060).

A scandal erupted at the state level concerning the marriage of Osyp Hannibal, a captain of marine artillery. The officer married Ustyna Tolsta, a widow, when his marriage to Maria Pushkina was not dissolved. To repent of the illegal marriage, O. Hannibal was sent to

a long-term campaign to the North Sea by ship according to a Decree of 1784. A little daughter, born by Ustyna Tolsta, was endowed with a part of the real estate, which was at the disposal of the department of an aristocratic guardianship (PSZRI, 1830j, p. 1033). A similar decision to terminate the second illegitimate marriage was made by the Senate Decree of April 25, 1807 on Olexander Yelchaninov, a commissioner. Both men were ordered to return to their first wives (PSZRI, 1830l, p. 1180).

Some men lived with their new wives illegally until an accident or the death of a military man revealed their crime. In particular, as a result of the death of Mark Bayev, a soldier of Okhtyrka unit, it became clear that the man was in an invalid marriage with a middle-class girl Melania Vasylichenkova. The offense was considered in October 1825, when neither the soldier nor his illegitimate new-born son were alive, and Melania's lawsuit for adultery with Mark was transferred to Okhtyrka clergy board (SAKhr, f. 40, d. 15, c. 965).

However, there may have been the cases of marital irregularities by both: the military men and their wives. For instance, in 1752 Agrypyna Kovalieva was punished by beating and the divorce with the second illegitimate man, because the first husband of hers was alive, he was a Cossack (SASR, f. 960, d. 2, c. 239). Iryna Avdieieva from Romny married a neighbour, Herasym Kulipanchenko, from the village of Kalynivka in 1762. She did not wait for her husband to return from a military service and even gave birth to a child. Shortly, after a ten-year absence, her ex-husband returned in 1763 and expressed a desire to live with her as one family. The spiritual consistory did not dissolve Iryna's marriage, but allowed the retired soldier to remarry another woman. Mykyta Hryhoriev, a priest from Kalynivka, who performed the illegal sacrament of marriage according to the false testimony of a witness, was fined for 5 rubles for violating an executive discipline (SASR, f. 960, d. 2, c. 634). The latter example was, apparently, exceptional due to the fact that one of the divorce requirements came into force: the unknown absence of one matrimonial partner for more than five years (PSZRI, 1830m, p. 363). Instead, the man returned to his first wife in ten years.

The life story of Danylo Yemets, a military serviceman, who went on the Crimean campaign in 1777, is an example of legal matrimonial conditions violation due to the inaccuracy of people's testimonies and the lack of documentary information on his life. Ivan Vynohradovsky, a fellow villager, allegedly told Danylo's wife, Uliana Chernyshova, false information about her husband's death and gave a false testimony to Fedir Savytsky, the priest. A representative of the parish clergy, having information that Danylo Yemets died, conducted the sacrament of Ulyana's marriage to Fedir Skrypchenko. Soon Korniy Pylypenko, a soldier, returned from a campaign on vacation. During a meeting in Bakhchisarai, Danylo Yemets asked Korniy Pylypenko to visit Danylo's wife. Visiting Danylo's wife, Korniy revealed the soldier wife's betrayal. A court investigation began concerning the illegal marriage of Ulyana and Fedir, which lasted during 1780 (SASR, f. 960, d. 2, c. 1413).

Stefanyda Hrytsenko, a resident of Berezan, got married illegally for the second time. In 1800 the bigamist married a peasant Kalinichenko secretly from her first husband, who served in the army. The priest performed the ceremony of the marriage sacrament in accordance with the testimony of those, who confirmed that the bride was a widow. When the soldier, her first husband, returned from service, the case became public (SAPR, f. 801, d. 1, c. 1485).

Another court case of the accused Yevdokia Petrivna Chernihivska, was considered for five years (1802 – 1807). The soldier's wife did not wait for the return of her husband Sava Tarasov from the conscription. Bribing a priest from another parish for 15 rubles and providing false evidence, the woman entered into an illegal marriage with Mykola Lievashenkov in

the “village” of Shylynka. During the court case consideration, the couple was forbidden to live in the same house, emphasizing the prohibition of any personal meetings. The court’s decision was never announced, because Yevdokia died in 1807 (SACHR, f. 679, d. 2, c. 117).

Pelaha Bebeskovna’s first husband, who was in the army service as a “driver”, returned home six years later and demanded a reunion with his lawful wife by her divorcing with another husband, whom she had secretly married. The court case consideration lasted for six years (1776–1782). As a result, the decision was made: “divorced from marital cohabitation”. The woman returned to her first husband (SAPR, f. 801, d. 1, c. 512, pp. 1, 3, 28).

The Senate Decree of 1812 № 25.140 emphasized the illegality of weddings even in case of the soldier’s absence for seven years. In this case, the divorce of the military man was declared invalid and the new family union had no legal force. Children born in such families were considered illegitimate and were under the care of the military board (PSZRI, 1830n, pp. 352–353; SAPR, f. 801, d. 1, c. 2013). The Charter of the clerical consistories of March 27, 1841 further restricted the rights of soldiers’ wives to divorce. Since then, any absence of male servants had not been taken into account. Soldiers’ wives could remarry only after providing parish priests with certificates from the military units about the death of their husbands (PSZRI, 1842, p. 250).

According to the Civil code of 1857, soldiers’ wives had the right to make a request for a divorce when their husbands escaped from the service, were not found within a five-year period, and were not re-enlisted in the military service. Wives of the soldiers, who went missing at the front or were taken prisoners, were allowed to remarry on condition of a ten-year absence of a serviceman, and on condition of a certificate from regimental commanders, stating the time of a husband’s disappearance (Svod zakonov, 1857, p. 11; O venchani vдов, 1878, pp. 268–270; O venchani vдовыkh soldatok, 1872, p. 737; Po predmetu venchaniya, 1872, pp. 413–414). A similar order was received by Chernihiv Provincial Board in the summer of 1855 (SASR, f. 630, d. 2, c. 48, p. 3).

Therefore, in case of bigamy, the newly formed marriages of soldiers or officers’ wives had to be annulled. It is noticeable that the law showed tolerance towards the conscripts. Beginning in 1841, women, who married military men took too many risks, as they were, in fact, doomed to a lonely life, raising children alone, and almost being deprived of divorce rights. Probably, having found themselves in the status of a soldier’s wife without the actual right to divorce, some women resorted to an illegal cohabitation with other men. Such was the illegal union of a soldier’s wife Synytsyna with the nobleman Sosnytsky. The lawsuit of the cohabitants was considered for two years (1867–1869) (SAVR, f. 474, d. 1, c. 1452).

Some women, on the other hand, deliberately pretended to be a non-existent soldier’s wife. This was Maria Yakivna Sushchenkova, who was prosecuted by the Zmiiv county court on May 19, 1825 for “theft and arson”, because a woman set fire to the house of the Shydlovsky’s heirs and stole 16 rubles 40 kop. from Ivan Yablonsky. The suspect in the crime testified that she was the wife of a recruit, a former Kharkiv resident Yefym Korovkin, with whom she allegedly married in the autumn of 1812 in Valkovsky county of Nova Vodolaha settlement in Preobrazhenska Church (the wedding ceremony was allegedly conducted by a priest Fedor). In response to a request for a marriage certificate, which was based on the records of the metric book of the church mentioned above, it became clear that such a registered family union did not exist (SAKhR, f. 40, d. 15, c. 414). Apparently, wanting to avoid punishment for the crimes committed, the woman “covered up” by a social status of a soldier’s wife.

Sometimes the wives of the servicemen moved with their children to the place of redeployment of military units. The disorder of the family life of the lower ranks made it difficult for the troops to function. Most of the troops did not have sufficient facilities for the families of conscripts and the means to improve their well-being, taking into account the fact that the troops moved from place to place during the campaigns. Taking into account these circumstances, the Order of the Military Ministry of May 14 – June 17, 1866 introduced marriage restrictions, namely: unmarried soldiers were forbidden to marry before an indefinite leave; lower-ranking non-commissioned officers were allowed to marry after five years of service, but on condition of a written and signed document, prohibiting a petition to the military treasury for the provision of a premises to live and additional expenses for the maintenance of their families; married servicemen were not allowed to take their families to military locations or they were told to keep them at their own expense (PSZRI, 1868, pp. 550–551).

While recognizing the first marriage as valid and terminating the illegitimate of the second one, state institutions and religious authorities did not explain the ways to establish the conditions for the existence and relations of the reunited family. After the official divorce of people, who were illegally married, the question arose: how to adjust the cohabitation of people in the previous family, if one of the couple already had another, perhaps, more loving person. This issue often made church courts deviate from church rules (Nizhnik, 2006, p. 173). By Article 222 of the Spiritual Consistory Statute of 1841, the authorities tried to regulate the relations of reunited families in the following way: if the abandoned person did not want to be married to a bigamist, the marriage partner, who did not violate the rules of the law was allowed to divorce and remarry. Instead, a person, who violated the matrimonial requirements was to be doomed to celibacy forever (PSZRI, 1842, p. 249).

Thus, the violator of matrimonial requirements came under the third point of non-recognition of certain family combinations as legal. The category of persons, who were not allowed to remarry included those matrimonial partners, who violated another requirement: cohabitation after the wedding church ceremony. Violators of this marriage norm had to be solitary in a monastery for life. Punished by celibacy were those guilty persons, whose act of adultery was proved in court as a result of divorce proceedings (PSZRI, 1842, pp. 246, 252; Polnoye sobranie postanovleniy, 1910, pp. 585–596).

We assume that such a rule of civil law was not always complied with. In particular, the marriage of Andriy Hrytsay, a Cossack of the Constantynivska Hundred, to Feodosia Matvienko was not recognized because of the return of her first husband, Yefym Kiyash. The woman resumed cohabitation with her first matrimonial partner, and Andriy Hrytsai, who was left alone with a young child by the illegitimate wife, asked Romensky Clergy Board for permission to remarry another woman on March 27, 1783, and soon he obtained a conciliatory opinion (SASR, f. 960, d. 2. c. 1414, p. 1). Thus, the above-mentioned family situation is a proof of the unresolved nature of many issues of reunited families, especially the affiliation of illegitimate children – to a mother or father, guardianship authorities, the military department, and etc.

The Conclusions. The research made it possible to analyze three conditions under which marriages were considered to be illegal. The marriages concluded by the use of violence or a mental incapacity of one or both brides were declared invalid; spouses, who did not get divorced but remarried illegally; persons, who broke off the family union but did not have any permission for a new wedding and violated this requirement.

The provided examples of illegal marital manifestations allowed to reveal various cases of bigamy, namely: polygyny and polyandry. We believe that the phenomenon of bigamy was

caused by restrictions on divorce rights, uncontrolled movement of the population, lack of an effective institution of passport control, forgery of documents, providing false testimonies by eyewitnesses, church weddings ceremonies of brides not in their native parishes. The above-mentioned factors could lead to a disordered marital mobility and illegal marriages. In the case of revealing of polygamy by a husband or a wife, the bigamist was obliged to return to his first lawful wife or her lawful husband. However, the mechanisms for the existence of reunited families and the maintenance of children from illegally married partners were not regulated. Since 1841 the victim had the right to divorce, while the bigamist was punished with a lifelong celibacy. The category of violators of matrimonial requirements primarily included persons, whose professional interests were related to a long-term absence from the family circle.

In case of absence of any information for five years about one member of the couple, the other matrimonial partner had the right to divorce and make a new family. In 1812 the divorce law of female soldiers' wives was limited to seven years of absence of the serviceman, and since 1841 no period of time was taken into account, only a documentary evidence of an officer's or soldier's death allowed a widowed woman to remarry. Wives, whose husbands escaped from the military service or were imprisoned, had somewhat broader rights.

Acknowledgment. We express sincere gratitude to the staff of the reading-room of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv and the State Archives of Sumy region for their help in finding the sources on the research issue.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Borodenko, O. (2019). Dokumenty-dozvoly na shliub XVIII – pershoi polovyny XIX stolit: sproba analizu [Resolving documents for marriage of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries: an attempt to analyze]. *Istorychna pam'iat – Historical memory*, 40 (1), 8–14. [in Ukrainian]

Voronchuk, I. (2018). Do istorii pryvatnoho zhyttia ukrainskoi liudnosti rannomodernoï doby [Revisiting the history of private life of early modern era ukrainians]. *Ukrainoznavstvo – Ukrainian Studies*, 1 (66), 82–109. doi: 10.30840/2413-7065.1(66).2018.132082 [in Ukrainian]

Voronchuk, I. (2019). Grodski i zemski knyhy Volyni yak dzherelo do istorii ukrainskoi shliakhty XVI – XVIII st. [The books of volhynian castle and land courts as a source for the history of the ukrainian szlachta family in the 16th – 17th centuries]. *Naukovi zapysky. Natsionalnoho universytetu "Ostrozka akademiia", serii "Istorychni nauky" – Scientific Notes of Ostroh Academy National University, "Historical sciences" series*, 28, 69–80. doi: 10.25264/2409-6806-2019-28-69-80 [in Ukrainian].

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnytskoi oblasti (State Archives of Vinnitsa region – SAVR)

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivskoi oblasti (State Archives of Kyiv region – SAKR)

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Poltavskoi oblasti (State Archives of Poltava region – SAPR)

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sumskoi oblasti (State Archives of Sumy region – SASR)

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kharkivskoi oblasti (State Archives of Kharkiv region – SAKhR)

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernihivskoi oblasti (State Archives of Chernigiv region – SACHR)

Dubrovina, L. A., & Gorobets, V. Y., (Eds.), & Gorobets, V. Y., (Comps.). (1993). *Dilova dokumentatsiia Hetmanshchyny XVIII st.: Zb. dokumentiv [Official Hetman documentation of 18th century.: Collection of documents]*. AN Ukrainy. In-t ukr. arkhheohrafi ta in.; Uporiad., avtor premdmovy ta koment. Kyiv: Nauk. Dumka [in Ukrainian]

Dziuba, O. (2012). *Pryvatne zhyttia kozatskoi starshyny XVIII st. (na materialakh epistoliarnoi spadshchyny). Vidp. red. V. A. Smolii. NAN Ukrainy. Instytut istorii Ukrainy [Private Life of the Cossack Starshyna of the 18th Century (Based on Epistolary Heritage). Executive Editor: V. A. Smolii. NAS of Ukraine]*. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy. [in Ukrainian]

Mironov, B. N. (2003). *Sotsialnaya istoriya Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII – nachalo XX veka): v 2 v. Vol. 1. Genezis lichnosti. demokraticheskoy semi. grazhdanskogo obshchestva i pravovogo gosudarstva [The social history of Russia during the empire (XVIII – early XX century): in 2 volumes. Vol. 1: the genesis of personality, a democratic family, civil society and the jural state.]*. Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitriy Bulanin. [in Russian]

Nizhnik, N. S. (2006). *Pravovoye regulirovaniye semeyno-brachnykh otnosheniy v russkoy istorii [Legal regulation of family and marriage relations in Russian history]*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatelstvo R. Aslanova Yuridicheskiiy tsentr Press. [in Russian]

O venchanii vdov. (1878). O venchanii vdov nizhnikh chinov [About the wedding of widows of lower ranks]. *Poltavskiya eparkhialnyya vedomosti. Chast offitsialnaya – Poltava Diocese News. Official part, 5, 1 marta*, 268–270. [in Russian]

O venchanii vdovykh soldatok. (1872). O venchanii vdovykh soldatok [About the wedding of widows of soldiers]. *Poltavskiya eparkhialnyya vedomosti. Chast neoffitsialnaya – Poltava Diocese News. Unofficial part., 20, 15 oktyabrya*, 737. [in Russian]

Offenshtadt, N., (Ed.), Dyufu, G., & Mazyurel, E. *Slovar istorika [Dictionary of a historian]*. (2011). (L. A. Pimenovoy, Trans). Moskva: Rossien [in Russian]

Petrenko, I. (2010). *Shliubno-simeini vidnosyny v povsiakdennomu zhytti myrian Rosiiskoi derzhavy XVIII st.: monohrafiya v 2 ch. [Marriage and family relations in the everyday life of the laity of the Russian state of the XVIII century: monograph in 2 parts]*. Ch. I. Poltava: RVV PUET. [in Ukrainian]

PSZRI. (1830a). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 3). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830b). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 6). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830c). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 7). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830d). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 8). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830e). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 12). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii [in Russian].

PSZRI. (1830f) *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 18). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830g). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 19). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830h). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 20). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830i). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 21). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830j). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 22). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830k). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]*. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 24). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830l). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 29). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830m). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 31). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830n). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 32). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1830o). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie pervoye (Vol. 39). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. Kantceliarii. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1842). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie vtoroe (Vol. 16, 1). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1846). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie vtoroe (Vol. 20, 1). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. [in Russian]

PSZRI. (1868). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1646 goda* [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1646]. Sobranie vtoroe (Vol. 41, 1). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. Sobstvennoi E.I. V. [in Russian]

Po predmetu venchaniya. (1872). Po predmetu venchaniya vdovyykh soldatok [On the subject of the wedding of widows of soldiers]. *Poltavskiy eparkhialnyy vedomosti. Chast offitsialnaya – Poltava Diocese News. Official part, 11, 1 iyunya*, 413–414. [in Russian]

Polnoye sobranie postanovleniy. (1910). *Polnoye sobranie postanovleniy i rasporyazheniy po vidomstvu pravoslavnykh isповедaniya Rossiyskoy imperii. Tsarstvovanie gosudaryni imperatritsy Ekateriny Vtoroy* [A complete collection of decrees and orders for the Department of Orthodox Confession of the Russian Empire. The reign of Empress Ekaterina II]. Vol. 1. 1762 – 1772 gg. Sankt-Peterburg: Sinodalnaya tipografiya. [in Russian]

Rybakovskiy, L. L., (ed.). 2003. *Demographicheskiy poniatnyy slovar* [Demographic thesaurus]. Moskva: TSP. [in Russian]

Svod zakonov. (1832). *Svod zakonov grazhdanskikh i mezhevykh. Zakony Grazhdanskie.* [Code of Civil and Boundary Laws. Civil Laws]. (Vol. 10, 1). Sankt-Peterburg. Pechatano v Tipografii II Otdeleniya Sobstvennoy Ego Imperatorskago Velichestva Kantselyarii. [in Russian]

Svod zakonov. (1857). *Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii. izdaniya 1857 goda. Zakony Grazhdanskie.* [Code of Laws of Russian Empire published in 1857. Laws on estates]. (Vol. 10, 1). Sankt-Peterburg. Pechatano v Tipografii II Otdeleniya Sobstvennoy Ego Imperatorskago Velichestva Kantselyarii. [in Russian]

Starchenko, N. (2017). Zvynuvachennia druzhyn u vbyvstvi cholovikiv: zhinocha zhorstokist, cholovichi fobii chy materialnyi rozrakhunok rodychiv (Volyn ostannoï tretyni XVI st. – pershoï polovyny XVII st.) [Wives accused of murdering their husbands: female cruelty, male phobias or relatives' Financial considerations (volhynia of the last third of the 16th century through The first third of the 17th century)]. *Sotsium. Almanakh sotsialnoi istorii – Socium. Almanac of Social History, 13–14*, 81–112. [in Ukrainian]

Tsaturova, M. K. (1991). *Russkoe semeynoe pravo XVI – XVIII vv.* [Russian family law XVI – XVI-II centuries]. Moskva: Yuridicheskaya literatura. [in Russian]

Tsentralnyi derzhanyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u m. Kyievi (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in the city of Kyiv – CSHAUK)

*The article was received on December 24, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 78.035.2:78.071.2(436.1)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210909

Bohdan YAKYMOVYCH

PhD hab. (History), Honored Worker of Culture of Ukraine, Professor of the Department of Historical Local History, Historical Faculty, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universytetska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (b.yakymovych@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1597-1128>
ResearcherID: AAS-6157-2020

Oksana VELYCHKO

PhD (Art Sciences), Associate Professor of Department of Musical Art, Faculty of Culture and Arts, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universytetska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (oksavell16@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3346-0893>
ResearcherID: AAS-6368-2020

Богдан ЯКИМОВИЧ

доктор історичних наук, заслужений працівник культури України, професор кафедри історичного краєзнавства історичного факультету Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, вулиця Університетська, 1, Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (b.yakymovych@gmail.com).

Оксана ВЕЛИЧКО

кандидатка мистецтвознавства, доцентка кафедри музичного мистецтва факультету культури і мистецтв Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Університетська, 1, Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (oksavell16@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Yakymovych, B. & Velychko, O. (2020). Creative work of the early Viennese classics in historical retrospective. *Skhidnoieuropejskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk*[*East European Historical Bulletin*], 16, 28–35. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210909

CREATIVE WORK OF THE EARLY VIENNESE CLASSICS IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to analyze the achievements of early Viennese classics through the historical prism of Empress Maria-Theresa's reign, who was the promoter and financed the musical culture in her country. **The methodology of the research** is based on the use of historical, source, musicological, culturological approaches, which allowed to analyze the activities of the Habsburg era musicians, who created the basis for the emergence of Viennese musical Classicism. **The scientific novelty** consists in the formulation of the mentioned research vector and the research material systematization of that historical epoch, which concerns the analysis of the works of early Viennese royal court composers and performers, who are little known to the general public. **The Conclusions.** Thus, there were significant reform changes in the cultural, socio-state and religious life of the Austrian Empire during the reign of Empress Maria-Theresa (1740 – 1780). The musical life of Vienna was characterized by the intensity and developed forms of music and concert practice.

Old Viennese musicians of Maria-Theresa era created a favourable foundation for the activities of Viennese musical classics, laying the foundations in all areas of the artistic process – composer's creative work, performing practice, pedagogue's practice, music education infrastructure and concert entertainment institutions. Among the galaxy of contemporary composers-performers stood out the figures of G. K. Wagenzail, G. Reuter, M. G. Monn, J. Starzer and J. K. Manna, who were united by a common geographical location (the city of Vienna) and the same period of time (the reign of Maria-Theresa), which coincided with the peak of their creative activity. According to E. Braudo, each of the representatives of Old Viennese school individually "strengthened the foundations of the new instrumental style, both in symphonic and instrumental music" (E. Braudo).

Key words: *Maria-Theresa, the Habsburgs, Vienna, early Viennese classics, composer, creative activity.*

ТВОРЧИЙ ДОРОБОК СТАРОВІДЕНСЬКИХ КЛАСИКІВ В ІСТОРИЧНІЙ РЕТРОСПЕКТИВІ

Анотація. Мета роботи – проаналізувати доробок старовіденських класиків крізь культурно-історичну призму доби правління імператриці Марії-Терезії (1740 – 1780 рр.), спираючись на опрацьовані джерелознавчі матеріали. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на застосуванні історичного, джерелознавчого, музикознавчого, культурологічного підходів, які дали змогу висвітлити діяльність музикантів Габсбурзької доби, що створили підґрунтя для появи віденського музичного Класицизму. **Наукова новизна** полягає у постановці вектора означеної розвідки та систематизації дослідницького матеріалу тієї історичної епохи, що стосується аналізу творчості старовіденських придворних композиторів та виконавців, маловідомих широкому загалові. **Висновки.** У часи правління імператриці Марії-Терезії (1740 – 1780 рр.) у культурному, суспільно-державному й релігійному житті Австрійської імперії відбулися значні реформаторські зміни. Музичне життя Відня характеризувалося інтенсивністю та розвиненими формами музично-концертної практики. Старовіденські музиканти доби Марії-Терезії створили сприятливе підґрунтя для діяльності віденських музичних класиків, заклавши основи у всіх царинах мистецького процесу – композиторській творчості, виконавській практиці, педагогічній салузі, інфраструктурі музичної освіти та концертно-видовищних установ. З-поміж плеяди тогочасних композиторів-виконавців виділялися постаті Г. К. Вагензайля, Г. Ройтера, М. Г. Монна, Й. Штарцера та Й. К. Манна, яких об'єднує спільне місце географічного розташування (місто Відень) й однаковий часовий відтинок (правління Марії-Терезії), на які припав пік їхньої творчої активності. За словами Є. Браудо, кожен з представників старовіденської школи індивідуально "укріплював основи нового інструментального стилю, як в симфонічній, так і в інструментальній музиці" (Є. Браудо).

Ключові слова: *Марія-Терезія, Габсбурги, Відень, старовіденські класики, композитор, творча діяльність.*

The Problem Statement. A retrospective interest in the creative work of unknown to the general public composers and performers of the early classical period (or Old Viennese classics), the contemporaries of the Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia Maria-Theresa, prompted the authors of the article to meticulous work in the archives (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien; Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Wienbibliothek in Rathaus – in German*) and other music libraries in Vienna. In particular, the goal was to study the contribution of the Habsburg musicians, who created the basis for Viennese classics – J. Haydn, W. A. Mozart and L. van Beethoven. The names of their predecessors (G. K. Wagenzail, G. Reuter, M. G. Monn, J. Starzer, J. J. Fuchs, J. K. Mann, etc.) are little known, and their creative work is not sufficiently investigated. This fact determines the choice of the topic of this article and its topicality.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. Among some publications on this topic, in which the very topic is elucidated indirectly, it is worth noting the monographs of E. Braudo (Braudo, 1925),

O. Shushkova (Shushkova, 2002) and L. Kirillina (Kirillina, 1996), devoted to aesthetics, stylistic features and a musical form of early classical music and musical practice of a classical style. Naturally, the early Viennese classics received more research attention by Austrian researchers, in particular, N. Scholz-Michelitsch (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1972; 1980), G. Hausswald (Hausswald, 1952), K. von Wurzbach-Tannenberg, K. Fastl, W. Garten, A. D. P. Taylor (Taylor, 2002) and the others.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the achievements of early Viennese classics through the historical prism of Empress Maria-Theresa's reign, who was the promoter and financed the musical culture in her country.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The synergy of a composer's activity and performance, typical of this era, created a holistic image of the musician of that period. The artists formed the principles of a pedagogical activity, which spread among the wealthy part of the society, as their creative practice depended on the commitment of "elite" people of the royal court. The royal court composers are meant, who created a new musical style, a new approach to the development of art and favoured the emergence of Classicism.

In 1740 Maria Theresa, a daughter of Karl VI, became the successor of the Holy Roman Emperor Karl VI (*Maria Theresia Walburg Amalia Christina*) (1717 – 1780), known in Austria as the "Queen Mother", who reigned for about 40 years. She initiated the reforms in the spirit of "an educated absolutism", took care of science and art flourishing, initiated the opening of universities, higher schools of drawing, painting and architecture. She reformed gymnasiums, created conditions for education (*Schulordnung – in German*), opened public libraries in Prague and Innsbruck, observatories in Vienna and Graz. Maria Theresa was assisted in this activity by Prince Duke Wenzel Anton Dominique Kaunitz-Rietberg (*Kaunitz-Rietberg*) (1711 – 1794), who was engaged in the foreign policy of the Holy Roman Empire, spread the ideas of the Enlightenment, promoted humanitarian reforms, took care of science and art. He was a famous collector. Under his influence, education developed, textbooks were written, new subjects (History, Literature) were studied, and the others. Maria Theresa pursued a flexible religious policy, in particular, in 1774 she founded the Greek Catholic seminary *Barbareum* at the Church of St. Barbara. It was the time of active reforms in all areas, which were continued by her son Joseph II. According to the famous scientist, an authoritative specialist in the studies of the Austrian Empire, a historian Alan John Percival Taylor (1906 – 1990), "Maria-Theresa was a real founder of the Austrian Empire, stopping her reforms on the border with Hungary, she also became the founder of dualism" (Taylor, 1955, p. 18).

We should cite one very valuable opinion of the English historian to make this era more understandable. Describing the situation when the Habsburg power with the end of the reign of Karl V (he abdicated in 1556) led to the situation when in the second half of the XVIth century disintegration became very dangerous for the dynasty. The Habsburgs signed the alliance with the Jesuits, which led to the defeat of Protestantism in Central Europe. A. J. P. Taylor pointed out rightly (Taylor, 1955, pp. 13–14): "Austrian Baroque civilization, as if the buildings erected by it, was grandiose outside and empty inside; it was a theatre, not a reality. It lacked integrity and originality, its core was a desperate frivolity... Deep feelings were found only in music, the least politicized of the arts, and even there the spirit of creativity had to break its chains, and Viennese air corresponded more to the searches of J. Haydn (in fact, he developed the traditions of Viennese Classicism)". Finally, this is what the introductory part of the fundamental German-language multivolume edition is about "The

Habsburg Monarchy 1848 – 1918” (“*Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848 – 1918*”). At the same time, there was the rise in the Austro-German literature, closely related to the Enlightenment (the works of E. E. Lessing, I. G. Herder, J. V. Goethe, J. F. Schiller, I. Kant, G. G. Hegel and the others).

It should be noted that at that time, music was directly connected with socio-political and social change. At the end of the Baroque era, a new social aesthetics matured, worldview changed, and science and art developed fruitfully. The changes began with the late Baroque Italian cultural hegemony in Vienna. New musical aesthetics continued in Old Viennese school. The first half of the XVIIIth century became a period of radical changes in the field of instrumental performance – and in the matter of instrumentation, and in the manner of playing various instruments, in the theoretical basis of learning, in social forms of concert and theatrical life. At that time keyed M. Pallotta was in demand instruments were used in concert practice, the attention was paid to solo performance (piano concerts). The formation period of solo and chamber music took place in close connection with the development of performance and domestic music: from trio-sonata – to symphony, sonata, concert, quartet, trio, duets. These tendencies are observed in the creative work of J. B. Sammartini, J. Tartini, G. M. Monna, G. K. Wenzel and the others.

Vienna, as the centre of European music culture at that time, was largely linked to Italian, German (Mannheim and Berlin) schools, due to its favourable geographical location. The musical atmosphere of Vienna contributed to the artistic development. The royal court welcomed exquisite music, the patron of which was the Habsburg royal court. Creativity of the royal court composers: J. J. Fuchs, A. Caldara, M. Pallotta, G. T. Muffat was in demand among the elite and was respected.

The musical activity of Italian composers, who worked in Vienna and Austrian artists became the impact to form Old Viennese school, the founders of which are considered to be the Italian composer Antonio Caldara (1670 – 1736) and the Austrian composer Johann Joseph Fux (1660 – 1741). In their work there dominated vocal genres (operas, oratorios, etc.). From the 1740-ies there was an intensive development of a symphonic music, which became the dominant to Old Viennese composers. Their first symphonies appealed to instrumental forms taken was in demand from Italian music, such as the three-part structure of the overture to Neapolitan opera. The Austrian symphonic style was influenced by the tradition of home music (*in German – Hausmusik*), close to entertaining music, especially dance music. At that time, many professional and amateur instrumental ensembles appeared, performing suites (from fashionable dances at that time), serenades, nocturnes, cassations, divertissements, etc. Dance rhythms had a national colour.

Old Viennese school was represented by well-known contemporary composers-performers: Georg Reutter (1708 – 1772), who tended to the suite (intra, largo, minuet, finale), Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715 – 1777), Matthias Georg Monn (1717 – 1750), Josef Starzer (1726 – 1787), Johann Christoph Mann (1726 – 1782). Although they lived and created in one and the same city – Vienna, their activities were quite diverse, and not concentrated around royal court, and creative tastes were excellent.

M. G. Monn, one of the main representatives of Old Viennese school, is considered to be the creator of a new type of symphony, which was later adapted by J. Haydn in his creative work. In 1740 M. G. Monn wrote the Symphony *D-dur*, in which Part I – sonata *allegro*, with a clear second theme and bright development, Part III – minuet, which was a novelty at that time (and it was 20 years before J. Haydn!). M. G. Monn’s orchestra had the composition

similar to a classical one (2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, horns and a group of fiddlesticks musical instruments). His creative output is 16 symphonies, a number of quartets, sonatas, chamber works for violin and piano, mass (*in Latin – missa*). In the field of piano sonata M. G. Monn is considered to be the predecessor of W. A. Mozart (Braudo, 1925, p. 91). At the same time, the artist was not influenced by other schools – Mannheim and Berlin. Another early Viennese composer, a concertmaster of Vienna royal court chapel Josef Starzer worked for a long time in St. Petersburg. In 1771 he founded a music society in Vienna, which became a center of active artistic activity. J. Starzer was the author of music for ballets, and his close cooperation with choreographers (J. J. Nover, G. Angelini, etc.) influenced the style of the performances “Apollo and Daphne” (1764), “Adele de Pontier” (1773), “Fascinating School” (1781). The artist’s works include symphonies, the oratorio “The Passion of Jesus Christ” (1778), instrumental ensembles and concerts. The sacred music and operas were the most valuable in the creative heritage of the composer J. J. Fuchs. He conducted pedagogical activities successfully, in the list of his students are the following ones: G. C. Wagenzail, Gottlieb Muffat (1690 – 1770), Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679 – 1745), František Tůma (1704 – 1774), Ignaz Holzbauer (1711 – 1783).

Among Old Viennese classics stands out the figure of a brilliant pianist and organist Georg Christoph Wagenzail, a student of J. A. Weger, J. J. Fuchs and G. Muffat. His compositional works included a number of sacred works (17 masses, Requiem), 3 oratorios, 16 operas, 43 cantatas, 103 concerts, mainly for piano, 120 works for organ, 36 symphonies, 93 chamber instruments, arias (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1980). The piano work of G. C. Wagenzail deserves a special attention. Being closely connected with Mannheim school, G. C. Wagenzail subtly reincarnated the folk original, was the creator of a new formation music, combining the traditions of the Baroque with a gallant and sensual style, the Rococo forms, anticipating the achievements of the successors – J. Haydn and W. A. Mozart. The tragedy of G. C. Wagenzail consisted in the following fact – the artist remained in the shadow of Viennese classics: “He is the main representative of the early classical Viennese school, whose works paved the way for the classical style” (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1980, p. 5). G. C. Wagenzail also wrote a thorough theoretical work “*Gradus ad Parnassum*” (1725), on the basis of which music theorists of the next era L. Busler (1838 – 1900), H. Bellermann (1832 – 1903) and K. K. Jeppesen (1892 – 1974) created a series of works on harmony, polyphony and counterpoint. The talent of a pianist and organist allowed G. C. Wagenzail to substitute his teacher J. J. Muffat as a piano teacher of Maria-Theresa and her husband Franz I of Lorraine.

On May 6, 1736, the first Mass of “*Missaspei*” (Mass of Hope) was successfully performed in Laxenburg Chapel, which illustrated the successful compositional start of G. C. Wagenzail. In 1737 there were held eight concerts at which his sacred music was presented, in particular, *Magnificat* for four solo voices, two solo violins and trumpets, a four-part choir and a large orchestra with woodwind instruments. In his liturgical works, G. C. Wagenzail was a follower of the traditions of J. J. Fuchs, whose favourite student he was. The works of G. C. Wagenzail demonstrate a talent for a melodic ingenuity, a successful balance between polyphonic exposition and melody, a musical language close to a folk song. In 1745 in Venice in the theater *San Giovanni Crizostomo* owing to the royal court the first opera by G. C. Wagenzail’s “*Ariodante*” on the libretto by A. Salvi. Interestingly, a contemporary of the composer, a librettist P. Metastasio (1698 – 1782) expressed his point of view that the music of the opera “is not quite graceful” (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1980, p. 17). This can be explained by the fact that the Italians did not appreciate the Austrian musicians.

Later, G. C. Wagenzail wrote the opera “Coronation of Titus”, specially for Maria-Theresa, as gratitude for Venetian opera benefit. The opera was staged on Maria-Theresa’s birthday.

In the XVIIIth century there was a traditional concept of a concert as a public paid spectacle, with a pre-announced programme in a specially adapted hall. Such hall became *Burg Theater*: “It was a center of music education, concerts took place three times a week, so there was an urgent need to write new works for the royal court and the townspeople” (Hausswald, 1952, p. 19). G. C. Wagenzail worked actively in this direction, writing works for public concerts. In general, contemporaries praised the work of the composer, noted the new original author’s style, the presence of musical and plot culminations, emphasized a special melody, thematic richness. These characteristics made the composer closer to the opera reform of C. W. Gluck and became the basis for the masterpieces of W. A. Mozart. “He can be considered one of the most important opera composers at Viennese royal court in the mid-XVIIIth century. The music of G. C. Wagenzail’s contains the unrest of the transition period... Subtle and original treatment of thematic ideas, the beauty of musical lines, a bright harmony and timbre, attention to poetic details in the dominance of music as a creative force, are the characteristics of the composer’s works”, – said N. Scholz-Michelitsch, a researcher (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1980, pp. 24–25).

The pedagogical activity of the artist deserves a special attention. In the list of his students are: J. Haydn (1732 – 1809), F. K. Dussek (1731 – 1799), L. Hoffmann (1738 – 1793), F. Tyber (1758 – 1810), even Maria-Theresa, her husband and children. For many pedagogues, the piano work of G. C. Wagenzail became the basis of the pedagogical repertoire, in particular, for the children of Leopold Mozart (1719 – 1787) – Nannerl and Wolfgang Amadeus. To fill the pedagogical repertoire G. C. Wagenzail created 14 works for piano, or harpsichord with general bass, piano concertos, musical works for two, three harpsichords, divertissements, suites and sonatas. The Music Archive at *Musikverein* in Vienna houses two of the composer’s manuscripts “*Fondamentopour L’accompagnement*” and “*Fondamentoperie Clavicemba*” – pedagogical textbooks, which illustrate his thorough approach to a pedagogical activity.

The musical expansion of Old Viennese classics spread throughout Europe, in particular: within the framework of the regular *Concert Spirituels* in 1755 – 1765, which took place during religious holidays in *Tuileries* Palace and included a sacred, secular instrumental, chamber and symphonic music. Nine successful concerts of G. C. Wagenzail took place. For comparison, C. W. Gluck performed there eight times, W. A. Mozart – 10, D. von Dittersdorf (1739 – 1799) – 6, I. Holzbauer (1711 – 1783) – 3. The symphonies, sacred and chamberinstrumental music of G. C. Wagenzail sounded (Hausswald, G. 1952, p. 48). G. C. Wagenzail used a large orchestra: “The symbiosis of Italian melody, French harmony and German form (structure) formed a high Austrian compositional style” (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1980, p. 60).

The English composer, music historian and organist Charles Burney (1726 – 1814) said the following words about the piano work of G. C. Wagenzail: “The virtuoso, who used all the possibilities of the instrument, the experience of a pedagogue, who develops the technique and musical abilities of his students” (Scholz-Michelitsch, 1980, p. 61). Owing to Charles Burney, there is a thorough description of the activity of a creative life of G. C. Wagenzail, when he created his works in 1772, when he lived in Vienna. Travelling in Europe, Ch. Burney published the books “*Contemporary State of Music in France and Italy*” (1771), “*Contemporary State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom*” (1773), and a four-volume book “*History of Music*” (1776 – 1789). Despite the

active popularization of G. K. Wagenzail by Ch. Berney, a creative fame of G. K. Wagenzail's faded as Viennese classics began to enter the music scene. Summarizing the achievements of Old Viennese classics, in 1861 the famous historian Constantin von Wurzbach-Tannenberg (1818 – 1893) enrolled opera reformer C. W. Gluck, G. K. Wagenzail to the prominent artists of Maria-Theresa era, along with the founder of Baroque architecture, Fischer von Ehrlich, whose works are: Schloß Schönbrunn Palace, Winter Palace (Winterpalais) of Prince E. Savoysky, Karlskirche in Vienna.

The Conclusions. Thus, there were significant reform changes in the cultural, socio-state and religious life of the Austrian Empire during the reign of Empress Maria-Theresa (1740 – 1780). The musical life of Vienna was characterized by the intensity and developed forms of music and concert practice. Old Viennese musicians of Maria-Theresa era created a favourable foundation for the activities of Viennese musical classics, laying the foundations in all areas of the artistic process – composer's creative work, performing practice, pedagogue's practice, music education infrastructure and concert entertainment institutions. Among the galaxy of contemporary composers-performers stood out the figures of G. K. Wagenzail, G. Reuter, M. G. Monn, J. Starzer and J. K. Manna, who were united by a common geographical location (the city of Vienna) and the same period of time (the reign of Maria-Theresa), which coincided with the peak of their creative activity. According to E. Braudo, each of the representatives of Old Viennese school individually “strengthened the foundations of the new instrumental style, both in symphonic and instrumental music” (Braudo, 1925, p. 87).

The prospects for further research in this direction are to analyze the historical era of Maria-Theresa in the projection of the Ukrainian cultural, artistic and religious space.

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braudo, E. M. (1925). *Vseobshchaya istoriya muzyki [General History of Music]. Vol. 2.* Moskva, 266 p. [in Russian]

Kirillina, L. V. (1996). *Klassicheskiy stil' v muzyke XVIII – nachala XIX vekov: Samosoznaniye epokhi i muzykal'naya praktika [Classical style in music of the 18th and early 19th centuries: Self-consciousness of the epoch and musical practice].* Moskva: Moskovskaya gosudarstvennaya konservatoriya, 192 p. [in Russian]

Taylor, A. J. P. (2002). *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809 – 1918. A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary [The Habsburg Monarchy 1809 – 1918. A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary].* Lviv: VNTK-Klasyka. 268 p. [in English]

Shup'yana, M. (2013). Reformuvannya suspil'noho ta derzhavnoho zhyttya v Avstriys'kiy imperiyi za chasy pravlinnya imperatrytsi Mariyi Tereziyi (1740 – 1780 rr.) [Reforming public and public life in the Austrian Empire during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1780 – 1780)]. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriya yurydychna – Lviv University Bulletin. Series Law*, 58, 126–134. [in Ukrainian]

Shushkova, O. M. (2002). *Ranneklassicheskaya muzyka: estetika, stilevyye osobennosti, muzykal'naya forma [Early classical music: aesthetics, style features, musical form].* Vladivostok: DVGU. 240 p. [in Russian]

Die Habsburgermonarchie. (2003). *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848 – 1918. [The Habsburg Monarchy 1848 – 1918].* Band III/1: Die Völker des Reiches. Wandruszka Adam, Urbanitsch Peter (Hrsg.). Verlag: VÖAW. [in German]

Hausswald, G. (1952). Der Divertimento-Begriff bei Georg Chr. Wagenseil [The divertimento term in Georg Chr. Wagenseil]. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*. IX Jahrg., H. 1 (pp. 45–50). Leipzig: Trossingen. [in German]

Scholz-Michelitsch, H. (1972). *Das Orchester - und Kammermusikwerk von Georg Christoph Wagenseil: thematischer Katalog* [The orchestral and chamber music work of Georg Christoph Wagenseil: thematic catalog]. Wien: Böhlau, Tabulaemusicae Austriacae, 228 p. [in German]

Scholz-Michelitsch, H. (1980). *Georg Christoph Wagenseil Hochkomponist und Hofklaviermeister der Kaiserin Maria-Theresia* [Georg Christoph Wagenseil High-composer and court piano master of the Empress Maria-Theresia]. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller Universität; Verlagsbuchhandlung Ges. m.b. H.A., 109 p. [in German]

*The article was received on October 23, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 612(091)(477)“18/19”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210908

Volodymyr SHULHA

PhD hab. (History), Vice-Rector of Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs, 27 L. Landau Avenue, Kharkiv, Ukraine, postal code 61080 (shulhavp@online.ua)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9389-6691>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/C-7262-2019>

Володимир ШУЛЬГА

доктор історичних наук, проректор Харківського національного університету внутрішніх справ, проспект Л. Ландау, 27, м. Харків, Україна, індекс 61080 (shulhavp@online.ua)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Shulha, V. (2020). General physiology formation and development as a science in Ukraine in the XIXth – during the 30-ies of the XXth century. *Skhidnoieuropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 36–49. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210908

**GENERAL PHYSIOLOGY FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT
AS A SCIENCE IN UKRAINE IN THE XIXth – DURING THE 30-ies
OF THE XXth CENTURY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to highlight the General Physiology development main periods and tendencies in Ukraine, summarizing the regional research and educational centers' achievements, as well as making conclusions on individual scientists' achievements in the XIXth – the 30-ies of the XXth century on the world biological thought development background. The methodology of the research is based on the general scientific principles of objectivity, systematicity, complexity and scientificity. The author used the general scientific, interdisciplinary and special historical methods. The article is based on the factual material, archival documents that reveal basic physiological sciences and theories evolution, the organization of specialized departments and laboratories at higher educational institutions and research institutions of Ukraine. The scientific novelty of the article is that the author for the first time has demonstrated the regional scientific and educational centers' formation peculiarities, their personalized composition and contribution to the basics of a human and animal physiology development. The Conclusions. It was proved that the world biological thought development had a significant influence on the General Physiology development systematic research in the Ukrainian lands. Several periods of the Domestic Physiology scientific foundations formation and development have been singled out. The first Physiological Departments were established within the Natural Sciences and Medical Faculties of universities during 1805 – 1861. During 1861 – 1917 the Physiology Departments were organized at the veterinary and agricultural institutes. Numerous scientists have made a significant contribution to the physiological research deployment in Ukraine, for instance, B. F. Verigo, V. Ya. Danylevskiy, I. M. Syechenov, V. Yu. Chahovets, I. P. Shchelkov. The number of Physiology Departments at the universities and at the pedagogical, agricultural, veterinary, zootechnical institutes increased dramatically during the 1920-ies and 1930-ies. Furthermore, Physiology Independent Research Institutes and Physiological Departments at some institutions were created. The scientific directions, which were subject to the most detailed processing, were revealed, for instance, Nerve and Muscle Physiology, Electrophysiology and Biophysics, Comparative Physiology of Aging, Endocrinology and Physiology of Work. The decisive contribution to their development has been made by V. M. Arkhanhelskyi, V. M. Vasylevskiy, A. M. Vorobyov,*

D. S. Voroncova, T. T. Hurveyeva, V. Ya. Danylevskiy, A. I. Yemchenko, E. M. Kogan, P. H. Kostyuk, H. P. Markelov, V. P. Prototypova, M. O. Rohovych, I. M. Sechenov, P. M. Syerkov, E. I. Synelnykov, Ya. P. Sklyarova, R. Yo. Feitelberg, G. W. J. Volborth, S. Yu. Yaroslava and others.

Key words: higher education, scientific research, Physiology, Medicine, labor protection, Biophysics, nervous system, Endocrinology, human.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І РОЗВИТОК ЗАГАЛЬНОЇ ФІЗІОЛОГІЇ ЯК НАУКИ НА ТЕРЕНАХ УКРАЇНИ В XIX – 30-х рр. XX ст.

Анотація. Метою статті є висвітлення основних періодів і тенденцій розвитку загальної фізіології в Україні XIX – 30-х рр. XX ст. на тлі розвитку світової біологічної думки. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на загальнонаукових принципах об'єктивності, системності, комплексності та науковості. Автор використав загальнонаукові, міждисциплінарні та спеціальні історичні методи. Стаття базується на фактичному матеріалі, архівних документах, які розкривають еволюцію основних фізіологічних учень і теорій, організацію спеціалізованих кафедр і лабораторій при закладах вищої освіти і наукових установах України. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає в тому, що автор уперше продемонстрував особливості становлення регіональних наукових і освітніх центрів, їх персоніфікований склад та внесок у розроблення основ фізіології людини і тварин. **Висновки.** Доведено значний вплив розвитку світової біологічної думки на розгортання системних досліджень із загальної фізіології на українських землях. Виділено кілька періодів становлення і розвитку наукових основ вітчизняної фізіології. Упродовж 1805 – 1861 рр. створюють перші фізіологічні кафедри у складі природничих і медичних факультетів університетів. У 1861 – 1917 рр. організовують кафедри фізіології при ветеринарних і сільськогосподарських інститутах. Доведено вагомий внесок у розгортання фізіологічних досліджень в Україні Б. Ф. Веріго, В. Я. Данилевського, І. М. Сеченова, В. Ю. Чаговця, І. П. Щелкова. У 20–30-ті рр. зростає кількість кафедр фізіології при університетах, педагогічних, сільськогосподарських, ветеринарних, зоотехнічних інститутах. Створюються самостійні науково-дослідні інститути фізіології і фізіологічні відділи при деяких установах. Виявлено наукові напрями, які підлягали найбільш детальному опрацюванню: фізіологія нервів і м'язів, електрофізіологія та біофізика, порівняльна і вікова фізіологія, ендокринологія і фізіологія праці. Обґрунтовано вирішальний внесок у їх розроблення В. М. Архангельського, В. М. Василевського, А. М. Воробйова, Д. С. Воронцова, Т. Т. Гурєєва, В. Я. Данилевського, А. І. Ємченка, Е. М. Кагана, П. Г. Костюка, Г. П. Маркелова, В. П. Прототипова, М. О. Роговича, І. М. Сеченова, П. М. Серкова, Є. І. Синельникова, Я. П. Скларова, Р. Й. Файтельберга, Г. В. Фольборта, С. Ю. Ярослава та ін.

Ключові слова: вища освіта, наукові дослідження, фізіологія, медицина, охорона праці, біофізика, нервова система, ендокринологія, людина.

The Problem Statement. Taking into consideration the new civilizational challenges conditions, a nation health level determines its future development, ability of spiritual and cultural growth. In addition, a human health is a crucial factor in the economic development, welfare growth and living standards of its citizens, socio-economic maturity, culture and prosperity of the state. In the context of the omnipresent economic crisis in Ukraine, material and financial resources reduction, socio-political conflict, climate change, man-made cataclysms, studying the human life physiological patterns issue as a basis for the health care is gaining special relevance.

According to world development, which convincingly proves that the purposeful influence on the physiological processes occurring in the human body, allows to increase its vital functions and productivity, to model its health and longevity. Hence, there is an urgent need to study the general physiology history of formation and development issues as a science in the Ukrainian lands in the XIXth – during the 30-ies of the XXth century. Diverse

discoveries and achievements in this scientific field are an important factor in studying the regional aspect of the history of science and technology, the research centers formation and development, specialized educational institutions, the nation's scientific potential formation.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Modern researchers managed to reveal the General Physiology formation and development main tendencies in the Russian Empire, which included the Ukrainian lands (Samoilov, 2005; Sorokina, 2012). Moreover, the researchers studied the main milestones of the organization of higher educational institutions and research institutions, on the basis of which the General Physiology issues were developed and highlighted, in particular the achievements of Kharkiv and Odesa universities, St. Volodymyr's University (Kyiv), Kyiv and Kharkiv Medical Institutes (Gholovko, Ruban & Kandyba, 2006; Goncharuk, 1991; Stupak, 2002; Shvalb, Ghlybycjka & Stavnycjka, 2007). The physiology of farm animals formation and development history was reproduced, which was developed mainly on the basis of Kharkiv Veterinary Institute (Borodai, 2012). There were diverse works on the General Physiology dedicated to the renowned researchers, in particular B. F. Veriho, V. Ya. Danylevskiy (Vasilev, 2010; Lisovyi, 2010; Marynzha, 2011; Smyntyna, 2005; Cyghanenko, Kryvonosov & Kravchun, 2005). The researchers on the history of science also paid attention to the General Physiology scientific schools, as a result, the thorough study was conducted on Professor I. P. Pavlov's scientific school activities (Zagrina, 2009). However, the following issues were not covered: the achievements' influence and foreign scientists' discoveries on the development of research practices in human and animal physiology in Ukraine, taking into account the regional aspect and personalized contribution to the development of its basic students and theories, educational and methodical literature.

The purpose of the article is to highlight the General Physiology development main periods and tendencies in Ukraine, summarizing the regional research and educational centers' achievements, as well as making conclusions on individual scientists' achievements in the XIXth – the 30-ies of the XXth century on the world biological thought development background.

The Statement of the Basic Material. It is well known that General Physiology singled out as a science due to the research conducted by the English scientist W. Harvey, who in the 1628th formalized the position of the large and small circles of blood. There were numerous researchers, whose works were the lion's share concerning the General Physiology issue. J. Borelli, the Italian scientist used the laws of mechanics as a basis for discovering the animals respiratory system mechanism at the end of the XVII century. The English researcher S. Hales established the norm of blood pressure, the French scientist R. Reaumur and the Italian naturalist L. Spallanzani revealed the chemical laws of digestion. The French researcher A. Lavoisier described the mechanism of oxidation, and the Italian scientist L. Galvani discovered a bioelectrical phenomenon in the human body. In addition, the most significant achievements of the first half of the XVIIth century were the discovery conducted by R. Descartes and in the XVIIIth century by J. Prohaska on the reflex principle, which explained the activity of the organism as a result of external stimuli occurring through the central nervous system (Kogan, 2004, pp. 44–48).

The study on the physiological processes of neuromuscular tissue was important for the design of general physiology as a science. German scientists E. Dubois-Raymond and K. Ludwig designed the first induction device, a kymograph, a float manometer for recording the blood pressure, a blood clock to determine the speed of blood circulation, and others. The

French physiologist E. Murray developed a device for recording the movement of the chest, and the Italian researcher A. Mosso – equipment for studying the blood supply to organs and fatigue, a weighing table to establish the redistribution of blood. The studies initiated by A. Volta and L. Galvani on electrical phenomena in the body, were continued by Dubois-Raymond, L. Herman (Samoilov, 2005, pp. 24–28).

The Physiology scientific foundations establishment in the Russian Empire took place in the first half of the XVIIIth century after the organization of the first educational institution – the Anatomy and Physiology Department at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, headed by D. Bernoulli. In addition, Moscow University Medical Faculty, where S. H. Zabelin started its teaching process, played an important role in the design of Physiology as an independent science. An independent department of Physiology at the university, headed by M. I. Skiadan, was opened in 1776. The first textbook on Physiology was prepared in 1836 by A. M. Filomafitskyi, a professor at Moscow University. The first thesis on Animal Physiology was written in 1794 by F. I. Barsuk-Moiseyev and was dedicated to the study of the respiratory mechanisms. It should be mentioned that the organic Chemistry achievements, the conservation law and energy conversion discovery, the cellular structure of the organism, the creation of the theory of the evolutionary development of the organic world, and so on, were vital for the National Physiology formation. The studies conducted by M. V. Lomonosov, who gave much credit to Chemistry in the physiological processes knowledge, should be especially highlighted (Kogan, 2004, pp. 124–128).

I. M. Sechenov, the Russian scientist was the first, who registered the electrical phenomena in the human central nervous system. In 1862 the scientist discovered the inhibition process in the central nervous system. O. O. Ukhtomskyi, Sechov's student developed the doctrine of the dominant as a working principle of nerve centers. Due to the research, S. P. Botkin and I. P. Pavlov formulated the concept of nervousness, which proved the role of the nervous system in the regulation of physiological processes in the body. The study of the nervous system influence on the vital functions of the organism became a traditional direction of the Soviet Physiology (Sorokina, 2012, pp. 52–54).

Professor I. P. Pavlov made a special contribution to the Domestic Physiology formation, established the digestive glands activity patterns, the nervous regulation mechanism, the digestive juices formation dynamics. The Professor revealed the conditioned reflexes mechanisms of formation and inhibition. Furthermore, I. P. Pavlov founded a well-known scientific school, which developed the basic issues of human and Animal Physiology. Hence, L. O. Orbeli established the trophic influence of the nervous system, developed the adaptive-trophic theory of the sympathetic innervation, and laid the foundation of the evolutionary Physiology. One more researcher, K. M. Bykov found out the brain's large hemispheres influence on the organs functionality, the conditioned reflexes formation from the interceptors. V. V. Parin contributed to the introduction of Mathematics, Cybernetics, Radio Electronics in the study of Physiology (Zagrina, 2009, pp. 49–50).

The General Physiology evolved in the Ukrainian lands in 1805 – 1861, when it became a disciplinary science, the first specialized departments were opened at the Natural Sciences and Medicine Faculties. Hence, the subject Physiology as part of the Natural Sciences and Botany general course began in 1819 at Kharkiv University Natural Sciences Faculty, which was later called “The Three Kingdoms of Nature Review”. F. O. Delyavin, Würzburg and Erlangen Universities graduate, a Frenchman by origin, was invited to conduct the subject. As time passed by, Professor V. M. Chernyaev, the famous botanist taught Physiology from 1826

to 1844. During 1844 – 1857, Doctor of Zoology O. V. Cherkas taught a course in Comparative Anatomy, in which he presented material on Physiology. In 1857 the Comparative Anatomy and Animals Physiology singled out as the independent course from Zoology, which was taught by the talented scientist O. F. Maslovskiy (Shvalb, Ghlybycjka & Stavnycjka, 2007, pp. 44–48).

At Kharkiv University Medical Faculty, the students took a course in “Anatomy, Physiology, Forensic Medicine and Medical Police”. In 1805 the Human Anatomy and Physiology Department was opened, and L. Y. Vannoti made considerable efforts to establish it. His successor, I. D. Knyhin was a student at Moscow University and Medical and Surgical School at Moscow Land Hospital. Since 1829, Professor O. S. Venedyktov conducted the course, and then I. F. Leonov taught the course. The longest period, up to 1863, the course of Physiology, combined with General Pathology, was read by Professor I. Y. Kalenychenko. The Professor tried to introduce laboratory classes in Physiology (Bagalei, 1906, pp. 56–62). The Farm Animals Physiology Department at Kharkiv Veterinary Institute played an important role in the formation of Kharkiv Center for the Physiology Development. In 1851, Professor H. A. Palyuta taught a course in Zoophysiology.

Due to the Medical Faculty organization at the University of Kyiv in 1834, an equally progressive scientific center for the Physiology Development was formed. From 1842, lectures on Human Physiology were given by Professor E. E. Miram, while Anatomy course was lectured by Professor O. P. Walter. In particular, Professor O. P. Walter studied the effect of temperature on the activity of internal organs and systems of both warm-blooded and cold-blooded animals (Vladimirskii-Budanov, 1884, pp. 48–49).

Hence, the emergence of General Physiology in the Ukrainian lands took place during 1805 – 1861. Initially, General Physiology took shape as a disciplinary science, the first specialized departments were opened at Kharkiv and Kyiv universities Natural Sciences and Medicine Faculties. During the 50-ies of the XIXth century, General Physiology branched out the Farm Animals Physiology as an independent science. The founders of General Physiology in the Ukrainian lands include the following professors: O. P. Walter, O. S. Venedyktov, I. F. Leonov, E. E. Miram, V. M. Chernyaev, and others.

During the following period, which covered 1861 – 1917, Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Odesa General Physiology development centers in the Ukrainian lands functioned. It should be noted that Kharkiv University scientists made a significant contribution to the Physiology scientific foundations development. Since 1884, Professor I. P. Shchelkov taught the Physiology course at the Natural Sciences Faculty entrusted to. Two years later the talented scientist headed the Physiology Department at the Medicine Faculty until 1886. For the first time, the Professor established the qualitative originality of gas exchange of tetanized muscles (Bulankin, 1955, pp. 47–48). Furthermore, the Professor described the role of carbohydrates in muscle contraction. Spectrographically investigated the quantitative difference between the content of hemoglobin in the blood of man and horse, this discovery became significant for the Evolutionary Physiology. He created a physiological research laboratory, introduced the systematic laboratory classes, and prepared a textbook on Physiology, the first issue of which in 1871 was devoted to the Physiology of the nervous system. In addition, Professor I. P. Shchelkov prepared numerous students, the most prominent of whom were: zoologist and pathophysiological, founder of the phagocytic theory of immunity I. I. Mechnikov, physiologist V. Y. Danylevskiy, comparative physiologist M. F. Biletskyi, hematologist S. P. Alferov, and the others. In particular, M. F. Biletskyi became one of the founders of Domestic Comparative Physiology. In his fundamental monograph “Physiology of the Fish Air Bladder” (1883) Professor I. P. Shchelkov

set out the provisions on the gases composition of the closed and open gas bladders considering different species of fish, the nature of the gas exchange between the bladder and blood (Shvalb, Ghlybycjka & Stavnycjka, 2007, pp. 88–89).

During 1882 – 1887, one of the most prominent domestic physiologists, biologists, and antistologists, V. Ya. Danylevskiy, taught a course in Physiology. The renowned scientist developed the following problems: 1) the higher parts of the brain nervous system physiology; 2) the muscular activity physiology; 3) humoral regulation of life processes; 4) blood parasites. One of the outstanding works of that time was his monograph called “Studies in the Physiology of the Brain” (1876). Based on experimental facts, he put forward a position on the leading role of the cerebral cortex in the regulation of the autonomic functions of higher animals and humans. V. Ya. Danylevskiy left significant developments concerning the Peripheral Nervous System and Electrophysiology functioning. V. Ya. Danylevskiy studied the summation phenomenon of the electrical excitations occurring in the vagus nerve thoroughly. In addition, the researcher studied the effect of chemical stimuli on the peripheral nervous system. Moreover, V. Ya. Danilevskiy’s Electrophysiological Studies are crucial, as the fluctuations of the electrical potential of the cerebral cortex in dogs were discovered, which occurred when its functional state changed. In essence, his discovery laid the foundations of modern Electroencephalography. V. Ya. Danylevskiy paid considerable attention to the study of the physiological action of the electromagnetic field, the influence of diathermic currents. V. Ya. Danylevskiy’s research on labor physiology is original (State archive of Kharkiv region, f. 928, d. 2, c. 32, pp. 44–46). The search in the field of humoral regulators of life processes was indicative of the scientist. He developed a method for obtaining the protein-free alcohol-water extracts from the endocrine organs. V. Ya. Danylevskiy is the pathogenic protozoa doctrine founder, which can be found in the blood and hematopoietic organs. Moreover, the scientist developed the basics of humans and birds protozoa combating. The above-mentioned block of works took the world by the storm and brought him worldwide recognition. V. Ya. Danylevskiy founded the first specialized journal in Russia, which was called “Physiological Collection” (1888). The researcher published the textbook under the following title “Human Physiology” (1913), written in 2 volumes, in which he taught this field of knowledge not as an appendix to medicine, but as one of the most important biological sciences (SAKhR, f. 928, d. 3, c. 101, pp. 1–2).

As V. Ya. Danylevskiy became the Physiology Department Head at the Medical Faculty, the Nature Sciences Department of Physics and Mathematics Faculty at the university lost the Human and Animal Physiology laboratory. In addition, 1894 is considered to be the new period, when the laboratory was headed by M. F. Byelousov. He studied the sea anemones neuromuscular apparatus and the digestive system. In 1911 M. F. Byelousov managed to create the mechanical workshops at the department (Bagalei, 1906, pp. 124–126).

It should be highlighted that the Farm Animal Physiology Department at Kharkiv Veterinary Institute was crucial for the development of Physiology in Kharkiv. Professor H. A. Palyuta carried on conducting the Zoophysiology course from 1851 to 1879. One more peculiar feature was that the department was headed jointly by diverse prominent figures. For instance, Professor V. Ya. Danylevskiy shared responsibilities with Professor H. A. Palyuta from 1870 to 1882 and Professor M. V. Ryazantsev headed jointly the department from 1895, who for the first time made an isolated ventricle of rennet in ruminants and determined the acidity of the rennet juice, established its digestive power and explored the rennet secretion continuity (SAKhR, f. R-1773, d. 11, pp. 45–48; SAKhR, f. 928, d. 1, c. 22, pp. 12–16).

Consequently, the physiological research intensified at the University of Kyiv. From 1865 to 1883 the department was headed by Professor V. B. Tomsa, who was the experimental physiology basics developer. The Professor left original works on the physiology of lymphatic vessels, lymph formation, on the innervation of the skin and blood capillaries, the physiology of the nucleus of the sympathetic nerve cell, on blood circulation in the skin, on the anatomy and physiology of the skin. Furthermore, Professor V. B. Tomsa had talented students: P. F. Sukhanov, O. L. Rava, M. O. Rohovich and others. In 1884 the department was headed by Professor S. I. Chyryev, Professor I. M. Sechenov's former student. His research activities focused on the study of the electrical phenomena in nervous and muscular tissues, histology and physiology of the central nervous system and the physiology of the senses, the physiology of the cycle. Professor S. I. Chyryev was one of the first, who described sensitive nerve endings. In 1899 he published a textbook, which was called "Human Physiology" (Vladimirskii-Budanov, 1884, pp. 186–190). His successor at the department was a talented scientist, Professor V. Yu. Chahovets. V. Yu. Chahovets studied the mechanisms of bioelectric potentials formation, nerves and muscles irritation by electric current. The Professor made the first attempt to explain the biological potentials, developed the physicochemical basis of modern Electrophysiology. Professor V. Yu. Chahovets gained world fame as an electrophysiologist, who was called the "Russian Helmholtz". Due to his efforts, the physiological laboratory at the University of Kyiv became one of the best in the Russian Empire. At that time, a private associate professor of the University I. V. Belhovskiy developed a method of forming a small ventricle from the abomasum of calves, which was of great scientific interest for Zootechnical Physiology.

Professor O. V. Leontovych, who worked at Professor's S. I. Chyryev Physiology Department, made a significant contribution to the development of physiological research in Kyiv. For the first time, O. V. Leontovych established a double innervation of the skin with the cerebrospinal and autonomic (sympathetic) nerve fibers, which was established in other organs. As a result, the principle of double innervation discovery became important in modern Physiology. O. V. Leontovych headed the Physiology Department at Kyiv Polytechnic Institute until 1913 (Zhmudskiy, 1959, pp. 168–172).

Novorossiysk University was opened in 1865 as the third scientific center that played an important role in the General Physiology development in the Ukrainian lands. Initially, there was not any independent Physiology Department, hence, Doctor of Medical Sciences N. O. Bernshtein taught this discipline. The scientist studied the regulation of heat in the body, the mechanism of activity of the pulmonary-gastric nerve. Moreover, Bernshtein prepared a guide to Special Physiology (Bernshtein, 1868). In 1870, the Experimental Physiology Department was organized, and renowned Professor I. M. Syechenov was approved as its head. He continued to develop physiology issues in the following areas: the blood gases, nervous system and psychophysiology physiology. Professor I. M. Syechenov obtained important data on the respiratory function of the blood, in particular, proved that erythrocytes carry not only oxygen but also carbon dioxide from the tissues to the lungs. The Professor was the first, who discovered the carbhemoglobin, showed that the chemical bond between hemoglobin and carbon dioxide is weaker than its bond with oxygen, due to which the lungs rapidly displace carbon dioxide from this compound and replace it with oxygen. Professor I. M. Syechenov performed a number of studies on the nervous system physiology (Krichun, 1940, pp. 24–26). The next 40 years of research in physiology were headed by I. M. Syechenov's closest students, for example, P. A. Spiro, and from 1894

B. F. Verigo, keeping the subject initiated by him. In addition, P. A. Spiro paid much attention to psychophysiological issues. In 1892, the physiological laboratory at the university organized the first laboratory of experimental psychology in the Russian Empire, which was headed by Professor M. M. Lange. B. F. Verigo became famous due to the cathodic depression phenomenon discovery. In addition, B. F. Verigo paid considerable attention to general biological problems: heredity, sex, the cycle of matter and energy. Moreover, B. F. Verigo published two volumes of the textbook, which were called “Fundamentals of Human and Higher Animal Physiology” (1905, 1910) (Vasilev, 2010, pp. 310).

In 1914 Professor B. P. Babkin, I. P. Pavlov’s former student, the author of the famous monograph “External Secretion of the Digestive Glands” was appointed the Physiology Department head. I. S. Beritov made a significant contribution to the formation of the laboratory, formalizing the law of conjugate irradiation of excitation in the central nervous system. Furthermore, the scientist carried out original studies of the reciprocal innervation of skeletal muscles, as well as the role of the refractory phase in the activity of neuromuscular drugs (Jurzhenko, 1968, pp. 238–242).

Hence, the period of 1861 – 1917 is connected with the Kharkiv, Kyiv and Odesa scientific centers functioning, the Animal Physiology Departments opening at Veterinary and Agricultural Institutes, their material equipment and staff improvement. The decisive contribution was made by the following scientists: I. M. Syechenov, B. F. Verigo, I. P. Shchelkov, V. Ya. Danylevskiy, V. Yu. Chahovets, and others.

According to our research, the next period of the General Physiology development in the Ukrainian lands covered the 20–30-ies of the XXth century, was marked by the creation of new Physiology Departments and laboratories at universities, Pedagogical, Agricultural, Veterinary, Zootechnical and other institutes, as well as the organization of independent Physiology Research Institutes and large Physiological departments at some institutions. The Human and Animal Physiology Department at Kharkiv University carried on working activity, which until 1929 was headed by Professor M. F. Byelousov. Moreover, there was the division into the Physiology and Biological Chemistry Departments, which happened when Professor O. V. Nahornyj was at the head of the department. The scientist focused his efforts on the problems of aging and longevity. The Ontophysiology issue became the paramount one concerning the physiological research development at the university. As a result, Professor O. V. Nahornyj published fundamental monographs, for instance, “Life, Old Age and Death”, written in 1923, “The Problem of Aging and Death”, written in 1935, “The Problem of Aging and Longevity”, written in 1940, which summarized the available factual material on the theory of aging and ontogenesis, determined the direction of further work in this area. Consequently, Professor O. V. Nahornyj and his students I. M. Bulankin, V. M. Nikitin, A. A. Rubanovska, I. D. Shumenko, V. I. Makhinko, R. I. Holubitska, H. P. Lytovchenko described the morphological, colloid-chemical, biochemical and physiological changes of organisms in ontogenesis (Voroncov, Nikitin, Sjerkov, 1950, pp. 58–65).

Since 1926, the Human Physiology Department at Kharkiv Medical Institute was headed by I. P. Pavlov’s one of the most talented students, G. W. Volborth. The prominent researcher studied the digestion physiology, created a new non-surgical technique for the formation of a double combined biliary fistula, studied the bile secretion and bile excretion stimuli. In addition, G. W. Volborth studied the stomach secretion and discovered the secretory effect of the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system. G. W. Volborth described the depletion phenomenon and body recovery process (Cyghanenko, Kryvonosov & Kravchun,

2002, pp. 220–228). Moreover, G. W. Volborth was awarded the I. P. Pavlova Prize, due to the achievements and published works, namely the collections, for instance, the “Exhaustion and Recovery Processes Physiology” (1941), “Fatigue and Recovery Processes Physiology” (1951), “Fatigue and Recovery Processes Physiology Issues” (1958). The study on the higher nervous activity and conditioned inhibition is considered to be the third area of G. W. Volborth’s and his students’ research (Lisovyi, 2010, pp. 152–156).

In 1926, V. Ya. Danylevskiy founded the Ukrainian Organ-Therapeutic Institute (the future Ukrainian Institute of Experimental Endocrinology), which became the leading center of endocrinological research in the USSR. In 1926, a Physiological Department was established, which was headed by Ye. K. Prykhod’kova, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The Physiological Department’s main tasks’, at the head of Ye. K. Prykhod’kova was to clarify the pathophysiological basis of hypertension, physiologically normal spectrum of hormones for the nervous, cardiovascular and other body systems. E. M. Kahan, who headed the Occupational Physiology Laboratory at the Ukrainian Central Institute of Occupational Hygiene and Occupational Diseases, developed the Occupational Physiology issue. In addition to it, the scientist proved the possibility of applying energy methods to address the issues of rational construction of the labor process, establishing the sequence of work and rest alternation, the pace and rhythm of work.

The Physiology and Biochemistry Department was opened at Kharkiv Zootechnical Institute in 1925. It was headed by Professors J. V. Kronstadt, since 1930 by M. F. Byelousov, and since 1933 by V. M. Nikitin, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Numerous issues were developed at the department, for instance, Age Zootechnical Physiology, digestion of ruminants and physiology and biochemistry of lactation issues. The Department of Physiology at the Kharkiv Veterinary Institute was headed by Professor M. G. Ponirovskiy. The Professor studied the coronary vessels of the heart innervation, the thyroid gland influence on the gastric juice and salivation secretion, the electrolytes importance in the occurrence and development of multiphase in the action of hormones and the nervous system in anaphylaxis. Professor M. G. Ponirovskiy brought in a method of studying the isolated heart innervation, deep organs and tissues electric stimulation, fistula method of obtaining sperm, etc (SAKhR, f. 928, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 12–14).

The Human and Animal Physiology issues were developed actively in Kyiv scientific centers. Professor V. Yu. Chahovets decided to change his place of work, as a result, he started working at Kyiv Medical Institute, which was organized on the basis of the Medical Faculty at the University of Kyiv. Professor V. Yu. Chahovets headed the Normal Physiology Department. However, his main work was connected with the Research Institute of Occupational Health and Occupational Diseases, where he headed the Electrophysiology Department. The Professor studied the skin-electrical reflexes, the action of currents on human skeletal muscles under different working conditions. Mechanical workshops were established at the institute, where galvanometers, Helmholtz pendulums and other physiological devices were manufactured. In 1939 V. Yu. Chahovets was elected as a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Goncharuk, 1991, pp. 164–168).

Since 1938 O. V. Leontovych worked at the Clinical Physiology Institute at the USSR Academy of Sciences, was a full member since 1929. The scientist studied the nervous system histophysiology, found out new facts about the blood vessels’ innervation. Moreover, O. V. Leontovych mastered the technique of working with a string galvanometer, developed his own method of making strings and conducted a number of studies in Electrocardiography.

In 1916 O. V. Leontovych wrote an original textbook on the Farm Animals Physiology, which was republished four times. One more renowned figure was Professor O. A. Krontovskiy as he played an important role in Histophysiology development. From 1924 he headed the Biology and Experimental Medicine Department at the Kyiv X-ray Institute. In addition, Professor O. A. Krontovskiy studied the application of the tissue cultures method in endocrinology (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sjerkov, 1959, pp. 118–121).

O. O. Bogomolets, one of the most prominent physiologists and pathophysiologicalists of Ukraine, the USSR Academy of Sciences President, Academician worked in Kyiv from 1930 to 1946. O. O. Bogomolets is the author of diverse outstanding works in the field of Age Physiology and Metabolism Pathophysiology and Endocrinology. In 1934 O. O. Bogomolets founded the Clinical Physiology Institute at the USSR Academy of Sciences. The starting point for the aging theory developed by the scientist is his idea of the exceptional importance concerning the connective tissue in the body (Stupak, 2002, pp. 68–72).

A. I. Yemchenko was of the Animal Physiology Department Head at the Biology Faculty at Kyiv University since 1932. The scientist studied the acids and salts effects on the heart, the digestion physiology, higher nervous activity. From 1935, the Human Physiology Department at Kyiv Medical Institute was headed by Professor D. S. Vorontsov. The Professor studied the physiological properties of motor nerve endings in skeletal muscles, in particular the phenomenon of pessimum. Numerous vital studies were conducted at Kyiv Veterinary Institute by Professor S. Yu. Yaroslav, in particular on the digestion physiology, blood circulation, lymph movement, breast physiology, electrocardiography (Borodai, 2012, pp. 80–81).

Furthermore, the above-mentioned period is characterized by an increase in the number of physiological departments and laboratories in Odesa. Hence, the Normal Physiology Department was organized at Odesa Medical Academy in 1920, which was later reorganized into a Medical Institute. The paramount leaders were professors B. P. Babkin and A. M. Melik-Megrabov (since 1922), as well as scientists I. N. Sribner, H. S. Lurie, A. O. Voinar, V. E. Mayevskiy, M. A. Rosenberg made a significant contribution to its formation. During the 1920-ies, the basics of the respiration and blood circulation physiology were developed, and carried on the studies on immunity, which were instigated by B. F. Verigo (Verigo, 1896, pp. 199–200). The outcome is the received a number of new important facts about the characteristics of anaphylaxis and anaphylactic shock. In the 1930-ies, along with the gas exchange studies, the functional changes in various body systems in sensitized animals were studied. Considerable attention was paid to the humoral changes establishment in the body during anaphylaxis, the conclusion was made about the special role of choline-like substances in the development of anaphylactic shock. Among other works of this period, it is necessary to note the research on the reflex regulation of a rhythm of the respiratory center, and also viscerovisceral reflexes. (Jurzhenko, 1968, pp. 288–296).

During the 1920-ies and 1930-ies, Physiology Departments and Physiological Laboratories were organized in Agricultural, Pharmaceutical, and Pedagogical Institutes, as well as in research institutes – Psychoneurological, Dental, Balneology, Tuberculosis, and eye diseases. Hence, Professor E. I. Synelnykov was the Physiology Department Head at Odesa Pharmaceutical Institute, and since 1937 this position took over R. J. Feitelberg. The scientists developed the digestive tract physiology and viscerovisceral reflexes issues. The Physiology Department at Odesa Agricultural Institute, established in 1930, was headed by L. A. Yegunov, and since 1932 by R. J. Feitelberg. On the basis of the Physiology Department

at Odesa Agricultural Institute, a study on the Farm Animals Physiology was carried out. In addition, diverse issues were studied, for instance, the pleural receptors irritation effect on the activity of the salivary glands, stomach, liver and kidneys (Voroncov, Nikitin, & Sjerkov, 1959, pp. 182–186).

The Physiology Department at Odessa Pedagogical Institute was organized in 1926. The scientist E. I. Synelnykov was in charge of its management until 1931, then R. J. Feitelberg. The department ceased its activity in 1938 due to the closure of the Biology Faculty (Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Management of Ukraine, f. 166, d. 2. c. 454, pp. 12–14). The original researches were performed at Odesa Psychoneurological Institute. Professor E. I. Synelnykov was at the head of the Physiological Laboratory until 1934 and the viscerovisceral reflexes mechanisms were studied. It has been proven that the reflex interactions between the abdominal organs can occur without the spinal cord involvement. The sympathetic and vagus nerves effect on the vascular system of the brain was studied (Smyntyna, 2005, pp. 444–446). The above-mentioned experimental data formed the basis of the cerebrovascular dystonia doctrine created by the director of the institute, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor H. I. Markelov. The influence of light and darkness on the functions of various organs was established (Jurzhenko, 1968, pp. 186–192).

The peculiarity of this period was that the research centers and educational institutions on Physiology were open in other regions of Ukraine. The Animal Physiology Department at Dnipropetrovsk Higher Institute of Public Education was founded in 1921. Professor V. M. Arkhanhelskyi was the first Head of the Animal Physiology Department, conducted research on the skin and motor analyzers physiology, studied the sex hormones effect on higher nervous activity in dogs. In 1936, with the support of Professor I. P. Pavlov, the Physiology Research Institute was opened at Dnipropetrovsk University, which studied mainly the physiological effects of the ultrahigh-frequency electric field. There were the following laboratories: Biophysics, Biochemistry, Histology and Animal Physiology. The influence of the ultrafrequency field on: the gas exchange (the research was conducted by P. M. Zubenko), the thyroid gland (G. T. Chukmasova studied the issue), the urination (T. M. Kozenko carried out the research), the reflex activity (D. O. Kocherha, G. Ya. Sych worked on the issue), the sympathetic nervous system (P. Ye. Motsnyi paid attention to the issue). One more researcher, B. O. Aleksenko studied morphological changes occurring under the influence of UHF in some endocrine glands.

In 1931, the Normal Physiology Department was organized at the Crimean Medical Institute. Until 1938, it was headed by T. T. Hurveyev, G. W. Volborth's a student. The scientist's research was aimed at studying the humoral effects on the secretion of gastric glands, the effect of afferent stimuli and the cerebral cortex on the salivation process. Since 1938, the department's staff research was carried out under Professor N. S. Spaskyi guidance and aimed at the further study of the physiology of the salivary glands, in particular, the hormones influence on the processes of absorption.

In 1931 Stalin (now Donetsk) Medical Institute Physiology Department was established, which was headed by V. Ya. Danylevskyi's and G. W. Volborth's students: M. M. Kudryavtsev, and then O. B. Feldman. The central inhibition was studied, as well as changes in the processes of excitation and inhibition under conditions of functional stress of the central nervous system, changes in cortical unconditional reflexes with repeated and prolonged stimuli. The Normal Physiology Department at Vinnytsya Medical Institute was established in 1934. The work was carried out on the physiological laboratory organization and its equipment.

In addition, Poltava became an important center for the Zootechnical Physiology development, where the digestive problems physiology and reproductive system of farm animals were developed by the All-Union Research Institute of Pig Breeding and the Animal Physiology Department at Poltava Agricultural Institute headed by Academician O. V. Kvasnytskyi (Borodai, 2012, pp. 308–310). The All-Union Research Institute of Animal Hybridization and Acclimatization (Askania-Nova) made a significant contribution to the General and Zootechnical Physiology development. Professor I. I. Ivanov conducted the research on the animals' artificial insemination, the study of biological properties and biochemistry of sperm, the biochemistry of sperm. The scientist also studied the remote hybridization issues in order to understand the germ cells' biocompatibility of different species issues. The original studies were performed by Professor M. M. Zavadovskyi in the study of hormonal effects on the sexual characteristics development in animals (CDAVO, f. 4861, d. 1, c. 2009, pp. 8–12).

The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research. Taking everything into consideration, the General Physiology formation in the Ukrainian lands happened due to the evolution of world biological science influence. During 1805 – 1861, the first Physiological Departments were established at national universities at the faculties of Natural and Medical Sciences, and General Physiology as a disciplinary science was formed thanks to the efforts of professors O. P. Walter, O. S. Venediktov, I. F. Leonov, and E. E. Mirama, V. M. Chernyaeva and others. In 1861 – 1917, Animal Physiology Departments were opened at Veterinary and Agricultural Institutes, and their material equipment and staffing were improved. The renowned scientists I. M. Syechenov and B. F. Verigo (Odesa), I. P. Shchelkov and V. Ya. Danylevskyi (Kharkiv), and V. Yu. Chahovets (Kyiv) made a decisive contribution to their formation. During the 1920-ies and 1930-ies, the Physiology Departments functioned at universities, Pedagogical, Agricultural, Veterinary, and Zootechnical Institutes. Numerous independent physiology research institutes were established (Bogomolets Institute of Physiology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Physiology at Kyiv University, Institute of Experimental Endocrinology in Kharkiv, Institute of Physiology at Dnipropetrovsk University, etc.) as well as Physiological Departments at some scientific institutions in different regions of Ukraine, the methodological and theoretical bases of research programs were developed. The range of scientific fields expanded, although it remains uneven, duplicated in the subject of many scientific institutions and educational institutions. The most thoroughly developed issues were the nerves and muscles physiology, electrophysiology and biophysics, comparative and age physiology, endocrinology. Diverse issues concerning the analyzers physiology, brainstem, autonomic nervous system, respiration and excretion, thermoregulation, etc. were studied to some extent. The researchers S. Yu. Yaroslav and E. I. Synelnykov made a significant contribution to the circulatory and lymphatic systems physiology foundations development and the excretion processes; the scientists V. Ya. Danylevskyi and M. O. Rogovich provided vital data on Endocrinology; the Professors G. W. Volborth, A. M. Vorobyov, J. P. Sklyarov, A. I. Yemchenko, R. J. Feitelberg, T. T. Hurveyev found out the essential data concerning digestion. The higher nervous system physiology issues were studied by V. P. Prototypov; the autonomic nervous system – G. P. Markelov; the analyzers – V. M. Arkhanhelskyi; nerves and muscles – D. S. Vorontsov, P. H. Kostyuk, P. M. Serkov. Biological science was enriched by research on the labour physiology, which was conducted by I. M. Syechenov, V. Ya. Danylevskyi, E. M. Kahan, V. M. Vasilevskyi. A new direction formed up: the Farm Animals Physiology. Consequently, A. V. Kvasnytskyi, V. M. Nikitin, Kh. T. Arskyi, and others made contribution to its formation.

Acknowledgement. The author expresses gratitude to V. A. Verhunov, the National Scientific Agricultural Library Director at the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine for facilitating research.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bagaley, D. I. (1906). *Kratkii ocherk istorii Kharkovskogo universiteta za pervye sto let ego su-shchestvovaniia (1805–1905) [A brief outline of the history of Kharkov University in the first hundred years of its existence (1805 – 1905)]*. Kharkiv, 329 p. [in Russian]

Bernstein, N. O. (1868). *Rukovodstvo k chastnoi fiziologii [A guide to Private Physiology]*. Odessa, 312 p. [in Russian]

Bulankin, I. N. (1955). 150-letie Kharkovskogo universiteta [150th anniversary of Kharkov University]. *Vestnik vysshei shkoly – High School Bulletin*, 4, 46–51. [in Russian]

Borodai, I. S. (2012). *Teoretyko-metodologichni osnovy stanovlennja ta rozvytku vitchyznjanoji zootehniknoji nauky [Theoretical and methodological foundations of the domestic zootechnical science formation and development]*. Vinnytsia, 416 p. [in Ukrainian]

Vasilev, Yu. K. (2010). Professor B. F. Verigo (1860 – 1825) v Odesse i ego deiatelnost v obshchestve Odesskikh vrachei [Professor B. F. Verigo (1860 – 1825) in Odessa and his activities in the society of Odessa doctors]. *Fiziologichnii zhurnal – Physiological journal*, 56 (2), 310. [in Russian]

Verigo, B. F. (1896). Ob immunitete [On Immunity]. *Yuzhno-russkaya meditsinskaya gazeta – South-Russian medical newspaper*, 17, 199–202. [in Russian]

Vladimirskiy-Budanov, M. F. (1884). *Istoriia Imperatorskogo Universiteta Sviatogo Vladimira [St. Vladimir Imperial University History]* (in 2 volumes, v.2). Kyiv, 598 p. [in Russian]

Vorontsov, D. S., Nikitin, V. M., & Syerkov, P. M. (1959). *Narysy z istoriji fiziologhiji na Ukrajinii [Essays on the Physiology History in Ukraine]*. Kyiv, 231 p. [in Ukrainian]

Holovko, V. O., Ruban, Yu. D., & Kandyba, V. M. (ed. col.). (2006). *Istoriia Kharkivskoji derzhavnoji zooveterynarnoji akademiji. 155 rokiv [Kharkiv State Zooveterinary Academy History. 155 years]*. Kharkiv, 496 p. [in Ukrainian]

Goncharuk, E. I. (ed.). (1991). *150 let Kievskomu meditsinskomu institutu [150 years of Kyiv Medical Institute]*. Kyiv, 264 p. [in Russian]

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kharkivskoi oblasti (SAKhR – State Archives of Kharkiv region)

Zhmudskiy, O. Z. (ed.). (1959). *Istoriia Kyjivskoho universytetu (1834 – 1959) [Kyiv University History (1834 – 1959)]*. Kyiv, 629 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zagrina, N. A. (2009). Nauchno-pedagogicheskaja shkola akademika I. P. Pavlova [Academician I. P. Pavlov's Scientific and Pedagogical School]. *Vestnik Rossiiskoi akademii meditsinskikh nauk – Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences*, 3, 48–52. [in Russian]

Kogan, A. B. (ed.). (1984). *Fiziologija cheloveka i zhivotnykh (obshchaia i evoliucionno-ekologicheskaja) [Humans and Animals Physiology (General and Evolutionary-ecological)]* (in 2 hours, Part 1). Moscow, 359 p. [in Russian]

Krichun, A. V. (1940). Odesskii universitet v 1865 – 1899 gg. [Odessa University in 1865 – 1899]. *Odesskii universitet za 75 let (1865 – 1940) – Odessa University for 75 years (1865 – 1940)* (pp. 5–48). Odessa. [in Russian]

Lisovy, V. M. (ed.). (2010). *Vydadni vykhovanci Kharkivskoji vyshhoji medychnoji shkoly: biblioghrafichnyj dovidnyk [Kharkiv Higher Medical School Outstanding Pupils: Bibliographic Reference]*. Kharkiv, 208 p. [in Ukrainian]

Marynzha, L. (2011). V. Ja. Danylevskij. Uchenyj bezmeznykh upodobanj [V. Ya. Danylevskiy. A scientist of boundless tastes]. *Istoriia medycyny – History of Medicine*, 15–16, 66–67. [in Ukrainian]

Samoilov, V. O. (2005). *Illustrirovannyi ocherk istorii fiziologii [Illustrated sketch on the History of Physiology]*. St. Petersburg, 129 p. [in Russian]

Smyntyna, V. A. (2005). *Profesory Odeskoho (Novorosijjskoho) universytetu: bihrafichnyi slovnyk [Odessa (Novorossiysk) University Professors: Biographical Dictionary]*. (in 4 volumes, vol. 4). (2nd type.). Odessa, 616 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sorokina, T. S. (2012). *Lektii po istorii fiziologii v Rossii (XIX – pervaia tret XX veka) [Lectures on the history of physiology in Russia (XIXth – first third of the XXth century)]*. Moscow, 103 p. [in Ukrainian]

Stupak, F. Ya. (2002). *Narys istoriji Nacionaljnogho medychnogho universytetu imeni O. O. Boghomoljca [Essay on the history of the O. O. Bogomolets National Medical University]*. Kyiv, 108 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukrainy (CSTAHAAU – Central State Archive of the highest authorities and administration of Ukraine)

Tsihanenko, A. Ya., Kryvonosov, M. V. & Kravchun, P. H. (ed.). (2002). *Vcheni Kharkivskoho derzhavnoho medychnoho universytetu, 1805 – 2005 [Kharkiv State Medical University Scientists, 1805 – 2005]*. Kharkiv, 470 p. [in Ukrainian]

Schwalb, M. G., Hlybyska, S. B. & Stavnytska, R. A. (ed.). (2007). *Istorija Kharkivskoho universytetu 1804 – 2006 [Kharkiv University History 1804 – 2006]* (in 3 volumes, Vol. 1). Kharkiv, 283 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yurzhenko, O. I. (ed.). (1968). *Istorija Odeskoho universytetu za 100 rokov (1865 – 1965) [Odessa University History for 100 years (1865 – 1965)]*. Kyiv, 423 p. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on January 09, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 37.035:355.01:355.311.1(438)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210901

Liudmyla PETRYSHYN

PhD hab. (Education), Associate Professor, Department of Social Pedagogy and Social Work of Ternopol Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, 2 Maxim Kryvonos Street, Ternopol, Ukraine, postal code 46027 (ludmyla.petryshyn@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4506-1523>
ResearcherID: I-8571-2018

Inna DEMUZ

PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Chief Researcher of the Department of scientific and methodical work and abstracting, National Scientific Agricultural Library of the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv), 10 Heroiv Oborony Street, Kyiv, postal code 03127, Ukraine (demuz_inna@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5936-2386>
ResearcherID: D-9510-2019

Людмила ПЕТРИШИН

докторка педагогічних наук, доцентка, професорка кафедри соціальної педагогіки та соціальної роботи Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, вул. М. Кривоноса, 2, м. Тернопіль, Україна, індекс 46027 (ludmyla.petryshyn@gmail.com)

Інна ДЕМУЗ

докторка історичних наук, доцентка, головний науковий співробітник відділу науково-методичної роботи та реферування Національної наукової сільськогосподарської бібліотеки НААН (м. Київ), вул. Героїв Оборони, 10, м. Київ, індекс 03127, Україна (demuz_inna@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Petryshyn, L. & Demuz, I. (2020). Military education in the Army of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807 – 1815). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 50–62. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210901

**MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE ARMY
OF THE DUCHY OF WARSAW (1807 – 1815)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research consists in, primarily, studying the historical and educational aspects of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw during 1807 – 1815; outlining the directions of a military education; conducting a historical and pedagogical analysis of the military education process aimed at forming a soldier-citizen's patriotism. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematization, scientificity, verification, an authorial objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, an anthropological approach, as well as special historical methods (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic). The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time in the Ukrainian historical science the forms and content of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw of 1807 – 1815 (in Polish –*

Księstwo Warszawskie) have been analyzed; the directions of a military education have been determined; the historical and educational aspects of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw of 1807 – 1815 have been specified. **The Conclusions.** The system of education in a civil and military schooling during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw was entirely national. In general, as a result of educational work based on the best traditions of T. Kosciuszko uprising and the functioning of the legions, the armed forces became a school of patriotism, which made it possible to understand that the Duchy of Warsaw provided freedom of the personality and the opportunity to pursue a military career as a citizen-soldier. The educational activities focused on the awakening of a sincere patriotism and a national consciousness in young people, the formation of love of the native language, history, Polish customs and traditions, and national affiliation. The study of historical and educational aspects of a military education provides an opportunity to state that the army of the Duchy of Warsaw, according to the personnel and organizational concept, was a national army that adhered to the democratic direction of education, which formed military, national and social virtues, which in its turn created a positive image of the army of the Duchy of Warsaw in the society. Internal relations in the Polish army were based on respect for historical victories in the past, which in turn determined the process of a military education aimed at forming a soldier–citizen–statesman, deeply patriotic, nationally conscious and loyal to his country. It is important that during this period two directions of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw were singled out at the same time: the first direction promoted the ideas of an absolute discipline, complete obedience and order; the second direction of a military education advocated the continuation of the soldiers education in the traditions of T. Kosciuszko and legionnaires.

Ключові слова: the Duchy of Warsaw, a military education, directions of a military education, general military training, patriotism, soldier-citizen.

ВІЙСЬКОВЕ ВИХОВАННЯ В АРМІЇ ВАРШАВСЬКОГО ГЕРЦОГСТВА (1807 – 1815)

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає насамперед у дослідженні історичних та освітніх аспектів військового виховання у Варшавському герцогстві 1807 – 1815 рр., окресленні напрямів військового виховання, історико-педагогічному аналізі процесу військового виховання, спрямованого на формування патріотизму солдата-громадянина. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, антропологічний підхід, а також використання спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історичній науці проаналізовано форми та зміст військового виховання у Варшавському герцогстві 1807 – 1815 рр., визначено напрями військового виховання та конкретизовано історичні та освітні аспекти військового виховання в Варшавському герцогстві 1807 – 1815 рр. **Висновки.** Система освіти у цивільному і військовому шкільництві доби Варшавського герцогства мала цілковито національний характер. Загалом, у результаті проведеної освітньо-виховної роботи, що базувалася на кращих традиціях Костюшківського повстання й функціонування легіонів, збройні сили ставали школою патріотизму, яка давала змогу зрозуміти, що Варшавське герцогство забезпечувало свободу особистості та можливість зреалізувати військову кар'єру солдата-громадянина. В освітньо-виховній діяльності зосереджували увагу на пробудженні в молоді щирого патріотизму й національної свідомості, формування любові до рідної мови, історії, польських звичаїв і традицій, національної приналежності. Дослідження історичних та освітніх аспектів військового виховання надає підставу констатувати, що армія Варшавського герцогства, відповідно до кадрово-організаційної концепції, була національною, дотримувалася демократичного напрямку виховання, який формував військові, національні й соціальні чесноти, що створювало позитивний імідж армії Варшавського герцогства у суспільстві. Внутрішні стосунки у польській армії базувалися на повазі до історичних звичаїв у минулому, що, зі свого боку, визначало процес військового виховання, націленого на формування солдата-громадянина-державотворця, глибоко патріотичного, національно свідомого та відданого своїй державі. Вагомим є те, що у цей період виокремилися два напрями військового виховання у Варшавському герцогстві: перший пропагував ідеї абсолютної дисципліни, повної покори і порядку, другий відстоював продовження виховання солдатів у традиціях Т. Костюшка та легіонерів.

Ключові слова: Варшавське герцогство, військове виховання, напрями військового виховання, загальновійськове навчання, патріотизм, солдат-громадянин.

The Problem Statement. Taking into account a constant scientific historiographical interest of the Ukrainian scholars in the problem of creating a new state on the map of Europe – the Duchy of Warsaw, nowadays, it becomes urgent to expand the scope of the research, paying attention to the fact that the foundations of its creation were laid by Napoleon in 1806. It was at that time when the Saxon Elector (*in German – Kurfürst*) received the title of King from the French Emperor. Grand Duke of Warsaw, Frederick Augustus II was crowned as Augustus III. This fact and the previously concluded the Rhine Alliance subordinated the Saxon kingdom directly to Napoleon. After the foundation of the Duchy of Warsaw in Warsaw in 1807, its constitutional status was published. In this context, the phenomenon of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw during 1807 – 1815 is of a special research interest. The importance of this topic is due to the identity of the new state on the map of Europe – the Duchy of Warsaw, and a significant (and still insufficiently studied) process of a military education aimed at forming patriotism of a soldier-citizen-statesman. Despite the steadily growing dynamics of the Ukrainian Polish studies, this topic has so far attracted little attention of the Ukrainian scholars.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. Nowadays, in the Ukrainian historical science the topic of historical and educational features of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw during 1807 – 1815 is poorly studied. It is clear that this problem was the subject of the research, primarily, of the Polish historians, who mostly paid attention to the liberation struggle of the Napoleonic Wars and the process of a national formation of the Polish ethnos during the era of “Napoleonic Poland” of the Duchy of Warsaw. In the context of the study of this topic, the researches of the Ukrainian scholars, which cover the fundamental historical and social aspects of the Polish statehood and the formation and activities of the Duchy of Warsaw, are of considerable interest, in particular: Adadurov V. (Polish Question in French-Austrian Relations of the Napoleonic Wars Era) (Adadurov, 1997), Vandal A. (Napoleon and Alexander I. The Franco-Russian Union during the First Empire) (Vandal, 1995), Hai-Nyzhnyk P., Zakharchuk O. (Slavic Lands of Central and Southern Europe in the Diplomacy of Napoleon Bonaparte (1805 – 1811)) (Hai-Nyzhnyk & Zakharchuk, 2011), Zakharchuk O. (Polish Question in the Diplomacy of Napoleonic France), Dylionhova H. (History of Poland 1795 – 1990) (Dylionhova, 2007), Zashkilnyak L. and Krykun M. (History of Poland: From the Ancient Times to the Present Day) (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002), Usenko P. (the Dutchy of Warsaw) (Usenko, 2003), Ishchenko Zh. (Polish Aspect in Napoleon’s Foreign Policy (1807 – 1812). A prominent place in the study of many aspects of our topic belongs to the Polish historiography. However, in the XIXth century the Polish issue in the relations of the great powers was assessed in the Polish historiography almost exclusively through the interpretation of the history of the Polish nation-formation process. As a result, the researchers focused, primarily, on the liberation struggle of the Napoleonic Wars epoch, which stimulated the process of a national self-awareness of the Polish ethnic group, as well as the history of “Napoleonic Poland” during the Duchy of Warsaw. It should be noted that Academician Vandal A. defined the policy of the Emperor Napoleon on Slavism precisely by the role of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807), in this context, he stated reasonably: “From the very beginning, Napoleon devised a coherent system. His first thought was to create in the territory of Germany, along its entire length, from the Rhine to the Vistula, a number of countries that would depend on France ... finally, at the end of this continuous line – the Grand Duchy of Warsaw – from the Polish provinces of Prussia” (Vandal, 1995, p. 112).

The fundamental works of the Polish historians of the period under study – Gorzycki W. (Gorzycki, 1921), Skarbek F. (Skarbek, 1897), Prądzyński I. (Prądzyński, 1894), Askenazy S.

(Askenazy, 1919), Handelsman M. (Handelsman, 1911), Sobociński W. (Sobociński, 1964), Skałkowski A. (Skałkowski, 1908), Łopaciński W. (Łopaciński, 1917), Lipiński J., Kukulski Z. (Lipiński & Kukulski, 1931), Helpern I. (Helpern, 1919), Gembarzewski B., Mańkowski A. (Gembarzewski & Mańkowski, 1917) – are also essential for elucidating the research topic. It should be noted that in the context of the analyzed problem the researches of a historian and archeographer A. Skałkowski are important (Skałkowski, 1908). No less scientific are the works of M. Handelsman, who, on the basis of the archeological databases, published the reports of the French residents in Warsaw (Handelsman, 1911). In general, the outlined topic was the object of the research attention of foreign (mostly Polish) scholars, but the research topic has not yet fully entered the discussion field of the Ukrainian Polish studies.

The purpose of the research consists in, primarily, studying the historical and educational aspects of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw during 1807 – 1815; outlining the directions of a military education; conducting a historical and pedagogical analysis of the military education process aimed at forming a soldier-citizen's patriotism.

The Statement of the Basic Material. As a result of France's victory over the combined Prussian-Russian forces near Ilawa and Friedland, the Peace of Tilsit was signed (July 7, 1807), strengthening France's position in Central and Eastern Europe. One of the provisions of the Peace Treaty was the formation of the Polish lands, which belonged to Prussia, formally independent (Sejm, government, army) of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807 – 1815) (Askenazy, 1919). According to Napoleon's plan, the Duchy was to become a raw material and political military reserve for future military campaigns in France.

Despite its small territory, the Duchy of Warsaw was one of the mainstays of Napoleonic hegemony in Europe. The guarantor of the integrity and sovereignty protection of the Duchy of Warsaw was the regular armed forces organized with great haste by Prince Józef Poniatowski, the nephew of the last Polish monarch. At the beginning of 1807 they numbered about 30 thousand soldiers. During its short history, the Duchy's troops experienced several waves of volunteers and recruits influx, which led to the growth of the officer corps. During 1806 – 1807, in addition to legionnaires returning "from Italian to Polish lands", there were former officers of the Commonwealth Army, who joined the ranks at the call of Józef Poniatowski. There was no shortage of officers from the French POW (prisoner of war) camps. There was, after all, noble and bourgeois youth, full of patriotic zeal, who en masse joined the cavalry and artillery units. The hostilities weakened discipline among secondary school students. Some of the youth, according to the will of their parents, returned home temporarily, while the others, wishing to serve the country, joined the Polish army. The former rector of Warsaw lyceum recalled that 200 students stopped studying in the lyceum, of whom "*some, motivated by the spirit of civic diligence, devoted themselves to serving to do good to the country both in the army and in civilian life, while the others went home to help their parents or relatives about household*" (Prądyński, 1894, p. 10).

The mass entry of schoolchildren into the organized Polish army and doing work in various organs of government administration seriously worried the Education Chamber, the governing educational body of the Duchy of Warsaw. At the request of the Chamber, the Provisional Government of the newly formed state by a directive of April 30, 1807, prohibited the recruitment and admission of secondary school students to the National Guard (Prądyński I., 1894, p. 12). However, the organizers of the Polish Armed Forces of the Duchy of Warsaw believed that the army should be national. The army included representatives of all social classes of the society, called on the principles of recruitment (mobilization). In addition, the army was to be aimed at forming a citizen-soldier's patriotism.

It should be noted that it was during that period – July 22, 1807, that the Constitutional Act of the Duchy of Warsaw came into force, which determined the nature and goals of the armed forces. It was stated in Article 79 of the law: “The armed forces will consist of 30,000 souls of various kinds of soldiers ready to fight, not taking into account the National Guards” (Dziennik Praw Księstwa Warszawskiego, 1922, p. 35). In addition, it should be noted that at that time, the “Regulations for conscription in the Duchy of Warsaw”, published as a Royal Decree on May 9, 1808, were the main document governing the rules of conscription. In accordance with the principles set out in the Regulations, a register of all men suitable for a military service was established: persons between the ages of 20 and 50. District military commissions, known as the Councils of the Elected, were established to conduct effectively the annual spring conscription. Duration of military service – 6 years. Senior officials and the clergy were exempted from it. At the motivated request of the directorate of the Chamber of Public Education (Prądyński, 1894), approved by the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, teachers and scientific teaching staff of higher education institutions were dismissed from the conscription.

The dominant type of the Duchy’s armed forces was the regular army, which at the peak of its development (in 1812 – the march on Moscow) had more than 100 000 men and had the support of the general noble homeguard, as well as the national guards of individual voivodships. These absolutely incredible efforts of the people for the needs of the war were conditioned by the deep belief of the society that the army would be the factor that would bring the desired freedom to Poland. The example of the allies of the uprising of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the legionaries of Jan Henryk Dombrowski and General Karol Kniazewicz was important.

During the period of the Duchy of Warsaw, there took place Napoleon Bonaparte’s turn from the republican to imperialist ideas in French politics. It should be noted that during this period, two *directions* of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw were singled out at the same time. The representatives of *the first direction* under the leadership of Prince Józef Poniatowski were supporters of the idea of an absolute discipline, complete obedience of the subordinate to the leader. Prince Józef Poniatowski did not attach too much importance to the methods by which soldiers were instilled with a sense of discipline, but he preferred the principle of authorship of the Florentine Niccolo Machiavelli (1469 – 1527), who stated that “the goal justifies the means”. The representatives of *the second direction* of a military education, led by the former commander of the Polish legions in Italy, General Jan Henryk Dombrowski, advocated firmly for the continued education of soldiers in the traditions of Tadeusz Kosciuszko and legionnaires. Professor Stanislaw Herbst, an expert in the field of military affairs during the Duchy of Warsaw, wrote: “Poniatowski tried to defend the traditional discipline of the club together with Dombrowski, even during the uprising with his witty user, and now a fierce opponent”. “*But when the Prince became convinced that soldiers could be educated without this violent means, he became an excellent teacher*” (CAHR, sygn. 3132, p. 179).

It should be noted that the army of the Duchy of Warsaw, according to the personnel and organizational conception, was a national army that adhered to the democratic direction of education. Each officer was required to subscribe to the mainstream daily press, which reported on the policies of the French and Polish authorities and on military success. This information was shared by officers at meetings with their subordinates. The importance of the press as a formation factor of a public opinion, patriotism and morale of the Polish soldiers reflects a fragment of the instruction of the Chief Intendant of the Duchy of Warsaw – Gener-

al Alexander Ruzhnitsky (1774 – 1849) in May 1808 on the organization of libraries, reading and subscribing to magazines in military units. In Paragraph 49 of the above-mentioned instruction it was stated: “Each officer must subscribe to the Warsaw National Newspaper, and the regimental commander must additionally subscribe to the daily bulletin of the garrison in which he is stationed, as well as the “Universal Monitor”, the official journal of the French Empire. Officers will inform their subordinates about public foreign and state news, so that the garrisons scattered throughout the provinces do not remain aloof from the news of various cases in which the current period is rich and in which our homeland begins to regain its importance” (CAHR, sygn. 3132, p. 198).

The internal relations in the Polish army were based on respect for historical victories in the past, which in turn determined the process of a military education aimed at forming a soldier-citizen-statesman, deeply patriotic, aware of the goals of his participation in the war. The army of the Duchy of Warsaw was staffed by the voluntary recruitment of nationally conscious, patriotic soldiers. The soldiers of this army came from ordinary peasants families, who mostly went to the army reluctantly, did not understand how to fight, how their army differed from the occupants’ armies. The rapid organization of the army, the call for a military service of soldiers without prior training led to offenses, crimes and desertion. The worst state of discipline was recorded during the first months of the organization and development of the Duchy of Warsaw. Taking into account the urgent need to stop the negative tendencies in disciplinary relations, from the first days the soldiers had meetings with officers, who pointed out to them the goals and objectives of the armed forces of the Duchy of Warsaw, the need to participate in the struggle to restore the independence of the Motherland, whose part they were. The highest educational goals were set for the soldiers of the Polish army of the Duchy of Warsaw, characteristic not only of the army, but also of citizens in a military uniform. During the process of learning, they tried to awaken the desire, passion for service and a sense of a national identity. It was about an honourable nature of the service, about gratitude to the Motherland that awaits them, about the prospects of raising ranks of soldiers and soldierly glory (Sobociński, 1964; Skarbek, 1897).

As a result of *the educational work* based on the best traditions of Kosciuszko Uprising and the legions functioning, the armed forces became a recruit school of *patriotism*, which made it possible to understand that the Duchy of Warsaw provided recruits with individual freedom, the opportunity to pursue a military career, to receive a plot of land for cultivation after the end of service, and for honoured veterans – government positions.

It should be noted that *the priority objective* was the general military training of soldiers in the army of the Duchy of Warsaw. Mainly, the training process was based on the French orders for a military service. At the same time, the Polish Army rules, regulations, instructions and orders were widely used, regulating the basics of a practical training and division of units. These rules included, in particular, the “Rules for Infantry of the Polish Army” (1806, the author – Captain Józef Dziewiecki) and “Rules of Drills and Maneuvers” (elaborated by Lieutenant Colonel Tsiprian Godebski). Training courses and staff exercises were organized for officers, which increased their team skills. The training was intensified after the formation of the General Headquarters, which included the most experienced senior officers of various services types, performing the functions of military inspectors: the infantry inspector was General Stanislaw Fischer, the inspector for driving was General Alexander Rozhnetsky, and the artillery inspector was General Jan Pelletier (1772 – 1862) (Sobociński, 1964; Skarbek, 1878; Skarbek, 1897). The appointment of inspectors was important for the unified and

systematic training of soldiers, which gradually increased, thus contributing to the effectiveness of the army units of the Duchy of Warsaw. Undoubtedly, these achievements, combined with deep patriotism and understanding of difficult times, made the soldier of that time the most valuable and most loyal ally of France.

The *basic principles of education for the army of the Duchy of Warsaw* were elaborated by Colonel Tsiprian Godebsky, an experienced officer of the Legion in 1807 at the order of General Prince Józef Poniatowski, presenting them in two works: “Collection of Principles of Military Life” and “Handy Diary for Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers” (SAHR (ARSKW), sek. V, vol. 292, nr. 13, 14). In the Introduction to the Diary we read: “*The intention of the government is to introduce into the whole Army a gradual subordination, which, without diminishing its strength, would be slow and paternal; which would be based on constant rules and justice, would destroy all arbitrariness and oppression, keeping everyone in a strict compliance with his responsibilities. He wants the soldier to be treated by the greatest humanity. Let none of them know injustice and offense; let him find in his elders sensitive and charitable leaders, who would be able to choose the punishment for crimes in accordance with the law*” (Prądyński, 1894, p. 14).

During the process of education, in addition to the military virtues, social virtues were tried to be formed, which created a positive image of the army in the society, “*which gave love and respect for the population*” (CAHR, Archiwum publiczne Potockich, sygn. 265, vol. 2, 1807). Tsiprian Godebsky in the “Pocket Diary” outlined the basic moral principles and norms of a soldier’s life, the formation of which should be paid special attention during the process of training soldiers: “*Rightness and decency, politeness, honesty in behaviour and language, sobriety, good faith and diligence, respect for people and property*” (CAHR, Archiwum publiczne Potockich, sygn. 265, vol. 2, 1807, p. 64).

We state that the *historical and educational aspects of a military education* in the Duchy of Warsaw during 1807 – 1815 were formed on the historical heritage, democratic principles of a military and moral education, the formation of social virtues, which were progressive at that time. In particular, the democratic principles were aimed at developing a positive attitude to a military service, patriotism, civic initiative, – for this served a wide range of forms and methods of training, ranging from relationships between leaders and subordinates through disciplinary practice, military ceremonies, training, educational activities and ending with national symbols on the uniforms of soldiers and flags. No less important was the fact that the words “*till the last breath to defend the independence of the Fatherland*” were introduced into the text of a soldier’s oath, which testified to the liberation struggle (Gorzycki, 1921, pp. 64–65). An important role in the process of a patriotic education of soldiers was played by the personal example of higher levels leaders of government.

It is important, the democratic nature of a military education of soldiers during the Duchy of Warsaw arose from the fact that key positions in the army belonged to well-trained officers with perfect knowledge, formed on the ideals of T. Kosciuszko uprising and the Polish legions in Italy, which played a positive role in the education of servicemen. There are many facts, which prove the democracy of relations in the Polish armed forces of that period. In most spheres, the institute of personal ordinaries was abolished by commanders’ order. General Józef Zajoncek (1752 – 1826), issuing such an order, stated: “*It is not good to use a soldier for help and culinary services*” (Gorzycki, 1921, p. 65). This prohibition was also confirmed by the following orders and military prescripts. For instance, in the document regulating the activities of the services of “quartermasters” (1808) you can see the following

records: “Some officers use soldiers for their own services, such abuse is prohibited under the greatest responsibility If it should happen that an officer dares to use a soldier for his own services, such an officer will be convicted..., and a soldier who, despite the ban, allowed himself to abuse trust, will also be convicted to be the example to the others, because it is not appropriate to perform lackey and military service” (Gorzycki, 1921, p. 65).

Attention was also paid to the military educational institutions of the Duchy of Warsaw (Kieniewicz, 1997), in which the national civic character of education of cadets dominated. The ideals brought up at school were embodied in the life of the units they controlled. Instead, army officers of a noble descent, despite some birth privileges, did not play a significant role in upbringing. Instead, they kept to conservative habits and remnants, focusing their activities mainly on a specialized military training.

On the lands of the Duchy of Warsaw there were two cadet corps – the institutions in Helm and Kalisz. However, the institutions needed radical changes in the education system. The level of training was low. The commander of the Polish troops (security guards), General Jozef Poniatowski, drew attention to this fact in his letters to King Friedrich August (1750 – 1827). In one of them he wrote: “... the training of cadets in Kalisz and Helm is general and only initial, and the moment of Germanization is marked very clearly” (CAHR, sek. V, vol. 292, nr. 13, 14). The existing Prussian staff had to be abandoned and immediately replaced by the Poles. The same views were expressed by the educator Józef Lipinski (1764 – 1828). In the document, summarizing the fifteen years of the Education Chamber, he wrote: “The law of knightly schools was introduced in the spirit of their views, which were the easiest to try to get closer to - two schools in Kalisz and Helm began to teach primary sciences almost from the cradle of children brought up by the government’s expances, having the young taken from the womb, they had to serve until the cessation in the new generation of those feelings and memories that would connect them in a continuous chain with the previous parental origin; to extinguish in young hearts with milk almost sucked feelings for the people, turning them into a new government, erasing (if possible) the signs of a parental origin” (Lipiński & Kukulski, 1931, pp. 7–8).

Cadet schools were an important link in the system of a military education and military personnel training. Work on the implementation of an educational and organizational reform of those institutions was launched at a rapid pace. As early as April 30, 1807, the governing commission ordered the Education Chamber to prepare for it a programme of “military science” and “determination of the general education content”, as well as to obtain appropriate funds to support both institutes (Gembarzewski & Mańkowski, 1917). Formally (in the spirit of republican France), in accordance with the adopted on December 22, 1807 “Rules of Conduct during the Admission of Candidates to the Cadets Corps”, developed by Stanislav Stashitsa on behalf of the Chamber, schools were affordable to all social classes, which clearly indicated the democratic tendencies in the educational policy. According to this document, the priority of admission was given to the sons of honored military, civil servants, citizens affected by the war (Lipiński, 1812).

Modernized curriculum in cadet schools – “Curriculum in Kalsk and Chelm Cadet Corps”, corresponded to the activity spheres of the departmental school – the highest organized educational institution in the structure of a secondary education of the Duchy of Warsaw, which allowed to continue education at the main school (university) (CAHR, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, sygn. II. 140, p. 3). This is confirmed by “§1 of the Internal Apparatus of Departmental Schools, approved on November 16, 1812: the proper purpose of every departmental school is to provide students with such thorough principles of science and

skills, teaching their minds and filling their hearts with noble feelings, so that the young man, having graduated with honours from all the classes of that school, may be ready to learn a skill in the Main School, in which he will want to improve, and eventually use it as the main subject of his appointment to the most important services to the country; stopping the education at the same school so that he can read and understand scientific papers usefully, and as an educated citizen both to cope and to support other citizens with his advice, also to have a common understanding of all branches of science and useful skills needed to work for the people for good” (Lipiński, 1812, pp. 3–4).

It is interesting to note that the high school programme implemented in the cadet institutions was aimed at basic information and activities of the military, including basic knowledge of a junior officer (horse riding, combat training, fencing, construction of simple field fortifications). During the two-week summer camps, students performed practical exercises, strengthening and expanding the theoretical knowledge gained during the lectures (See Table 1).

Table 1

Specialized Training of Cadets 1808 – 1812 (weekly schedule)

Предмет	The amount of hours in each class					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Military training	2	2	2	1	1	1
Military Code	1	1	1	-	-	-
Fencing	2	2	2	1	1	1
Military Architecture	-	-	-	2	2	1
Military Geodesy	-	-	-	1	1	2
Theory of Artillery Fire	-	-	-	-	2	1
Military Cartography	-	1	2	2	1	1
Military Geography	-	-	-	1	1	1
Horse Riding	2	2	2	2	2	2
Management and Logistics	-	-	2	2	2	2
History of wars and martial arts	-	-	1	1	1	1
Practical classes:						
a) cannon fire,	-	-	-	2	2	2
b) shooting from pistols and cavalry carbines	-	-	-	1	1	1
Totally	7	8	12	16	17	16

(Central State Historical Archive, Sankt Petersburg, f. 1187, d. 31, c. 33)

It should be noted that the cadet was in the corps for six years, during which he received basic knowledge and the necessary practical skills. Graduates, who wished to continue their professional military service, were required to complete a two-month internship in non-commissioned officer positions in the units. After its graduation and positively passed officer’s exams, graduates could apply for the first officer’s degree – lieutenant. Those, who received the highest academic results were given the opportunity to continue their education at Warsaw School of Applied Artillery and Engineering.

Stanislav August Poniatowski’s knightly schools were taken as a model during educational work in cadet institutions. The emphasis was on a moral education. The recommendations

for educational work with young people were made by Józef Lipinski, at the suggestion of the Directorate of National Education and personally by General Stanislaw Kostka Potocki (1755 – 1821), the General Commander of the Cadet Corps (*Katechizm dla Korpusów Kadeckich*, 1813). In the first part of the textbook “On the Responsibilities of a Young Man in the Cadet Corps” there were defined the goals of an intellectual, moral and patriotic and physical education, there were described clearly the responsibilities of the Fatherland service. To the question: “*What is a cadet?*” the author gives the following answer: “*It is the child of the Fatherland. The latter is engaged in his upbringing, so that in some period of time it will be useful for the child and for the Fatherland*” (*Katechizm dla Korpusów Kadeckich*, 1813, p. 1, art. 1). In the subsequent part of the questions and answers of the first part of the Catechism, Józef Lipinski clearly clarified the principles and forms of an appropriate behaviour in various situations of a school life. Particular attention was paid to relationships with teachers, supervisors, and colleagues; a physical and mental health of cadets, “*because without health there is no force, without which a person with the highest ability neither perform a military service, nor his work to be paid to the Fatherland*” (*Katechizm dla Korpusów Kadeckich*, 1813, p. 5, art. 10). In the second part of the document “On the Duties of a Cadet after Graduation and Leaving the Corps” there were defined the moral principles that should guide a school graduate in an adult life, especially in the military service (*Katechizm dla Korpusów Kadeckich*, 1813, p. 15, art. 15).

The records set forth in the “Catechism” formed the character of the cadets, a civic attitude, patriotism, preferences for a military service, a motivated activity, independence and collective action. The textbook was a guide to educational work with cadet youth on the basis of a patriotic interaction “soldier – citizen – officer”.

The importance of patriotic civic and moral education in personality formation of young people was duly assessed in school civil affairs during the Duchy of Warsaw. The proof of this fact are the words of the rector of Vilnius University Jan Sniadetski (1756 – 1830), who appealed to the student youth “*to support and strengthen their people with thorough knowledge, majesty of talents, loyalty to the rights of honour, justice and virtue. Without work and diligence, a person not only cannot buy anything, but will not be able to keep and preserve the purchased things. It is up to you, school youth, to increase such a happily awakened sense of a national pride with the benefits gained from science*” (Helpert, 1919, p. 35).

A significant role in the formation of discipline and encouragement of cadets to compete in science and service was played by the system of rewards and punishments (disciplinary regulations), developed in August 1809 by Stanislaw Kostka Potocki, the Commander-in-Chief of the Cadet Corps (*Zasady S. K. Potockich*, 1809, pp. 1043–1045). The highest reward for high results in a military science, training and exemplary behaviour was a golden eagle on a green ribbon pinned to the cadet’s uniform; a silver eagle was no less valuable award of the second degree. Presenting these awards, the corps commandant addressed to the cadet with the following words: “*The King and the Fatherland give this honour to the Honorable Lord as a reward for his diligence in science and desire to participate in it further. Dear Sir, try not only not to lose this right by indulging into science, but also to redouble your efforts to earn a greater reward and attitude from the Government. May fidelity to the King, love for the Fatherland, honour for the rest of his life be the greatest rules for him*” (*Zasady S. K. Potockich*, 1809, pp. 1044–1045).

The research of historical and educational aspects of a military education gives ground to state that a significant educational function was performed by a military ceremony, which

included elements of religious worship. The ceremony covered such spheres of a military life as handing out weapons, taking the military oath, using various types of military and national symbols, appointment to the next higher military ranks, honours and awards, marches, parades, line-ups. An important place in the educational activity was occupied by the meetings of the students with the school chaplain, who, in addition to his pastoral work, was responsible for the formation of the students' high morale spirit: loyalty, courage, discipline, honesty in the duties performance to the country and faith, sacrifice, the ability to deal with their own shortcomings. In addition, the spiritual rank of a chaplain gave the educational process a religious character on the basis of a love for the God and a human being. It should be noted that military schools were the place where a "caste" was formed, which differed not only in external distinctions and privileges, but, above all, awareness of the goals and mission, spiritual and moral face. The education of an officer (*a soldier – citizen – statesman*) was crucial for the army, as it was its basis. It should be noted that the civil school authorities of the Duchy of Warsaw (Education Chamber) in their national education projects took care of the education of the Poles' young generation, who would be statesmen (Łopaciński, 1917).

The Conclusions. The system of education in a civil and military schooling during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw was entirely national. In general, as a result of educational work based on the best traditions of T. Kosciuszko uprising and the functioning of the legions, the armed forces became a school of patriotism, which made it possible to understand that the Duchy of Warsaw provided freedom of the personality and the opportunity to pursue a military career as a citizen-soldier. The educational activities focused on the awakening of a sincere patriotism and a national consciousness in young people, the formation of love of the native language, history, Polish customs and traditions, and national affiliation. The study of historical and educational aspects of a military education provides an opportunity to state that the army of the Duchy of Warsaw, according to the personnel and organizational concept, was a national army that adhered to the democratic direction of education, which formed military, national and social virtues, which in its turn created a positive image of the army of the Duchy of Warsaw in the society. Internal relations in the Polish army were based on respect for historical victories in the past, which in turn determined the process of a military education aimed at forming a soldier–citizen–statesman, deeply patriotic, nationally conscious and loyal to his country. It is important that during this period two directions of a military education in the Duchy of Warsaw were singled out at the same time: the first direction promoted the ideas of an absolute discipline, complete obedience and order; the second direction of a military education advocated the continuation of the soldiers education in the traditions of T. Kosciuszko and legionnaires.

The organizational and ideological influence of the Polish military education on the national movement and socio-political processes in the Ukrainian lands remain perspective directions of this topic. In addition, the issue of reception of educational work in the Polish legions in Italy, the study of their educational and military practice of the specified period needs further development.

Acknowledgement. The authors express their sincere gratitude to the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, the National Library in Warsaw, the Ternopil Oblast State Archives, and the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv for the fruitful cooperation in which they were able to process the documentary materials.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adadurov, V.** (1997). *Polske pytan'nia u frantsuzko-avstriiskikh vidnosynakh epokhy napoleonivskikh viin* [The Polish question in French-Austrian relations during the Napoleonic Wars]. (Extended abstract of Candidate's thesis). Lviv, 24 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Vandal, A.** (1995). *Napoleon i Aleksandr I. Franko-russkii soiuz vo vremia pervoi imperii* [Napoleon and Alexander I. Franco-Russian alliance during the first empire] (Vol. 2). Rostov-na-Donu: Feniks, 540 p. [in Russian]
- Hai-Nyzhnyk, P. P. & Zakharchuk, O. M.** (2011). Slovianski zemli Tsentralnoi i Pivdennoi Yevropy v dyplomatii Napoleona Bonaparta (1805 – 1811) [Slavic lands of Central and Southern Europe in the diplomacy of Napoleon Bonaparte (1805 – 1811)]. *Sotsiologhiia, politologhiia, istoriia: zbirnyk naukovykh prats, 1 (1–2)*, 54–60. [in Ukrainian]
- Dylonhova, H.** (2007). *Istoriia Polshchi 1795 – 1990* [History of Poland 1795 – 1990]. Per. z pol. M. Kirsienka. Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia, 239 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Zashkilniak, L. O. & Krykun, M. H.** (2002). *Istoriia Polshchi: Vid naidavnishykh chasiv do nashykh dniv* [History of Poland: From ancient times to the present day]. Lviv: Lvivskiy natsionalnyi universytet imeni Ivana Franka, 752 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Usenko, P.** (2003). Varshavske kniazivstvo [The Duchy of Warsaw]. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy (in 10 vol., Vol. 1: A–V, p. 437)*. Kyiv, 688 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records – CAHR)*
- Askenazy, S.** (1919). *Napoleon a Polska* [Napoleon and Poland]. (Vol. III). Warszawa, 262 p. [in Polish]
- Tsentralnyi gossudarstvenny istoricheskiy arkhiv, Sankt-Petersburg [Central State Historical Archive, Sankt-Petersburg – CSHA]*
- Dziennik Praw Księstwa Warszawskiego.** (1922). Dziennik Praw Księstwa Warszawskiego z 22 lipca 1807 r. [The Journal of Laws of the Duchy of Warsaw of July 22, 1807]. Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa Warszawskiego: Tytuł X. “O sile zbrojnej” (“Wydano na rozkaz Cesarza, wydał Minister Sekretarz Stanu Hugo B. Maret”), Art. 79. *Konstytucje polskie 1791 – 1921*. Opracował M. Handelsman. Warszawa: Wydała Polska Składnica Pomocy Szkolnych, 37 p. [in Polish]
- Gembarzewski, B. & Mańkowski, A.** (1917). Wojsko Polskie. Księstwo, Szkoła kadetów chełmińskich w dobie Księstwa Warszawskiego [Polish army. Duchy, Chełmno Cadet School in the era of the Duchy of Warsaw]. *Dziennik Poznański*, 288, 226 p. [in Polish]
- Gorzycki, W.** (1921). Oświata publiczna w Księstwie Warszawskim, organizacja władz i funduszów [Public education in the Duchy of Warsaw, organization of authorities and funds]. *Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1 (2)*, 64–65. [in Polish]
- Handelsman, M.** (1911). Z dziejów Księstwa Warszawskiego. Geneza Księstwa i jego statutu [From the history of the Duchy of Warsaw. The origin of the Duchy and its statutes]. *Studia historyczne, Warszawa, 1*, 164–166. [in Polish]
- Kieniewicz, S.** (1997). *Historia Polski 1795 – 1918* [Polish history 1795 – 1918]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 616 p. [in Polish]
- Katechizm dla Korpusów Kadeckich.** (1813). *Katechizm dla Korpusów Kadeckich* [Catechism for the Cadet Corps]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerium Wojny i Izby Edukacyjnej. 16 p. [in Polish]
- Helpert, I.** (1919). Systemat pedagogiczny Jana Śniadeckiego [Pedagogical system of Jan Śniadecki]. Warszawa: Nakład Księgarni “Ogniwo” S. A. Krzyżanowski, 88 p. [in Polish]
- Zasady S. K. Potockich.** (1809). Zasady S. K. Potockich [Potocki's principles]. *Gazeta “Korespondent Varshavskoho i dziwaczne”*, 69, 1043–1045. [in Polish]
- Lipiński, J.** (1812). *Wewnętrzne urządzenie szkół departamentowych z 1812 roku* [The internal arrangement of departamental schools in 1812]. Warszawa. Wydała Izba Edukacji Publicznej w Warszawie, 69 p. [in Polish]
- Lipiński, J. & Kukulski, Z.** (1931). Źródła do dziejów wychowania i szkolnictwa w Polsce z doby Izby Edukacji Publicznej, 1807 – 1822 [Sources for the history of upbringing and education in Poland from the day of the Chamber of Public Education, 1807 – 1822]. *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Lublinie (pp. 7–8)*. Lublin. [in Polish]

Lopaciński, W. (1917). *Legiony i armia Księstwa Warszawskiego [Legions and army of the Duchy of Warsaw]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo M. Arct., 30 p. [in Polish]

Prądzyński, I. (1894). *Pamiętnik historyczny i wojskowy o wojnie polsko-rosyjskiej w 1831 r. [Historical and military diary about the Polish-Russian war in 1831]*. Kraków: Nakład Kazimierza Grendyszyńskiego, 17 p. [in Polish]

Skałkowski, A. M. (1908). Pogląd Napoleona na sprawę polską w r. 1809 [Napoleon's view on the Polish matter in 1809]. *O cześć imienia polskiego* (pp. 421–436). Lwów. [in Polish]

Skarbek, F. (1878). *Dzieje Księstwa Warszawskiego [History of the Duchy of Warsaw]* (Vol. 1). Poznań, 160 p. [in Polish]

Skarbek, F. (1897). *Dzieje Księstwa Warszawskiego [History of the Duchy of Warsaw]* (Vol. 3). Warszawa. 148 p. [in Polish]

Sobociński, W. (1964). *Historia ustroju i prawa Księstwa Warszawskiego [History of the state system and law of the Duchy of Warsaw]*. Toruń, 200 p. [in Polish]

*The article was received on October 14, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 821.161.1.09-31(092)“18”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210897

Volodymyr MASLAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the Department of Humanities, Culture and Arts, Kremenchuk Mykhailo Ostrohradskyi National University, 20 Pershotravneva Street, Kremenchuk, Ukraine, postal code 39600 (vimaslak2017@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2898-2400>

ResearcherID: 0000-0002-2898-2400

(<https://publons.com/researcher/3097146/volodymyr-maslak/>)

Larysa BUTKO

PhD (Philology), Associate professor of the Department of Humanities, Culture and Arts, Kremenchuk Mykhailo Ostrohradskyi National University, Kremenchuk Mykhailo Ostrohradskyi National University, 20 Pershotravneva Street, Kremenchuk, Ukraine, postal code 39600 (larysabutko@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8817-3381>

ResearcherID: X-4525-2019 (<https://publons.com/researcher/3097127/larysa-butko/>)

Володимир МАСЛАК

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри гуманітарних наук, культури і мистецтва Кременчуцького національного університету імені Михайла Остроградського, вул. Першотравнева, 20, м. Кременчук, Україна, індекс 39600 (vimaslak2017@gmail.com)

Лариса БУТКО

кандидатка філологічних наук, доцентка кафедри гуманітарних наук, культури і мистецтва Кременчуцького національного університету імені Михайла Остроградського, вул. Першотравнева, 20, м. Кременчук, Україна, індекс 39600 (larysabutko@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Maslak, V. & Butko, L. (2020). The novel by V. T. Nariezhnyi “Bursak, Malorosiysk Story” as the monument of the historical fiction. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 63–70. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210897

**THE NOVEL BY V. T. NARIEZHNYI “BURSAK, MALOROSIYSK STORY”
AS THE MONUMENT OF THE HISTORICAL FICTION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze V. T. Nariezhnyi’s novel “Bursak, Malorosiysk Story” as a monument of a historical fiction, which depicts the everyday life of the common Ukrainian people in the XIXth century and to re-actualize the figure of the author, who influenced the Ukrainian public opinion of the XIXth century significantly. The Research Methodology.* The selection of a factual material was based on the general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, comparison and generalization; the methods of comprehensiveness, objectivity and retrospect have been used during the comparative

analysis of the historical reality and the events described in the novel. The system structural, comparative and descriptive methods have been used in the process of presenting the main provisions of the article.

The Scientific Novelty. The article focuses on the analysis of the figure of V. T. Nariezhnyi as one of the first writers of the Romanticism epoch. The main theme of the study is the novel "Bursak, Malorosiysk Story", which describes the life of the Bursaks of the Zaporozhian Sich through the prism of love, friendship and betrayal, life, customs and traditions of the Ukrainians. As the writer knew well the lives of the bursaks and seminarians, he was able to describe it accurately. This makes his novel an important monument of a historical fiction, which needs a detailed analysis from the point of studying the life of the Ukrainians in the XIXth century. **The Conclusions.** The novel "Bursak, Malorosiysk Story" was published in 1824 and became a significant step not only in the creative work of V. T. Nariezhnyi, but also in all contemporary literature. By clarifying in the title "Malorosiysk Story" the writer emphasized that his work is dedicated to the past of Ukraine. Such an excursion to the past, which was inherent in the historical fiction of the first third of the XIXth century, is an attempt to move away from the problems of "a gray everyday life of the present" by indulging oneself into happy "Malorosiysk plots".

A careful study of V. T. Nariezhnyi's literary heritage will help to enrich the national history and ethnography, it will additionally illustrate the processes of a historical fiction development, it will help to reveal the "creative kitchen" of many Ukrainian writers not only the Ukrainian ones. V. T. Nariezhnyi's creative work deserves a thorough intersectoral, systematic study. Firstly, his works filled historiographical gaps significantly, "reviving" the pages of an everyday life of the Ukrainians. Secondly, Vasyl Nariezhnyi's literature had an inconspicuous but significant influence on the works of O. Somov, M. Zahoskin, M. Gogol, H. Kvitka-Osnovianenko, M. Markevych and further according to the principle of a chain reaction. Thirdly, V. Nariezhnyi's heritage occupies a prominent place on the intellectual map of the Ukrainians, it is the information-rich source on the history of a public opinion of the Ukrainian society in the XIXth century and a kind of repeater of the Ukrainians' ideas about an everyday life of the previous centuries.

Key words: novel, romanticism, novelist, seminarian, bursak, traditions, customs, culture.

РОМАН В. Т. НАРЕЖНОГО "БУРСАК, МАЛОРОССИЙСКАЯ ПОВЕСТЬ" ЯК ПАМ'ЯТКА ІСТОРИЧНОЇ БЕЛЕТРИСТИКИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – аналіз роману В. Т. Нарезного "Бурсак, малороссийская повесть" як пам'ятки історичної белетристики, що висвітлює повсякденне життя простого українського народу в XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження.** Добір фактичного матеріалу ґрунтувався на основі загальнонаукових методів аналізу й синтезу, порівняння та узагальнення; методи всебічності, об'єктивності та ретроспективи були використані саме під час порівняльного аналізу історичної дійсності та подій, описаних у романі. У процесі викладу основних положень статті використовувалися системно-структурний, порівняльний та описовий методи. **Наукова новизна.** У пропонованій статті досліджується постать В. Т. Нарезного як одного з перших письменників епохи романтизму. Основною темою дослідження є роман "Бурсак, малороссийская повесть", в якому описано картину життя бурсаків, Запорозької Січі крізь призму кохання, дружби та зради, побуту, звичаїв і традицій українців. Оскільки письменник добре знав життя бурсаків і семинаристів, він з точністю зміг його описати. Це робить його роман важливою пам'яткою історичної белетристики, яка потребує детального дослідження з точки зору вивчення життя українців у XIX ст. **Висновки.** Роман "Бурсак, малороссийская повесть" вийшов у світ 1824 р. і став значною віхою не лише в творчості В. Т. Нарезного, а й усієї тогочасної літератури. Уточненням у заголовку "малороссийская повесть" письменник підкреслив те, що його твір присвячений минулому України. Такий екскурс у минуле, що був притаманний історичній белетристиці першої третини XIX ст., є спробою віддалитися від проблем "сірої буденності сьогодення" шляхом занурення у щасливі "малоросійські сюжети". Ретельне вивчення літературної спадщини В. Т. Нарезного допоможе збагатити вітчизняну історію та етнографію, додатково проілюструє процеси розвитку історичної белетристики, допоможе розкрити "творчу кухню" багатьох українських – і не лише – письменників.

Творчість В. Т. Нарезного заслуговує на ґрунтовне міжгалузеве, системне дослідження. По-перше, його твори суттєво заповнили історіографічні лакуни, "ожививши" сторінки

повсякдення минулого українців. По-друге, література Василя Нарежного мала малопомітний, але вагомий вплив на творчість О. Сомова, М. Загоскіна, М. Гоголя, Г. Квітки-Основ'яненка, М. Маркевича й далі за принципом ланцюгової реакції. По-третє, спадщина В. Нарежного займає чільне місце на інтелектуальній мапі українців, є інформаційно насиченим джерелом з історії суспільної думки українського соціуму XIX ст. і своєрідним ретранслятором уявлень українців про повсякдення попередніх віків.

Ключові слова: роман, романтизм, романіст, семінарист, бурсак, традиції, звичаї, культура.

The Problem Statement. The Romanticism era was marked by the appearance of literary works with "intense attention to heroic figures and legendary stories about the past" (Yakovenko, 2007, p. 151), the embryo of which was a "gallant story that entertained readers with spicy curiosities from a past life" (Yakovenko, 2007, p. 152).

Vasyl Trokhymovych Nariezhnyi (1780 – 1825), whose work received a high evaluation by the contemporaries, occupies a special place in the long line of writers of this period. Thus, V. Belinsky wrote: "There were many Russian novelists, but few novels, and among the novelists their ancestor V. Nariezhnyi is completely forgotten" (Belinskiy, 1979, p. 316). The Russian literary critic, academician of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences M. Kotlyarevskiy wrote: "V. Nariezhnyi was a rare phenomenon, and among our later realists of the Tsar Nikolai epoch we won't find a courageous person, who is worthy of him" (Kotlyarevskiy, 1903, p. 85).

At the same time, the writer's heritage with its historical richness, volume, multifacetedness, influence on the process of forming the nation's memory deserves to be studied not only by literary critics, but also by historians and ethnographers. In addition, it will not be superfluous to mention V. Nariezhnyi in the context of celebrating the 210th anniversary of the birth of Mykola Gogol (Hohol), because he was called "the forerunner of M. Gogol" (Goncharov, 1955, p. 474), and the novel "Bursak, Malorosiysk Story" led to the appearance of M. Gogol's "Taras Bulba".

Vasyl Nariezhnyi did not belong to the cohort of writers of the first magnitude, but his creative heritage undoubtedly deserves the meticulous attention of the contemporaries, and not only literary critics (Marchenko, 2011; Macapura, 2002; Podrygha, 2008), but also historians, as first mentioned by D. Shatalov (Shatalov, 2014), who included into his dissertation research a detailed analysis of V. T. Nariezhnyi's creative work (Shatalov, 2015).

Even a brief analysis shows that the novel "Bursak" does not belong to the classical works born of historical sources, and this is its certain value, and this is one of the motives for addressing to the creative heritage of the writer. In fact, the non-historiographical nature of the novel is the evidence that the author was a direct participant in the described events or the closest collector of evidence about the everyday life of the Ukrainian society of the Russian Empire.

Another factor makes modern researchers turn to the intellectual heritage of Vasyl Nariezhnyi. This is the realization that one of the "fathers" of the Russian Romanticism by his work testifies to the separateness, identity of the Ukrainian people and their culture, emphasizing the Ukrainian patriotic pathos (the very subtitle "Malorosiysk Story" is worth much).

The purpose of the research is to analyze V. T. Nariezhnyi's novel "Bursak, Malorosiysk Story" as a monument of a historical fiction, which depicts the everyday life of the common Ukrainian people in the XIXth century and to re-actualize the figure of the author, who influenced the Ukrainian public opinion of the XIXth century significantly.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The tsarist officials were well aware of the enormous power of a literary word, recommending certain novels to schools as the textbooks on History, and supporting authors, who broke the traditions of the contemporary “cabinet” historiography with its excessive dryness, scientificity and saturation with facts. For instance, the textbook “History...” by O. O. Ishimova (Ishimova, 1837) was republished six times during the period of 64 years.

Some factors, which push the scientists, especially Poltava local historians, to study the creative work of V. T. Nariezhnyi, are the birthplace of the writer – the village of Ustyvytsia, Hadiatsky county of Poltava province and the place where he got a primary education – Chernihiv seminary, which is one of the oldest educational institutions in Ukraine (Belozerskaya, 1896).

According to the genre classics, V. Nariezhnyi included several closely intertwined plot lines into his work, described a broad picture of the life of the bursa and Zaporizhzhya Sich, elucidated the topics of love, friendship and betrayal, life, customs, traditions of different peoples, who inhabited Ukraine, highlighted the problems of a political life, religious issues, etc.

Knowing the life of a bursak and a seminarian from the inside, the novelist described it quite objectively, as it is evidenced by other scientific researches (Levitskiy, 1901).

To ensure access to education for the children of poor peasants and burghers, simple houses with a stove or two surrounded by wide benches were built at each seminary at the expense of patrons and by the order of the monastery board. The monasteries provided only heating in those houses. Those houses were called bursas, and the students, who lived there, were called bursaks (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 175–176).

“It was a barn, built of wattle fence, coated inside and outside with yellow clay: the roof was thatched; doors and four round windows illuminated this building” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 176). By the order of the rector for the education, on the analogy with ancient Rome, among students the senior was appointed – a consul (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 176). The second place, after the rector, was occupied by the prefect (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 177). To help the consul, the Senate was formed, which included theologians and philosophers (students of the last years of study), rhetoricians (bursaks, who were at the stage of studying rhetoric) – “Lictors or executors of the Senate’s sentences”, poets – tselers or runners, “who are used for mailings”, and for the most part the plebeians, or the blacks, – common people (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 180). A social status of the bursak was reflected in his appearance: at the beginning of training students were dressed in bathrobes, and then received the right to wear coats, to have a mustache, to smoke a pipe, to drink alcohol (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 189).

The writer emphasizes the uniqueness of the republican system, describing the manifestations of anarchism if the consul was absent (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 195).

The novel gives us an idea of the stages and level of students’ training. “Latin, Polish and the Russian alphabet”, Etymology, Poetry, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Musical Notes and Singing, Playing Musical Instruments were studied (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 176–177, 216). The training course was planned for eight years (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 196).

V. Nariezhnyi remembered well the corporal punishments that were actively used during the teaching process and upbringing: beating students’ hands with wooden sticks, beating with nettles and vines (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 178, 186). The infamous “subbotniks” were depicted, when even good students were punished for preventive purposes (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 186).

The landmark in the life of the bursaks was the "flattering goal" – to become "rather a deacon or a priest" (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 178).

At leisure, students read, sang spiritual songs, "played the balalaika", danced, fought, or fought with their fists (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 176). And all these activities took place in one room! It was obligatory to participate in a church liturgy during religious holidays and on Sundays (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 303).

Since the administration took care only of the problems of heating, the task of getting some food was solved by the bursaks themselves. The students were engaged in "singing church songs at the windows of the town dwellers", congratulations and "wishing happiness and long life to an owner and mistress, their children and household" (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 182), receiving thanks for it "flour, lard, poultry, various herbs and, partly, money" (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 180). The menu of bursaks was also diversified due to night raids to the neighbouring gardens and orchards (Narezhnyi, 1990, pp. 183–184, 192).

The novel is rich in short but meaningful characteristics of different ethnic groups. Thus, "the Lithuanians (Lytvyny) in Malorosia are considered deceivers and shameless people, ... to name someone a Lithuanian is considered obscenity", although there were good people among them (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 204).

Comparing the Ukrainian women to the Polish ones, the author emphasizes the shyness, restraint, chastity of the former and emphasizes the complete opposite characteristics of the latter (Narezhnyi, 1990, pp. 217–218).

Emphasizing that the Jews played an important role in the social life of that time, V. Narezhnyi traditionally calls them "zhyd". They were engaged in usury, providing interest-bearing loans, trade and treated the sick (Narezhnyi, 1990, pp. 244, 325, 342, 360).

Dangerous neighbours of the Ukrainians were the Turks and the Tatars, who were engaged in looting, ravaging and burning villages, capturing prisoners, who were sold into slavery (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 296).

The Poles received different characteristics by the novelist: some showed courage and military skill on the battlefield, while the others, "who had love for life and the sound of glory was considered as an ordinary empty sound", "they turned back and ran away" (Narezhnyi, 1990, pp. 335, 336). Great damage was made by the representatives of the Polish clergy, who took care of upbringing the youth and taught sciences and deserved to be exiled beyond the boundaries of the Ukrainian lands (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 345).

Latin and Polish books do harm as well, in which are described "objects and states that can bring a healthy old man closer to the grave" (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 340).

The images of gypsies are depicted well, especially "in raincoats ... more wild than the others" (Narezhnyi, 1990, pp. 423–424). It is significant that in the novel there are no assersive characteristics of the Russians, because the author understood well that it was better to omit this issue to avoid dissatisfaction of the tsarist censorship.

The life organization of "Chornomortsiv" in Zaporizhia was extensively depicted. The author described the settlement process of the Wild Field, the economy organization, the structure of Zaporizhian Sich (Narezhnyi, 1990, pp. 432–436). The novel contains the plots devoted to the tradition description of forbidding to stay in the Sich for women, the corporal punishment of the Cossacks, who violated the code of "steppe knights" – beating with sticks, as well as shaving the head hair and mustache (Narezhnyi, 1990, p. 296).

V. Narezhnyi gives rather negative assessments of the Sich "the monstrous capital of freedom, equality and atrocities of all kinds" and he writes that a man, who acquires the Sich

citizenship receives “the lofty right to abuse, to fight and even rob ... outside Zaporozhye” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 436). Similar motives can be observed in Panteleimon Kulish’s works (Kulish, 1901, pp. 112–113).

The novel “Bursak, Malorosiysk Story” is full of interesting ethnographic material. The author describes the deep piety of the Ukrainians, the crowds of people during the church service, the mass celebration of Easter, the realization that the fate of each depends on “the supreme administrator of the lot of peoples”, and all earthly problems will disappear “in the kingdom over the stars” (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 304, 344, 377, 386).

A distinctive feature of the Ukrainians is a high level of literacy, love of books and the thirst for knowledge (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 305, 391). Other characteristics are sincere hospitality inherited from parents and grandparents, respect for the elders, especially parents, as well as the joy of motherhood and responsibility for raising children (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 356, 394, 395, 427).

The process of creating a family is described in detail: age restrictions for the bride (at least 16 years old), obligatory engagement, which preceded the marriage (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 391) and aimed at bringing the future couple closer.

The rite of baptism of children had not only a religious significance, but also a social function, “providing” the infants, in addition to biological parents, also a couple of “baptized parents” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 316).

The author did not omit the Ukrainian cuisine. Bread and honey were respected (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 301), for special celebrations the Ukrainians cooked “stew with chicken, noodles with duck ... baby turkey” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 444). The Ukrainians drank alcoholic beverages: horilka, “vyshnevka” (cherry tincture), “volokhscoe” (Moldavian) wine (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 400, 444). The writer illustrates a negative attitude to alcohol abuse, especially during the funeral dinner: “feasts of the kind that are among us ... excesses, disgusting, therefore, are worthless” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 416), and an inn (*a pub; in Ukrainian – korchma*) he generally calls “bottomless maelstrom” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 443).

In the novel the etalon of fatness is determined – “a person is perfectly healthy having a good life, if he does not become obese, which would mean his tenderness and inaction, then he will not be skinny; otherwise I don’t want to doubt that he has a bad conscience, and this is the only reason for his thinness” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 417).

The novel by V. Narezhnyi gives food for researchers of the Ukrainian costume. We learn about the elements of clothing of burghers, the registered Cossacks, military officers, nobles, Hetman (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 270, 310, 351, 353).

A significant place in the novel is given to moral and ethical guidelines. In the paternal will of the bursak there are the words: “Fear the God and obey the elders, do not lie, do not steal – then you will please both the God and people” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 176). In the relationship between a man and a woman, the main thing is not “insignificant pleasure”, but reproduction, procreation (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 224). The highest purpose of a human being-citizen is to serve the Motherland (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 229), and the absence of such an opportunity is the most severe punishment (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 332), “ranks and honours” are called “seduction of the moronic” (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. c. 361).

The most difficult task for a person is to look into his own soul, to “know himself”, because his worst enemy is he himself (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 353, 453). The author exalts virtues, such as true friendship, shyness, which adorns better than any pearls, the ability to empathize (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 381, 391, 408). In the novel there is a bitter regret that people are

unable to do without a war that brings death and a moral impoverishment (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 328, 337).

The text is interspersed with political issues. The writer urges respect for government positions, including the Hetman, to avoid chaos; he emphasizes "the oppression by Poland" (Narezhnyy, 1990, pp. 303, 321); he warns against the organization of the society on the basis of fear, pointing at hopelessness of its existence (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 384); he praises the democracy of the ancient states in every way (Narezhnyy, 1990, p. 180).

The Conclusions. The novel "Bursak, Malorosiysk Story" was published in 1824 and became a significant step not only in the creative work of V. T. Nariezhnyi, but also in all contemporary literature. By clarifying in the title "Malorosiysk Story" the writer emphasized that his work is dedicated to the past of Ukraine. Such an excursion to the past, which was inherent in the historical fiction of the first third of the XIXth century, is an attempt to move away from the problems of "a gray everyday life of the present" (Yakovenko, 2007, p. 153) by indulging oneself into happy "Malorosiysk plots".

A careful study of V. T. Nariezhnyi's literary heritage will help to enrich the national history and ethnography, it will additionally illustrate the processes of a historical fiction development, it will help to reveal the "creative kitchen" of many Ukrainian writers not only the Ukrainian ones.

V. T. Nariezhnyi's creative work deserves a thorough intersectoral, systematic study.

Firstly, his works filled historiographical gaps significantly, "reviving" the pages of an everyday life of the Ukrainians.

Secondly, Vasyl Nariezhnyi's literature had an inconspicuous but significant influence on the works of O. Somov, M. Zahoskin, M. Gogol, H. Kvitka-Osnovianenko, M. Markevych and further according to the principle of a chain reaction.

Thirdly, V. Nariezhnyi's heritage occupies a prominent place on the intellectual map of the Ukrainians, it is the information-rich source on the history of a public opinion of the Ukrainian society in the XIXth century and a kind of repeater of the Ukrainians' ideas about an everyday life of the previous centuries.

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Belinskiy, V. G.** (1979). *Sobranie sochineniy [Collected Works]*. Vol. 4. Moskow, 654 p. [in Russian]
- Belozerskaya, N.** (1896). *Vasily Trokhimovich Narezhnyy*. Sankt-Petersburg: L.F. Pantelev, 297 p. [in Russian]
- Goncharov, I. A.** (1955). *Sobranie sochineniy [Collected Works]*. Vol. 8. Moskow: Gospolitizdat, 559 p. [in Russian]
- Ishimova, A. O.** (1837). *Istoriya Rossii v razskazakh dlya mladshogo vozrasta [History on Russia in stories for children]*. Sankt-Petersburg – Moskow, 229 p. [in Russian]
- Kotlyarevskiy, N. A.** (1903). *Nikolay Vasilevich Gogol 1829 – 1842 [Nikolay Vasilevich Gogol 1829 – 1842]*. Sankt-Petersburg: Tip. M.M. Stasyulevicha, 596 p. [in Russian]
- Kulish, P. O.** (1901). *Khmelnitsyna [Khmelnitsyna]*. Kyiv: Tipografiya Petra Barskogo, 116 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Levitskiy, O.** (1901). Ocherki narodnoy zhizni v Malorossii. [The stories of national life in Malorosia]. *Kievskaya Starina*, 10 – 12, 288–305. [in Ukrainian]
- Marchenko, T. M.** (2011). *Epokha Boghdana Khmelnyckogho v rosijskij romantichnij kartyni svitu: transformacija folklornykh, litopysnykh, istoriografichnykh tradycij [Bogdan Khmelnytsky's svitu: transformacija folklornykh, litopysnykh, istoriografichnykh tradycij]*

Epoch in the Russian Romantic Picture of the World: Transformation of Folklore, Chronicle, and Historiographic Traditions] (Extended abstract of doctor's thesis). Simferopol, 43 p. [in Ukrainian]

Macapura, V. I. (2002). *Ukrajinsjka tema v rosijjskij literaturi pershoji polovyny XIX stolittja (problemy evoljuciji, mifologhizaciji, intertekstualjnosti)* [The Ukrainian theme in Russian literature of the first half of the 19th century (problems of evolution, mythologization, intertextuality)] (Extended abstract of doctor's thesis). Simferopol, 33 p. [in Ukrainian]

Narezhnyy, V.T. (1990). *Bursak, malorossiyskaya povest* [Bursak, Malorosiysk Story]. Moscow: Pravda, 606 p. [in Russian]

Podrygha, V. M. (2008). *Ukrajinsjka rosijjskomovna proza kincja XVIII – pershoji tretyny XIX st.* [Ukrainian Russian-speaking prose of the late XVIIIth – first third of the XIXth century] (Extended abstract of candidate's thesis). Kyiv, 23 p. [in Ukrainian].

Shatalov, D. V. (2014). *Zobrazhennja zaporozjkogho kozactva u tvorchosti V. T. Narjezhnogho jak vidbytok masovykh ujavljenj pershoji chverti XIX st.* [The image of Zaporizhzhya Cossacks in the work of V. T. Narezhnogo as a reflection of mass representations of the first quarter of the 19th century]. *Istorija i kuljtura Prydniprov'ja: Nevidomi ta malovidomi storinky*, 11, 187–193 [in Ukrainian].

Shatalov, D. V. (2015). *Ukrajinsjke kozactvo u suspilnij dumci drughoji polovyny XVIII – pershoji polovyny XIX st.* [Ukrainian Cossacks in the Public Opinion of the second half of the XVIIIth – first half of the XIXth century] (Candidate's thesis). Dnipropetrovsk, 237 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yakovenko, N. (2007). *Vstup do istorii* [Introduction to History]. Kyiv: Kritika, 368 p. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received on September 19, 2019.

Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.

UDC 930.2(477):37.014(438)“1886”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210879

Svitlana BILA

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the World History and Special Historical Disciplines Department, Historical Faculty, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 36 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (bilasvitlana24@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9506-2789>

Valerii KOLPAKOV

PhD hab. (Law), Professor, Head of the Department of Administrative and Business Law of Zaporizhzhya National University, 66, Zhukovskiyi Street, Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, postal code 69063 (v.k.kolpakov@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8580-3261>

ResearcherID: E-7091-2016 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/E-7091-2016>)

Світлана БІЛА

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін історичного факультету Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 36, Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (bilasvitlana24@gmail.com)

Валерій КОЛПАКОВ

доктор юридичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри адміністративного та господарського права Запорізького національного університету, вул. Жуковського, 66, м. Запоріжжя, Україна, індекс 69002 (v.k.kolpakov@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Bila, S. & Kolpakov V. Instructional documents for the School Council in Krakow (1876): Source Description. *Skhidnoieuropeiskiyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 71–84. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210879

INSTRUCTIONAL DOCUMENTS FOR THE SCHOOL COUNCIL IN KRAKOW (1876): SOURCE DESCRIPTION

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to publish and analyze the instruction for the district city school council in Krakow and the instruction for Krakow City Fund as the district school fund (1876) as a source for the history of the Galician education management system of the second half of the 19th century. The research methodology – principles of scientific, objectivity, historicism, methods of external and internal critique of sources. The research novelty is that instruction for the district city school council in Krakow and the instruction for Krakow City Fund as the district school fund (1876) was first published and analyzed as a historical source. The Conclusions. The instruction for the District City School Council in Krakow is in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv. It is accompanied by instructions for Krakow City Fund as the district city school fund. Both manuscripts are written in Polish and date back to 1876. They regulated the financial support of Krakow education system in the first decades of school councils. The instruction of Krakow District City School Council*

was compiled on the basis of the instruction for school district councils, which was prepared by the SSC in accordance with the regional school law of May 2, 1873. The instruction contains 30 paragraphs, which can be divided into three parts: 1) a description of the organizational aspects of Krakow DCSC in the financial sector; 2) determination of the main components of financial record keeping; 3) detailing the procedural aspects of financial records. The instructions for Krakow City Fund as the city's school Fund contained 11 paragraphs. It determined the City Fund as an independent executive body of the administrative school authority in the city. The published documents reveal the financial aspects of providing primary education in Krakow. Documents are published in the original language (Polish) in compliance with the necessary archeographic requirements.

Key words: State School Council, Krakow District City School Council, Krakow City Fund, financing of education, instruction.

ІНСТРУКТИВНІ ДОКУМЕНТИ ДЛЯ ШКІЛЬНОЇ РАДИ У КРАКОВІ (1876): ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧИЙ ОПИС

Анотація. Мета статті – опублікувати і проаналізувати інструкцію для окружної міської шкільної ради в Кракові та інструкцію для Каси міста Краків як каси окружного шкільного фонду (1876) як джерела до історії системи управління освітою Галичини другої половини XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, об'єктивності, історизму, методи зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що уперше публікуються інструкція для окружної міської шкільної ради в Кракові та інструкція для Каси міста Краків як каси окружного шкільного фонду (1876) та здійснюється їхній аналіз як історичних джерел. **Висновки.** Інструкція для окружної міської шкільної ради в Кракові зберігається у Центральному державному історичному архіві України у Львові. Разом з нею міститься й інструкція для Краківської міської каси як каси окружного міського шкільного фонду. Обидва рукописні документи написані польською мовою й датуються 1876 р. Вони регулювали питання фінансового забезпечення системи освіти Кракова у перші десятиліття діяльності шкільних рад. Інструкція Краківської окружної міської шкільної ради була укладена на підставі інструкції для шкільних окружних рад, яку підготувала Крайова шкільна рада відповідно до крайового шкільного закону від 2 травня 1873 р. Документ складається із 30 параграфів, які за змістом можна поділити на три частини: 1) характеристика організаційних моментів діяльності Краківської окружної міської шкільної ради у фінансовій сфері; 2) визначення головних складових фінансового діловодства; 3) деталізація процедурних моментів фінансового діловодства. Інструкція для Каси міської краківської як каси шкільного фонду міста має 11 параграфів. Вона визначала міську касу самостійним виконавчим органом розпорядчої шкільної влади в місті. Публіковані документи розкривають фінансові аспекти забезпечення початкової освіти у Кракові. Документи публікуються мовою оригіналу (польською) з дотриманням необхідних археографічних вимог.

Ключові слова: Крайова шкільна рада, Краківська окружна міська шкільна рада, Краківська міська каса, фінансування шкільництва, інструкція.

The Problem Statement. Development of the educational life of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the Grand Duchy of Krakow in the second half of the 19th – at the beginning of the 20th centuries took place under conditions of active bureaucratization of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's system of government. In fact, bureaucratic procedures became one of the key ones in the regulation and development of public schooling, and they were determined by numerous orders, instructions, statutes and even ordinary letters from the authorities, including the State School Council in Lviv (hereinafter – SSC). After the formation of the district school councils in Galicia (1871), which were subordinated to the SSC, there was a need to regulate their financial activities in the field of education. That is why special instructions were developed for district school councils. One of these documents was formed for the district (and at the same time – for the city one) school council of Krakow, which is the object of our source description and analysis.

The Analysis of Recent Research. The activities of the governing bodies of education in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, especially the SSC, were covered in the works of Polish researchers A. Pająk (Pająk, 1893), M. Bobrzyński (Bobrzyński, 1903), W. Bartel (Bartel, 1977; Bartel, 1980), E. Juško (Juško, 2013), M. Łapot (Łapot, 2017), Ukrainian scientists B. Stuparyk (Stuparyk, 1994), N. Koshelieva (Koshelieva, 1999), V. Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 2001), Kh. Moriak-Protopopova (Moriak-Protopopova, 2011) and others. They revealed the relationship between the SSC and district school councils to varying degrees. The activity of Drohobych District School Council is analyzed in detail in the article by M. Haliv (Haliv, 2017). Some aspects of the activities of the Krakow District School Council are described in the third volume of the *History of Krakow* (Bieniarzówna & Matecki, 1979) and in an article by I. Homola (Homola, 1981). The monograph on the financing of science and education in Galicia (1860 – 1918) was published by Yu. Dybiec (Dybiec, 1979). Unfortunately, there are currently no special works devoted to the documentary principles of the district school councils, including Krakow. Therefore, we consider our article to be the first attempt to carry out such an analysis and to publish instructive materials that regulated the activities of the Krakow School Council after 1876.

The purpose of the article is to publish and analyze the instruction for the district city school council in Krakow and the instruction for Krakow City Fund as the district school fund (1876) as a source for the history of the Galician education management system of the second half of the 19th century.

The Statement of the Basic Material. One of the results of the constitutional changes in the Habsburg Empire in 1867 was the emergence of new principles of schooling. The seventeenth article of the constitution of December 21, 1867 gave the state the right to manage and supervise education; only the teaching of religion was entrusted to the church and religious communities. On May 25, 1868, the so-called religious laws were passed, one of which separated the school from the church. The logical continuation of this policy was the formation of a structured state system of governing bodies of primary, secondary and vocational (except for higher) education. Then, in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the SSC was established (it began its activities on January 24, 1868), and three years later the district school councils, including Krakow School Council, came under its authority.

Outlining the composition of Krakow District City School Council (hereinafter – DCSC), we emphasize that it was determined by the relevant regulations of national and regional nature. According to the order of the Ministry of Recognition and Education of December 1, 1870, the DCSC included: 1) the head (the district or county governor); 2) representatives of the clergy of each religion, which has more than 2,000 believers in the school district; 3) two district teachers' representatives; 4) delegates of county councils who are in the school district; 5) school district inspector. The regional school law of June 25, 1873, defined the same composition of district school councils, adding that the deputy head was elected by the members of the DCSC from among its members by an unconditional majority (Haliv, 2017, p. 273).

In 1873, in addition to the city of Krakow, Krakow DCSC extended its activities to Krakow, Chrzanow and Vilecki counties. Its chairman was Juliusz Bobowski; the deputy chairman was Stanislaw Meroszewski. Apollinaris Ellinger acted as a school inspector. The members of the council were Marian Dydynski – a delegate of the Vilek County Council, Josef Louis – a delegate of the Khzhanov County Council, Fr. Florian Antowski – a representative of the Roman Catholic community, Shimon Samaleon – a representative of the

Israeli community, Andrzej Yuzewczyk – a director of the Krakow Teachers' Seminary and at the same time a teacher, Alexander Payak – a teacher, teacher's representative (Szematyzm, 1873, p. 81).

The instruction for the district city school council in Krakow is in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (fund 178: National School Council, description 1, case 247, pp. 3–6). It is accompanied by instructions for Krakow City Fund as the district city school fund (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 7–7v). Both manuscripts are written in Polish and date back to 1876. They regulated the financial support of Krakow education system in the first decades of school councils.

The analyzed instruction of Krakow DCSC was concluded on the basis of the instruction for school district councils, which was prepared by the National School Council in accordance with the national school law of May 2, 1873. The instruction contains 30 paragraphs, which can be divided into three parts: 1) a description of the organizational aspects of Krakow DCSC in the financial sector; 2) determination of the main components of financial record keeping; 3) detailing the procedural aspects of financial records.

The first part of the document (paragraphs 1–8, 16) first of all stated that it was the DCSC that managed the school fund of Krakow and managed its revenues within the budget, which was compiled under the supervision of the SSC. As the DCSC did not have its own finance department, the powers of the fund of Krakow School Fund was entrusted to the City Fund, which was obliged to collect all the fund's income in both cash and securities, as well as to disburse payments. To this end, the City Fund was obliged to keep separate books for the city's school fund and provide them to the DCSC on a monthly basis (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, p. 3v).

Krakow school fund, according to paragraph 27 of the school law of 1873, was to receive income from leased property, capital stored in the Fund of the community, as well as donations and income from them. As for the income from the capital, which belonged directly to the DCSC, the latter undertook to instruct the City Fund to keep these funds and collect interest on these capitals. The DCSC had to transfer non-permanent income (fines for not sending children to school, one-time donations) to the school fund. All these incomes had to be carefully inventoried. Only gifts of school supplies, books, and products remained at the direct disposal of the DCSC, which could use them for the intended purpose (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 3v–4).

The magistrate of Krakow, in accordance with paragraph 16 of the instructions, was declared a subsidiary body for the DCSC in meeting the needs provided for in paragraph 24 of the school law of May 2, 1873 (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, p. 5). This article provided that all expenditures for the construction, rental, maintenance, interior design, heating, lighting and maintenance of school buildings, as well as the renting and maintenance of teacher accommodation, had to be borne exclusively by the communities to the extent that those expenditures were not covered by the commitments, third parties, corporations, funds (Ustawa, 1873, p. 14). In fact, based on this article of the law, the instruction somewhat wrongly turned the city magistrate into a subsidiary body for the DCSC.

The second part of the instruction defined the obligation of the DSCS to compile an annual estimate of the school fund in two volumes, the first of which concerned revenues and expenditures for teachers, the other – funds and expenditures for the needs of schools and the educational process. The first volume should have been concluded taking into account the letters, conclusions, messages of the SSC, the second one – on the basis of the

researched real needs. The estimate was to take into account all (fixed and variable) revenues and expenditures of the school fund, including funds for the purchase of school supplies. Variable revenues and expenditures were recommended to be included in the budget based on last year's figures. In addition, the budget should have taken into account the possibility of financial shortages and delays in incomes, and therefore provided for some reimbursement from the State School Fund (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, p. 4).

The DCSC estimate concluded in this way had to be submitted to the SSC for approval. The latter, after approving the annual budget by the regional Sejm, undertook to allocate funds from the regional school fund to Krakow school fund. In addition, the SSC had to appeal to the city authorities to provide and implement cash supplements for schools in the city budget, and treat them as a local school fund. Based on the approved budget, the DCSC instructed to pay teachers' salaries, school management fees, small school needs, including school supplies, district library supplements, and "expenditures required by the common good of urban district schools". (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, p. 4v). This was a rather interesting remark in the published instruction, as it allowed to promptly direct funds to the primary needs of education. Paragraph 15 of the instruction stated that in case of need for more significant expenditures, which were not provided in part or in full by the budget, it was necessary to apply to the SSC with a request for appropriate financial assistance from the regional school fund.

The third part of the instruction covers paras. 18–30 and reveals the details of the financial documents related to the income and expenditure of the school fund of Krakow. They emphasized that all orders (signed by the head of the DCSC or his deputy) to the City Fund concerning the school fund should be given to the official who kept the ledger. The DCSC has the right at any time to request cash diaries, check the availability of their maintenance and all signatures, etc. Particular attention should be paid to the following aspects: a) whether cash and securities balances from previous times are detailed; b) whether there are any mistakes in the general calculation; c) whether the expense or income of each item is presented in the amount permitted by the relevant regulations; d) whether payments are confirmed by receipts that must be attached to each item of expenditure. The identified mistakes (especially regarding the lack of funds) should be submitted by the DCSC to the City Fund and request an explanation, as well as to the SSC and the State Prosecutor's Office (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, p. 5–5v).

In addition, the DCSC undertook not only to check the financial documents of the City Fund related to the local school fund, but also to keep its own "cash diaries" and books of income and expenditure of the school fund (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 5–5v). This allowed Krakow DCSC to effectively control the city's school finances. Paragraph 24 was important in the instruction, according to which all parties or persons obliged to pay funds to the school fund must have separate accounts (special account), and all other (one-time, variable, occasional income or expenses) should be create a joint/shared account (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 5v–6).

The following paragraphs of the instructions indicated exactly how to keep books, where to write names, dates, income, etc. It was assumed that the ledgers at the end of each calendar year should be "closed" and the results summarized in a separate account, which would be submitted to the SSC no more than two months after the end of the year, explaining the difference that may be compared with the estimate. Paragraph 29 of the instruction declared the possibility (as well as the school law of 1873) to collect from the parties obliged to

maintain schools, the funds not paid by them by “political execution” (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 6–6v), that is, in a coercive administrative manner. The last paragraph of the instruction required the DCSC to compile and maintain a detailed inventory of the school property, a copy of which should be submitted to the SSC every three years.

The instructions for Krakow City Fund as the city’s school fund contained 11 paragraphs. Paragraphs 3–6 referred to the peculiarities of record keeping regarding the finances of the school fund of Krakow (clauses, signatures of responsible persons, receipts, “cash diary”, list of assets, liquidation books). It was emphasized that each position of the “diary” should be supported by a document on the basis of which a monetary transaction was made (paragraph 7). At the same time, the instruction warned of a lack of funds and obliged the City Fund to demand from the DCSC the necessary financial assistance to cover expenses, so as not to delay payments due to the lack of cash (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 7–7v).

The Conclusions. The instruction for the district city school council in Krakow is in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv. It is accompanied by instructions for Krakow City Fund as the district city school fund. Both manuscripts are written in Polish and date back to 1876. They regulated the financial support of Krakow education system during the first decades of school councils. The instruction of Krakow District City School Council was compiled on the basis of the instruction for school district councils, which was prepared by the SSC in accordance with the regional school law of May 2, 1873. The instruction contains 30 paragraphs, which can be divided into three parts: 1) a description of the organizational aspects of Krakow DCSC in the financial sector; 2) determination of the main components of financial record keeping; 3) detailing the procedural aspects of financial records. The instructions for Krakow City Fund as the city’s school Fund contained 11 paragraphs. It determined the City Fund as an independent executive body of the administrative school authority in the city. The published documents reveal the financial aspects of providing primary education in Krakow.

Documents are published in the original language (Polish) in compliance with the necessary archaeological requirements.

Acknowledgments. We express sincere gratitude to all employees of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv for their help in finding historical documents.

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

The document 1

Instrukcja

dla Rady szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej w Krakowie ułożona na podstawie instrukcji dla Rad szkolnych okręgowych wydanej przez Wys. CK Rade szkolną krajową w myśl §31 kraj ust. szkoln. z d. 2^{go} Maja 1873. № 250.

§1

Okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska zarządza funduszem szkolnym okręgowym miejskim i rozporządza jego dochodami w granicach corocznym preliminarzem zakreślonych pod nadzorem Krajowej Rady szkolnej.

§2

Kasa miejska jako kasa funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego ma na wezwanie Rady szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej pobierać wszelkie dochody wspomnionego funduszu tak

w gotówce jak i w efektach wartościowych, tudzież realizować wypłatę zaasynowanych należności.

W tym celu prowadzić będzie kasa miejska księgi likwidacyjne i oddzielne dzienniki dla funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego i przedkładać Radzie szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej po upływie każdego miesiąca najdalej do trzeciego dnia następującego miesiąca wspomniane dzienniki wraz z dokumentami.

§3

W myśl §27 ustawy szkolnej mają wpływać do funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego:

- a) dochody z wydzierżawionych realności,
- b) dochody z kapitałów w Kasie gminnej przechowywane,
- c) dochody z ofiar (ustęp b. §15 ust. czk.)
- d) datki pieniężne (ustęp d. §15 ust. czk.)
- e) dodatki pieniężne na opędzenie potrzeb w art. 24 ust. czk. wymienionych.

Okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska zarządzi przeto na podstawie zatwierdzonego preliminarza okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego, ażeby dotycząca gmina składała w odpowiednich terminach dochody te w Kasie miejskiej, tudzież ażeby Kasa miejska wszystkie pomienione dochody pobierała i zapisywała na rzecz okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego.

Pomienione dochody pobierać ma w oznaczonych terminach ta sama kasa miejska, pełniąc czynności kasy szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej.

§4

Co do dochodów z kapitałów złożonych okręgowej Radzie szkolnej miejskiej, rozporządzi okręgowa Rada szkolna, ażeby Kasa miejska odebrała te kapitały i przechowała jako majątek funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego, tudzież pobierała odsetki od tych kapitałów w terminach zapadłych.

§5

Co zaś do niestałych dochodów w gotówce, a mianowicie:

- a) kar pieniężnych za nieposyłanie dzieci do szkoły,
- b) jednorazowych datków,

zarządzi okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska co należy względem wzięcia na przepis i pobrania tych dochodów w myśl § 3 tej instrukcyi na rzecz okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego.

§6

Oprócz powyżej wazanych dochodów okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego przeznaczonych na utrzymanie nauczycieli, wpływają w myśl ustępu b. §27 ustawy szkolnej, do okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego dochody z zapisu lub darowizn, które mogą dostarczyć stałych dochodów (jak np. z realności i kapitałów), albo też niestałych jak np. jednorazowe datki czy to w gotówce lub ziemiopłodach, czy to w przyborach szkolnych, książkach itp.

Wzmiankowane realności i kapitały stanowią majątek zarodowy okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego i powinny być wciągnięte do inwentarza wspomnianego funduszu.

§7

Realnościami należącymi do okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego, zawiaduje bezpośrednio Rada szkolna miejska i stara się o to, ażeby realności i kapitały przynosiły jak największe korzyści, – zarządza nareszcie, ażeby kasa miejska przechowywała te kapitały, jako majątek okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego i pobierała tak dochody z tych realności jak i odsotki od kapitałów w terminach oznaczonych na rzecz okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego.

§8

Datki jednorazowe w gotówce składa okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska kasie miejskiej z wezwaniem, ażeby pobrała i napisała datki te na rzecz okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego. Co zaś do datków w ziemiopłodach, przyborach szkolnych, książkach itp. przechowa je okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska i rozporządzi nimi stosownie do ich przeznaczenia.

§9

Okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska układa rok rocznie preliminarz funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego w dwóch działach, z których pierwszy dotyczy dochodów i wydatków na utrzymanie nauczycieli, drugi zaś funduszy i wydatków na potrzeby w § 24 kraj. ust. szk. bliżej określonych, według wzoru lit. c. instrukcyi dla Rad szkoln. miejscowych.

§10

Dział I. preliminarza, który obejmować winien nie tylko dochody i wydatki, przeznaczone na płace nauczycieli, ale także zasiłek krajowego funduszu szkolnego, ułoży Rada szk. okręgowa miejska na podstawie orzeczenia Krajowej Rady szkolnej zarządzającego dotyczące szkoły z uwzględnieniem późniejszych orzeczeń, – drugi, zaś dział na podstawie zbadanych rzeczywistych potrzeb.

§11

Przy układaniu preliminarza uwzględnione być mają wszelkie w księdze kontowej na przepisie będące dochody i wydatki funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego, tak stałe, jak zmienne, tudzież koczta sprawienia potrzebnych przyborów szkolnych, uwidocznionych w wykazach przedłożonych przez pojedyncze zarządy szkół ludowych, a nareszcie zbadane poprzednio potrzeby okręgu szkolnego miejskiego w myśl § 27 powołanej ustawy.

Dochody i wydatki zmienne, w braku innych pewniejszych podstaw, prelininuje się według wynikłości z roku przedostatniego lub według wynikłości przeciętnej z trzech lat ostatnich.

Należy nakoniec w tym preliminarzu uwzględnić możliwe niedobory i spóźnienia przy wpływie dochodów § 23 ustawy z dnia 2 Maja 1873 i z tego powodu prelininować odpowiedni zasiłek zwrotny z Krajowego funduszu szkolnego.

§12

Ułożony podług powyższych wskazówek preliminarz przedkłada okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska w dwóch egzemplarzach Krajowej Radzie szkolnej zaraz po rozpoczęciu czynności, następnie najdalej po koniec Sierpnia każdego roku do zatwierdzenia.

§13

Rada szkolna krajowa potwierdza przedłożony jej przez okręgową Radę szkolną miejską preliminarz, zwraca jeden egzemplarz potwierdzonego preliminarza z odpowiednimi uwagami okręgowej Radzie szkolnej miejskiej, a po uchwaleniu budżetu funduszu krajowego przez Sejm krajowy, asygnuje przypadający dla okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego zasiłek z funduszu krajowego szkolnego na pokrycie wydatków działu I^{go} w urzędzie podatkowym Krakowskim.

Po zawiadomieniu o powyższej asygnacji rozporządzi okręgową Radę szkolną miejską, powołując się na dotyczące rozporządzenie Rady szkolnej krajowej, ażeby kasa miejska pobrała i zapisała zaasygnowany zasiłek do dziennika przychodów okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego.

§14

Po zatwierdzeniu preliminarza okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego przez Krajową Radę szkolną, udzieli okręgową Radę szkolną miejską odpisów odnośnych części preliminarza wszystkim stronom do utrzymania szkół obowiązanych, a w szczególności Reprezentacji miasta, celem zamieszczenia dodatków pieniężnych na szkoły w osobnym dziale budżetu miejskiego, z wezwaniem, by te dodatki pieniężne dla okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego w kasie miejskiej zaasygnowała.

§15

Na podstawie potwierdzonego przez Radę szkolną krajową preliminarza zarządza okręgową Radę szkolną miejską wypłatę należności, mianowicie:

a) na płace nauczycieli, b) na dodatki za kierownictwo, c) na dodatki na drobne potrzeby szkolne i urzędowe, d) na przybory nayskowe, e) na bibliotekę okręgową, f) na wydatki, których wymaga wspólne dobro szkół okręgu miejskiego, – i g) na potrzeby wymienione w § 24 ustawy szkolnej z 2 Maja 1873.

W razie zaś gdyby się okazała nieodzowna potrzeba wydatków znaczniejeszego, budżetem niedostatecznie lub całkowicie nie przewidzianego, na pokrycie potrzeb pod a, b, c, d, e, f, wówczas należy zawczasu wyjednać u Rady szkolnej krajowej odpowiedni zasiłek z funduszu szkolnego krajowego i przyzwolenie na wypłatę.

§16

Magistrat m. Krakowa jest organem pomocniczym Ck. Rady szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej w dostarczaniu potrzeb w § 24 ust. szk. z d. 2 Maja 1873 wymienionych.

§17

Kwity wystawione przez nauczycieli uprawnionych do poboru na zaasygnowaną płacę mają być koramizowane przez Ck. Inspektora okręgowego miejskiego.

§18

Wszystki rozporządzenia do kasy miejskiej tak względem wzięcia na przepis dochodów, jako też względem poboru dochodów i zrealizowania wypłat, mają być udzielane prowadzącemu księgę kontową przed wysłaniem ażeby takowe zapisał i zaopatrzył klauzulą, że treść ich zanotowana w księdze kontowej, uwidoczniając zarazem dotyczącą stronicę tej księgi.

Rozporządzenia te muszą być nadto zaopatrzone podpisem przewodniczącego Rady szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej, lub jego zastępcy i kontraasynowane przez naczelnika biura rachunkowego miejskiego, który spis wszystkich asygnacji prowadzić ma.

§19

Celem przestrzegania terminu oznaczonego do przedkładania dzienników kasowych, prowadzić będzie Rada szk. okręgowa miejska odpowiednie zapiski.

Gdyby zaniedbano przedłożyć dzienniki kasowe w terminie oznaczonym, w ówczas winna okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska zażądać takowych niezwłocznie, a najdalej w ośmiu dniach od dotyczącej Władzy.

§20

Po otrzymaniu dzienników kasowych i zanotowaniu tego w wspomnianych zapiskach, winna Rada szkolna okręgowa przejrzeć takowe, czy są należycie podpisane przez odpowiedzialnych zdawców rachunku, dalej, jakimi i wieloma zaopatrzone załącznikami i liczbę załączników wypisać na karcie tytułowej jeżeli b tego zdawcy rachunków nie uczynili, – nakoniec potwierdzić odbiór tychże na konsygnacji i odesłać jeden egzemplarz konsygnacji do kasy okręgowej miejskiej.

Nie zaopatrzone podpisami pisma, nie mogą być uważane jako dokumenta urzędowe, ani podawane sprawdzeniu, powinny więc być natychmiast zwrócone do uzupełnienia.

§21

Odebrane dzienniki kasowe należy następnie zbadać jak najściślej:

- a) czy pozostałości w gotówce i efektach wartościowych z czasu poprzedniego przeniesione dokładnie,
- b) czy w kalkulacji pospolitej nie zachodzą jakie usterki,
- c) czy wydatek lub dochód każdej pozycji przedstawiono w tej ilości, na jaką zezwała obowiązujące rozporządzenie,
- d) czy wypłatę udowodniono kwitami, które do każdej pozycji wydatku dołączone być winny, – a nareszcie
- e) czy przestrzegano przepisów stemplowych.

§22

Dostrzeżone przy cenzurze dzienników kasowych usterki, wytknie Rada szkolna okręgowa odnośnej kasie w krótkiej drodze i zarządzi sprawdzenia lub wyjaśnienia.

Gdyby jednak po odbytej korespondencji okazały się zwroty lub pretensje niezaspokojone, wówczas wyda Rada szkolna okręgowa rozporządzenie, wedle którego dalej postąpić należy.

Usterki zaś które domyślać się każą sprzeniewierzenia, należy podać niezwłocznie do wiadomości Rady szkolnej krajowej i Ck. Prokuratury Państwa.

§23

Wielu kontroli i zebrania pojedynczych pozycji rachowanych w dziennikach kasowych w jednolity rachunek ogólny prowadzić będzie Rada szkolna okręgowa oddzielne księgi rachunkowe (kontowe) dla przychadów i wydalków fundsza szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego wedle wzoru lil D. instrukcyi dla Rad szkolnych okręwych, podzielone na działy majątku zachodowego i na działy majątku obrotowego.

§24

Dla każdej strony lub osoby moralnej obowiązanej płacenia lub uprawionej do poboru pewnych stałych należności, utworzyć należy rachunek osobowy (specjalne konto) zaś na wazelkie inne jednorazowe, zmienne przypadkowe dochody lub wydatki, utworzyć należy rachunek wspólny czyli zbiorowy.

§25

W tekście przepisu każdej pozycji z osobna należy na stronnicy „Należytość” uwidocznic na podstawie otrzymanego rozporządzenia datę i liczbę onego, imię i nazwisko strony obowiązanej do płacenia, lub uprawnionej do poboru, sposób poboru lub wypłaty, termin przypadłości i kwotę należności.

Na stronnicy „Uiszczenie” należy uwidocznic daty dziennika kasowego, a mianowicie dzień uiszczenia, artykuł dziennika, szas za który uiszczenie nastąpiło i kwotę pieniężną.

Wszystki zmiany, jako to: podwyższenia, umniejszenia lub całkowite odpisanie należności winny być na stronnicy „Należytość” natychmiast po utrzymaniu odnośnego rozporządzenia uwidocznione, a tekst i kwoty z rektyfikowane.

§26

Po zapisaniu wszelkich pozycji dziennika kasowego do ksiąg kontowych, należy wyciągnąć dotyczące kwoty z odwołaniem się na stronnice księgi kontowej do zbiornika (scontro) i takowy zesumować, celem przekonania się o zgodności sumy zakontowanej ze sumą zarachowaną w dzienniku kasowym.

§27

Księgi kontowe należy z końcem każdego roku słonecznego zamknąć i wynikłość zebrać w ogólny rachunek ułożony według wzoru lit E. instrukcyi dla Rad szkolnych okręgowych, tudzież odpis tego rachunku przedłożyć Radzie szkolnej krajowej najdalej w dwóch miesiącach po upływie każdego roku, usprawiedliwiając zarazem w krótkości różnice okazujące się z porównania wynikłości z preliminarzem.

Rada szkolna krajowa po scisłem zbadaniu i uznaniu rzetelności rachunku wyda absolutorium Radzie szkolnej okręgowej, która odpisu sprawdzonego już rachunku udzili Radzie miejskiej do wiadomości.

§28

Przy zamykaniu pojedynczych rachunków (conto) wspomnianej księgi, należy obliczyć sumę przedziałki „Należytość” i porównać ją z sumą uiszczeń, przyczem może się okazać że albo suma uiszczeń wyrówna sumie należności, albo jest mniejsza od tej sumy. – W pierwszym wypadku jest zamknięcie i dokonane, w drugim zaś wypadku należy uzupełnić sumę uiszczeń do wysokości sumy należności.

Kwota stanowiąca to uzupełnienie przedstawia zaległość powstałą z końcem roku, która ma być przeniesioną na rachunek (conto) następującego roku.

§29

Co do zaległości czynnych okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego zarządzi okręgowa Rada szkolna, ażeby kasa miejska wykazywała zaległości z końcem każdego kwartału, tudzież, ażeby na podstawie tych wykazów ściągnięto takowe w drodze egzekucyi politycznej w myśl § 31 Krajowej ustawy szkolnej.

§30

Rada czkolna okręgowa miejska winna ułożyć i utrzymywać dokładny inwentarz majątku funduszu szkolnego miejskiego wedle wzoru lit F. instrukcyi dla Rad szkolnych okręgowych, tudzież czuwać nad jego stanem i ulepszeniem, a zasze w ciągu roku zmiany tj przyrośty i ubytki uwidaczniać w tym inwentarzu.

Odpis inwentarza należy zaraz po rozpoczęciu szynności, a następnie po upływie trzech lat przedkładać Radzie szkolnej krajowej.

The historical source: Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 3–6.

The document 2

Instrukcyja
dla kasy miejskiej krakowskiej
jako kasy funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego.

§1

Kasa miejska krakowska w zastępstwie kasy funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego działa jako samoistny organ wykonawczy rozporządzającej władzy szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej w granicach określonych niniejszą instrukcją.

§2

Rozporządzającą władzą dla kasy miejskiej krakowskiej jako kasy funduszu szkolnego okręgowego miejskiego, jest okręgowa Rada szkolna miejska.

§3

Asygnaty wydawane przez okręgową Radą szkolną miejską do kasy miejskiej, winny zawierać klauzulę, że zapisano je w księdze kontowej okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego, nad to powinny być zaopatrzone podpisem przewodniczącego okręgowej Rady szkolnej miejskiej, lub jego zastępcy, i kontrasygnowane przez naczelnika biura rachunkowego miejskiego. Kwity zaś na płace nauczycieli winny być potwierdzone przez Ck. Inspektora okręgowego miejskiego.

§4

Celem uwidocznienia wszelkich dochodów i wydatków okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego, prowadzić będzie kasa miejska osobny dziennik kasowy według wzorów w kasie miejskiej używanych.

Do tego dziennika należy zapisywać w porządku chronologicznym wszystkie przychody i wydatki nie zwłocznie po ich pobraniu, a względnie wypłaceniu.

§5

Oprócz tego powinna kasa prowadzić odrębny spis walorów, znajdujących się u niej w przechowaniu.

§6

Księgi likwidacyjne mają być prowadzone w myśl postanowień dla kasy miejskiej.

§7

Każdą pozycją dziennika okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego tak w dziale dochodów jak i wydatków należy udowodnić dokumentem.

Dzienniki te prowadzone w myśl §4 niniejszej instrukcyi, odsełać będzie kasa miejska wraz z dokumentami okręgowej Radzie szkolnej miejskiej w przeciągu trzech dni po upływie każdego miesiąca.

Gdyby w ciągu miesiąca odbyło się skontrolowanie kasy miejskiej, wówczas należy w wykazie stanu kasy uwidocznić oddzielnie wynik, dzienników kasowych od pierwszego dnia miesiąca, do dnia skontrolowania, oddzielnie zaś od dnia skontrolowania, aż po koniec miesiąca.

§8

Wyплаты na rachunek okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego mogą o tyle tylko być skuteczzone, o ile wystarcza gotówka tegoż funduszu znajdująca się w kasie miejskiej; – zamknięcia dzienników rzeczonoego funduszu nie mogą też nigdy wykazywać nidoboru.

Będzie więc obowiązkiem kasie miejskiej żądać zawczasu od okręgowej Rady szkolnej potrzebnego zasiłku na pokrycie wydatków zaasygnowanych z okręgowego funduszu szkolnego, ażeby nie wstrzymać wypłat należytości z braku odpowiedniej gotówki.

Posiłkowanie się gotówką z funduszy gminnych może nastąpić za przyzwoleniem Reprezentacyi miasta Krakowa.

§9

Odpowiedzialni urzędnicy kasy miejskiej ręcą za każdą szkołę wyrządzoną z ich winy okręgowemu funduszowi szkolnemu miejskiemu. Służbowa ich kaucya może być użyte na pokrycie szkod, wyrządzonych wspomnionemu funduszowi.

§10

Przy oddawaniu i skontrolowaniu kasy miejskiej może brać udział także delegat władzy zarządzającej funduszem szkolnym okręgowym miejskim, jeżeli komisarz skontrolujący uzna to za potrzebne.

§11

Wszystki inne przepisy kasowe dla kasy miejskiej o ile takowe nie sprzeciwiają się niniejszej instrukcyi, obowiązują także przy obrocie pieniężnym, zapisywaniu do dzienników, prowadzeniu ksiąg i likwidowaniu przychodów i wydatków okręgowego funduszu szkolnego miejskiego.

The historical source: Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 178, d. 1, c. 247, pp. 7–7v.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bartel, W. M. (1977). Zur Geschichte des Galizischen Landesschulrates 1867 – 1918 [On the history of the Galician State School Council 1867 – 1918]. *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 17, 346–356. [in German]

Bartel, W. M. (1980). Galicyjska Rada Szkolna Krajowa – czasy, instytucja, ludzie [The Galician State School Council – times, institution, people]. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace prawnicze*, 86, 33–61. [in Polish]

Bieniarzówna, J. & Malecki, J. (ed.) (1979). *Dzieje Krakowa. T. 3: Kraków w latach 1796 – 1918* [The history of Krakow. Vol. 3: Krakow in the years 1796 – 1918]. Kraków, 435 p. [in Polish]

Bobrzyński, M. (1903). *Statut Rady Szkolnej Krajowej. Studium prawno-polityczne [The statute of the National School Council]*. Kraków, 123 p. [in Polish]

Dybiec, Ju. (1979). *Finansowanie nauki i oświaty w Galicji 1860 – 1918 [Financing of the science and education in Galicia 1860 – 1918]*. Kraków, 221 p. [in Polish]

Haliw, M. (2017). Drohobytska okružna shkilna rada (1878 – 1914): sklad i diialnist [Drohobych District School Council (1878 – 1914): composition and activities]. *Drohobytskyi kraieznavchyi zbirnyk, XIX–XX*, 272–284. [in Ukrainian]

Homola, I. (1981). Nauczycielstwo krakowskie w okresie autonomii (1867 – 1914) [Krakow teachers during the period of autonomy (1867 – 1914)]. *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku, red. Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis* (pp. 83–130). Warszawa. [in Polish]

Juško, E. (2013). *Rada Szkolna Krajowa i jej działalność na rzecz szkoły ludowej w Galicji (1868 – 1921) [The State School Council and its activities for the people's school in Galicia (1868 – 1921)]*. Lublin: Tow-wo Nauk. KUL; Tarnów: Wyd-wo Diecezji Tarnowskiej Biblios, 276 p. [in Polish]

Koshelieva, N. (1999). Diialnist halyskoi Kraiovoi shkilnoi rady stosovno ukrainskoi narodnoi osvity v 1873 – 1914 rr. [Activities of the Galician State School Council in relation to Ukrainian public education in 1873 – 1914]. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriya istorychna*, 34, 269–277. [in Ukrainian]

Kulchytskyi, V. (2001). Do pyttannia pro Kraiovu shkilnu radu v Halychyni (1867 – 1918 rr.) [On the question of the State School Council in Galicia (1867 – 1918)]. *Problemy derzhavotvorennia i zakhystu prav liudyny v Ukraini: Materialy VII rehionalnoi naukovy-praktychnoi konferentsii* (Lviv, 13 – 14 liutoho 2001 r.) (pp. 6–7). Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

Lapot, M. (2017). Szkolnictwo ludowe w Galicji u progu działalności Rady Szkolnej Krajowej (w stu pięćdziesięciolecie jej powołania) [People's education in Galicia at the beginning of the activities of the State School Council (on the 150th anniversary of its establishment)]. *Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. Pedagogika, XXVI* (2), 237–259. [in Polish]

Moriak-Protopopova, Kh. (2011). Kraiova shkilna rada u Halychyni: povnovazhennia, struktura i vplyv na rozvytok shkilnytstva u 1867 – 1918 rr. [The State School Council in Galicia: powers, structure and influence on the development of schooling in 1867 – 1918]. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriya yurydychna*, 54, 73–80. [in Ukrainian]

Pająk, A. (1893). Pogląd historyczny na organizację władz szkolnych w Galicji [Historical view on the organization of School Authorities in Galicia]. *Szkola*, 19, 241–245; 20, 257–259; 21, 268–269; 22, 279–281; 24, 302–305; 26, 336–337; 50, 651–652; 51, 665–667; 52, 674–675. [in Polish]

Stuparyk, B. (1994). *Shkilnytstvo Halychyny (1772 – 1939) [Schooling in Galicia (1772 – 1939)]*. Ivano-Frankivsk, 144 p. [in Ukrainian]

Szematyzm. (1873). *Szematyzm Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi z wielkiem księstwem krakowskiem na rok 1873 [Shematism of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomerya with the Grand Duchy of Kraków for 1873]*. Lwów: Z drukarni E. Winiarza, 780 p. [in Polish]

Ustawa. (1873). *Ustawa o zakładaniu i utrzymywaniu publicznych szkół ludowych, i obowiązku posyłania do nich dzieci [The act on establishing and maintaining public folk schools and on the obligation to send children to them]*. Lwów: Nakładem i drukiem E. Winiarza, 57 p. [in Polish]

The article was received on December 16, 2019.

Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.

UDC 94(477)(092)“19”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210877

Vitaliy ANDRYEYEV

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Professor of Department of Ukraine's History of Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, 18/2 Bulvarno-Kudriavska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 04053 (avnskyf@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1830-0629>

ResearcherID: B-8199-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-8199-2019>)

Svitlana ANDRYEYeva

PhD (History), Associate Professor, head of the Scientific-Research Laboratory of Grinchenko Studies of Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, 18/2 Bulvarno-Kudriavska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 04053 (ass70@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6082-064X>

ResearcherID: B-8195-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-8195-2019>)

Віталій АНДРЕЄВ

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри історії України Київського університету імені Бориса Грінченка, вул. Бульварно-Кудрявська, Київ, Україна, індекс 04053 (avnskyf@ukr.net)

Світлана АНДРЕЄВА

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка, завідувачка науково-дослідної лабораторії гринченкознавства Київського університету імені Бориса Грінченка, вул. Бульварно-Кудрявська, Київ, Україна, індекс 04053 (ass70@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Andryeyev, V. & Andryeyeva, S. (2020). Borys Hrinchenko and Dmytro Doroshenko: history of cooperation of Ukrainian intellectuals. *Skhidnoievropeiskiy Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 85–95. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210877

**BORYS HRINCHENKO AND DMYTRO DOROSHENKO:
HISTORY OF COOPERATION OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to reveal the main directions of cooperation between B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko in the scientific, socio-political, journalistic, publishing spheres in the modernization of a public life and the formation of a nationally conscious elite at the beginning of the XXth century. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, a systematic approach, objectivity, anthropologism. General historical methods of analysis and synthesis and special historical methods (historical genetic, historical typological) have been used. The research methodology is supplemented by the concepts of “intellectual biography” and “network science model”. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time a wide range of sources summarize the social, professional, private interactions of the representatives of two generations of the national movement – B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko, and determine their role in the Ukrainian issue. The Conclusions. The relations between B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko demonstrate a difficult*

transition from the populist Ukrainophilism to the political Ukrainophilism. During the revolution of 1905 – 1907, in the political activity of D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko, the tactical priorities were the struggle for the autonomy of Ukraine within the Russian Empire, federalism and parliamentarism. In Kyiv during 1905 – 1909, B. Hrinchenko involved D. Doroshenko into the development of the Ukrainian independent press, educational and public work. He significantly influenced D. Doroshenko's views in various fields of the Ukrainian studies, scientific interests, civic position. The fruitful activity and cooperation of B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nation from a huge ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people, a social organism capable of an independent cultural and political life, which would become the driving force of the liberation struggle during 1917 – 1920.

Key words: B. Hrinchenko, D. Doroshenko, the Ukrainian intellectual elite.

БОРИС ГРІНЧЕНКО ТА ДМИТРО ДОРОШЕНКО: ІСТОРІЯ СПІВПРАЦІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛІВ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити основні напрями співробітництва Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка у науковій, громадсько-політичній, журналістській, видавничій сферах в умовах модернізації суспільного життя та формування національно свідомої еліти на початку ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, антропологізму. Використано загальноісторичні методи аналізу і синтезу та спеціально-історичні методи (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний). Методологія дослідження доповнена концептами “інтелектуальна біографія” та “мережева модель науки”. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на широкому колі джерел узагальнено суспільні, професійні, приватні взаємовпливи представників двох поколінь національного руху – Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка, визначено їх роль для української справи. **Висновки.** Відносини Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка демонструють складний перехід від народницького українофільства до українства політичного. У політичній діяльності Д. Дорошенка та Б. Грінченка в період революції 1905 – 1907 рр. тактичними пріоритетами були боротьба за автономію України в складі Російської імперії, федералізм та парламентаризм. У Києві 1905 – 1909 рр. Б. Грінченко залучив Д. Дорошенка до розбудови української самостійної преси, громадської, народнопросвітницької та громадської роботи. Він суттєво впливав на погляди Д. Дорошенка в різних сферах українознавства, наукові зацікавлення, громадянську позицію. Плідна діяльність і співпраця Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка сприяли формуванню з величезної етнічної маси українського народу української нації, суспільного організму, здатного до самостійного культурного і політичного життя, який стане рушійною силою визвольних змагань 1917 – 1920-х рр.

Ключові слова: Б. Грінченко, Д. Дорошенко, українська інтелектуальна еліта.

The Problem Statement. During the recent decades, there has been a rethinking of the subject field of an intellectual history – from the study of the history of ideas to the study of an intellectual activity and processes in the socio-cultural context. The anthropological dimension of an intellectual history is the “history of intellectuals”, which focuses on thinkers themselves and their interpersonal connections. This gave the rise to a new genre of historical knowledge – an intellectual biography. Different models of an intellectual biography have also been tested by the Ukrainian historiography (Andreyev, 2019; Gonchar, 2018; Sayenko & Shestakova, 2018). Innovative is the network model of the Ukrainian researcher I. Kolesnyk, which involves studying not only the biography of the intellectual, but the cultural space in which he is (professional, scientific, household, etc.) (Kolesnyk, 2013, p. 466).

For a long time, the Ukrainian cultural consciousness formed the idea of the intellectual as the bearer of the national idea, whose opposition to power took the form of a cultural, moral or linguistic opposition. B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko were such intellectuals, the extraordinary representatives of two generations of the Ukrainian national movement. Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko (1863 – 1910) – an outstanding Ukrainian writer, pedagogue,

literary critic, lexicographer, historian, publicist, publisher, a public and political figure. Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko (1882 – 1951) – a scholar, historian, representative of the state direction in the Ukrainian historiography, a publicist, public and statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of P. Skoropadskiyi. B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko worked closely together during the rise of the Ukrainian national movement (1905 – 1909), but their cooperation has not yet been the subject of a separate study.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. During the years of independence we observe a constant interest in the figure, creative and scientific work of B. Hrinchenko, whose historical role in the Ukrainian national movement is interpreted as “the awakener of the nation” (according to M. Hrokh). Enlightenment, civic populism and Prosvitas’ activities, a prominent representative of which B. Hrinchenko was, ensured a high level of a national consciousness, the revival of the historical memory and the will to fight for the Ukrainian statehood (Kovaliv, pp. 29–30).

Nowadays, we can state the formation of an interdisciplinary direction of the scientific researches – Hrinchenko studies. In particular, it is represented by the monographic studies of A. Zhyvotenko-Piankiv, N. Zubkova, N. Kobyzhcha, A. Nezhyvyi, A. Pohribnyi, A. Hoptiar, V. Yaremenko, etc., which contain the biographical essays. However, in most studies the preference is given to the study of literary, cultural, educational, pedagogical activities of B. Hrinchenko and his contribution to certain spheres of the Ukrainian studies, the researchers are interested in his socio-political activities and the evolution of political views.

The scale of B. Hrinchenko’s personality and his influence on various spheres of the Ukrainian society during the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries demonstrate several studies of his relations with other representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite – M. Drahomanov, M. Hrushevskiyi, I. Franko, E. Chykalenko and the others. A complex character, demanding of oneself and the others, inclination to authoritarian methods in work, intransigence and pertinacity in any issues of the Ukrainian matter formed a certain reputation of B. Hrinchenko and left an imprint on the relations with these outstanding Ukrainians.

B. Hrinchenko and his family maintained the closest personal and professional ties with S. Yefremov, but he was always surrounded by many talented, hard-working, devoted to the Ukrainian issue young people, for whom he became a service model. Such role was played by B. Hrinchenko in the formation of still young (at that time) historian – Dmytro Doroshenko (Andryeyev, 2006; Rudenko, 2015).

The source base of the study is the complex of the historical and historiographical sources. First of all, these are ego-sources that reflect the reception of the image of B. Hrinchenko by D. Doroshenko. These are memoirs – “My Memories of the Ancient Past” (Doroshenko, 1949) and “My Memories of Borys Hrinchenko (on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of B. D. Hrinchenko’s Death – April 23, 1910)” (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 309, d. 1, c. 1 313), as well as a biographical essay about B. Hrinchenko on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his creative activity (Doroshenko, 1906a), necrology (Zhuchenko, 1913), the public speeches on the anniversary of B. Hrinchenko’s death – “Borys Hrinchenko: Life and Work (Report on the anniversary of memory). Katerynoslav, 1911” (Manuscript Institute of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky, f. 318, d. 1, c. 26) and the others ([St. Siropolko], 1925). For the reconstruction of professional, social and interpersonal relations between the two figures of the national movement their

correspondence during 1899 – 1910 plays an important role (MI NLUV, f. III, d. 1). Some unpublished materials are contained in the personal funds of B. Hrinchenko (MI NLUV, f. 170, d. 1; f. I, d. 1) and D. Doroshenko (MI NLUV, f. 318, d. 1).

The life of the Ukrainian community in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the XXth century is elucidated in O. Lototsky's memoirs in detail, the social and political life in Kyiv during the revolution of 1905 – 1907 – in the memoirs of E. Chykalenko and S. Yefremov.

The purpose of the study is to reveal the main directions of cooperation between B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko in the scientific, socio-political, journalistic, publishing spheres in the modernization of a public life and the formation of a nationally conscious elite at the beginning of the XXth century.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The beginning of Dmytro Doroshenko's acquaintance in absentia, a student of the Vilna Gymnasium, with the well-known Ukrainian national figure B. Hrinchenko dates back to the mid-1890-ies. At that time the main topic of their correspondence was D. Doroshenko's desire to buy books for a public education and popular books for the masses, published by B. Hrinchenko in Chernihiv (Ivan Cherevatenko Publishing House). They met for the first time in Chernihiv in 1898. They came also across in the summer of 1903 on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument to I. Kotlyarevskyi in Poltava (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 39).

In the summer of 1904 in Kyiv, B. Hrinchenko's family hosted D. Doroshenko, a student of St. Petersburg University, when he was returning from Lviv, from the Ukrainian summer university courses with Nastya Hrinchenko (a daughter of Borys Dmytrovych) (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 52). Later on, the relations between D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko became friendly, they worked closely in the Ukrainian Kyiv press and in the field of socio-political and scientific work. They saw each other for the last time in the summer of 1909 in the village of Budaivtsi (near the village of Boyarka, near Kyiv), one of the favourite places of Kyiv intelligentsia. They did not stop corresponding until the death of B. Hrinchenko. D. Doroshenko was the executor of the clergy of Borys Dmytrovych.

D. Doroshenko belonged to a famous Cossack family, from which two hetmans came – Mykhailo Doroshenko (1625 – 1628) and Petro Doroshenko (1665 – 1676). From Hetman Mazepa the Doroshenkos received a hamlet in Hlukhiv county in Chernihiv region, it became their ancestral home. The Doroshenkos family, against the background of many Russified Cossack families, stood out with a clear national consciousness. In the family the biggest "Ukrainophile" was D. Doroshenko's uncle, Petro Yakovych. He was personally acquainted with B. Hrinchenko during the work in Chernihiv provincial zemstvo. P. Doroshenko collected a large library and a collection of historical documents (Andryeyev, 2006, pp. 127–128).

Such family charismatic clans (nobility officers) as a specific form of social organization, under conditions of statelessness and an institutional illegitimacy of a cultural life in Ukraine, played a significant role in preserving the native language, faith, customs and rites, traditional forms of the family and a public life, a national identity (Kolesnyk, 2013, pp. 386–387).

Dmytro's childhood years were spent in the hamlet, and later he spent every vacation there (Doroshenko, 1949, pp. 3–4). One of D. Doroshenko's pseudonyms was "A farmer from Hlukhiv". From his childhood he knew the history of his family, understood that his ancestors created the history of Ukraine and was proud of it (Andryeyev, 2006, pp. 127–128).

The direct influence of B. Hrinchenko, his asceticism in the field of collecting and publishing folklore and ethnography of Chernihiv region, can be traced in the formation of

D. Doroshenko's interests. The personal archive of the scientist contains the notes on the history and ethnography of Hlukhiv region (near the grandfather's hamlet), dated back to the end of the XIXth century (MI NLUV, f. 318, c. 59).

B. Hrinchenko himself, who also grew up in the hamlet (Vilkhovyi Yar hamlet, Kharkiv county, Kharkiv province) in a Cossack but Russified family, showed great interest in the details of "Doroshenko's farm life".

B. Hrinchenko was interested in history, he wrote on historical themes, he taught Ukrainian history in popular books in a popular way. He actively used historical parallels and arguments in journalism and political pamphlets. B. Hrinchenko worked on a wide range of historical sources and literature. Numerous historical materials are stored in B. Hrinchenko's personal archive.

B. Hrinchenko addressed D. Doroshenko as a professional historian for consultation and review, selection of historical, literary and illustrative materials for his works on the history of the Cossack times in Ukraine, which can be traced in their correspondence from 1906 to 1909 (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 976; c. 40 747, p. 1; c. 40 745; c. 40 754; c. 40 756, pp. 11–11 v.).

In the spotlight of B. Hrinchenko there were the figures of the two hetmans of Ukraine – Ivan Vyhovskiy (adhered to the pro-Polish orientation) and Petro Doroshenko (signed the alliance with Turkey), who, in his opinion, were the most consistent in trying to preserve the Ukrainian state in the XVIIth century. B. Hrinchenko devoted his separate thorough work to I. Vyhovskiy – "Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, his Life and Deeds" (Kyiv, 1909). The researchers consider this work to belong to the populist national period in the study of the problem (Kazmyrchuk & Kazmyrchuk, 2019, pp. 62–64, 66).

B. Hrinchenko collected a rich historical and folklore material, researched how the image of Hetman P. Doroshenko was reflected in the folk art. The conclusions were tested in speeches and discussions at the meetings of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv in 1907 (since 1908 D. Doroshenko – the secretary of the Society) and in several publications.

B. Hrinchenko wrote a five-act play "Petro Doroshenko". He tried to comprehend the historical role of the hetman in the art form. The work was not completed, One of the reasons for it was the lack of materials. D. Doroshenko did not help in this matter either. On this occasion, he wrote the following sentence in the letter (May 1, 1906): "... apparently, our hetman is waiting for his novelist" (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 36 976, p. 1 v.).

Instead, D. Doroshenko himself did not stop researching his prominent ancestor's life and activity and later he wrote a thorough monograph – "Hetman Petro Doroshenko. Review of his Life and Political Activities" (Нью-Йорк, 1985). It should also be noted that in the future in his scientific activity the author in evaluative judgments about the Hetmans: I. Vyhovskiy and P. Doroshenko, in general, adheres to the Ukrainian-centric views, characteristic of the works on historical themes of B. Hrinchenko.

As it has been already mentioned, in his youth D. Doroshenko distributed a popular literature, published by B. Hrinchenko, among the peasants of Hlukhiv county actively, and D. Doroshenko became interested in this matter for many years. It became for him a real school of a national propaganda. Personally, he began to write books for the people during his studies at St. Petersburg University. O. Lototskiy invited him to work in the "Charitable Society for the Publication of Useful and Cheap Books" (Doroshenko, 1949, pp. 49–50).

Among other things, D. Doroshenko compiled an index of a recommendatory nature – the register of the Ukrainian publications of 1894–1904, where under each bibliographic position the excerpts from reviews of this literature were submitted. (Дорошенко, 1904). Among the recommended 189 works there were several dozens editions made by B. Hrinchenko in Chernihiv.

A direct cooperation of D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko in the field of publishing books for the people unfolded during the years of work in Kyiv “Prosvita”, headed by Borys Dmytrovych (Zubkova, 2008, pp. 146–147). Dmytro Ivanovych was the secretary of “Prosvita”, and he also worked actively in its library and other commissions. S. Yefremov, V. Durdukivskiyi, O. Voloshyn, M. Levyttskyi, V. Strashkevych and student youth united around B. Hrinchenko and “Prosvita”. D. Doroshenko continued his work in “Prosvita” until he moved to Katerynoslav in 1909, and from there he elucidated in detail the work of Katerynoslavskya Prosvita and its regional branches in the letters to B. Hrinchenko, first to Kyiv and then to Italy (MI NLUV, f. III, cc. 36 947–36 953).

Totally, during 1906 – 1908, D. Doroshenko wrote and published five books for the people with the assistance of the “Charitable Society”, “Prosvita”, and “The Ukrainian Teacher” publishing house. Most problems were caused by the publication of the brochure “Story about Ireland” by Kyiv “Prosvita” (Київ, 1907 р.). The government’s claims to this publication were one of the reasons for its closure (although D. Doroshenko made publications on the history of Ireland many times during 1906 – 1907). The theme of the struggle against a national oppression was the red thread in the publication, which was a direct analogy with Ukraine. However, in the letter dated on February 2, 1907, the experienced B. Hrinchenko warned of a severe self-censorship: “Both the second and the third proofreading should be read so that I can see if it is completely safe or if it still needs to be censored. Otherwise there may be a confiscation and even a lawsuit” (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 40 778, pp. 41–41 v.).

B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko had much in common in ideological approaches and themes of literary preferences. Thus, in the publication “Newer Ukrainian Writers” (1900) D. Doroshenko identified the Ukrainian literature as one of the “foundations of a national and cultural development” (MI NLUV, f. 318, c. 23, p. 62).

Apparently, under the influence of B. Hrinchenko’s research on the extraordinary figure of the Ukrainian national movement “P. A. Kulish. Biographical Essay” (Chernihiv, 1899), as a student D. Doroshenko wrote the article “P. Kulish as a Poet” (1902) (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 5). Later, it was B. Hrinchenko, who suggested that D. Doroshenko should write the article for “The New Community” about P. Kulish and T. Shevchenko (the letter dated from May 1, 1906) (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 36 976, p. 1). But in 1906 D. Doroshenko published a popular book about P. Kulish, and a scientific article was published only the following year, because of the closure of the “The New Community” it was published in the magazine “Ukraine”.

The revolution of 1905 – 1907 abolished a formal oppression of the Ukrainian word. D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko, who had a significant experience in journalism, feeling the need for a widespread use of the printed word for the Ukrainian issue, began to cooperate in the periodicals actively.

The cooperation with B. Hrinchenko in Kyiv editions “Hromadska Dumka”, “Nova Hromada”, and “Rada” became a real school of journalism and language for D. Doroshenko. The young Ukrainian press did not yet have professionally trained journalists, the newspaper language was not “worked out”, and at the same time readers made very high demands to the language. “Thus, we just had to work out, create – very carefully – a new newspaper language based on the language of folk and literary. The task was very difficult and responsible” (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 87).

The most productive was the work of the historian in the magazine “The New Community” (“Nova Hromada”), which was founded by B. Hrinchenko. During the autumn of 1905 and

the spring of 1906, D. Doroshenko corresponded with Borys Dmytrovych constantly about his participation in the publishing projects (Rudenko, 2015, p. 168).

Thus, in the letter dated back from 11.11.1905 D. Doroshenko wrote to Borys Dmytrovych that he could entrust him with any work (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 978, p. 1). Among other things, D. Doroshenko translated for B. Hrinchenko the works of Western European socialists: J. Jores, G. Herve and the others, not only for the publication of the source, but also for the use in the journalistic and political work. Although, D. Doroshenko already had experience in preparing brochures for printing of K. Kautsky and F. Engels (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 60), he was not confident in his abilities and in the letter dated back from November 25, 1905 he asked B. Hrinchenko to consult with Larysa Petrivna [Lesya Ukrainka] (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 977, p. 1).

In Kyiv D. Doroshenko had close professional, public and personal contacts with B. Hrinchenko and his family members. In the Hrinchenkos' house a large group of people gathered, mostly young people, almost all of whom were associated with the "Vik" publishing house (S. Yefremov, V. Durdukivskyi, V. Strashkevych, and V. Domanytskyi). However, D. Doroshenko himself did not consider himself among B. Hrinchenko's closest associates and friends.

At the end of the spring of 1906, D. Doroshenko was invited to St. Petersburg to the post of the editorial board secretary of the magazine "The Ukrainian Bulletin", – a body of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Community in the First State Duma. This weekly magazine was to serve as the Ukrainian platform for the whole Russia, and therefore was published in Russian. A certain reference point was the German-language edition in the Austro-Hungarian Empire "Ukrainische Rundschau" (the editor – V. Kushnir), about whom D. Doroshenko wrote in the letter to B. Hrinchenko dated back from 13.05.1906 (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 975, p. 1 v.).

The fact is that in the summer of 1905 D. Doroshenko had to take his sick father abroad for treatment. During this trip, Dmytro Ivanovych met a number of famous Ukrainian figures in Austria and Germany. In Vienna, D. Doroshenko made friends with Volodymyr Kushnir. There was a lively correspondence between them on the publication and distribution of the Ukrainian magazine "Ukrainische Rundschau" in the Russian Empire (Rudenko, 2015, p. 170). D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko were also actively published in it. This magazine became a real mouthpiece of the Ukrainians in the German-speaking area, it continued the best traditions of M. Drahomanov and R. Sembratovych (Doroshenko, 1906c).

B. Hrinchenko gave unconditional support to these twomagazines, which became the leaders of the Ukrainian ideas in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, he kept in a close contact with members of the editorial board of "Ukrainian Bulletin" (especially with D. Doroshenko and O. Lototskyi) and he corresponded with V. Kushnir during 1906 – 1908 (MI NLUV, f. III, cc. 38 140–38 145). Mutual advertising, a financial support and promotion took place among the members of the Ukrainian publications in Kyiv, St. Petersburg and Vienna with the assistance of their editors.

In the main introductory article of the "Ukrainian Bulletin" (from the editors) it was declared the broadest possible political platform – "democracy and autonomy – our banner" ([Ot redaktsii], 1906, p. 7). In the editorial office of the magazine, D. Doroshenko met with peasant parliamentarians and discussed various issues, sent them the editions of the "Ukrainian Bulletin" and "Vilna Ukraina" ("Free Ukraine"). He considered it an important component of counter-propaganda taking into account the active pressure on deputies by the Black Hundreds. As for the Ukrainization of the school, he recommended them

B. Hrinchenko's pamphlet "What School Do We Need" and "On the Path of Ignorance", he considered it necessary for the national democratic movement to send them free of charge Kyiv publications that would develop their national consciousness and outlook (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36973, pp. 1–2). He sent a list of 30 peasant deputies from Ukrainian provinces to B. Hrinchenko and asked to send the Ukrainian periodicals to the Duma address (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 974, pp. 1–1 v.).

Soon the Duma was dissolved, and the "Ukrainian Bulletin" ceased to be published. D. Doroshenko returned to Ukraine. In the autumn of 1906 he continued his education, now at the University of Kyiv at the Faculty of History and Philology (Melnychuk, 2000). He takes an active part in all social and cultural affairs of the Ukrainian new national life. Thus, under the leadership of D. Doroshenko, a resolution on the establishment of four departments at the university (the Ukrainian language, literature, history and law) was adopted at the student mass meeting (he made a report – a brief overview of the development of the Ukrainian studies and he clarified its needs) and inviting teachers from Lviv and Ukrainian professors from various universities (Doroshenko, 1949, pp. 89–90; Melnychuk, 2000, p. 68). D. Doroshenko published his essay in the "New Community" (Doroshenko, 1906b).

The public was widely informed about the event, and B. Hrinchenko gave unconditional support to the matter ([Hrinchenko], 1906). But the university and the authorities did not agree with this and the decision of the council was not implemented.

It is necessary to dwell on the political views of B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko during the revolution of 1905 – 1907, when the ideological and organizational institutionalization of the Ukrainian politics took place on the territory of the Russian Empire. The researchers assess differently the political views of Borys Dmytrovych, which evolved, because the strategic and tactical goals were formulated in the specific context of socio-political life and the real possibilities of their implementation.

B. Hrinchenko together with S. Yefremov, F. Matushevskyyi and M. Levytskyi at the end of 1904 was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP). Its main postulates were a national revival, democratic development and preservation of a private property. However, The postulates implied the transfer of fixed assets, including land, to a public ownership. This characterizes the ideology of the URP as socialist, but in the Western European interpretation ("a nonviolent socialism"). However, internationalism was unacceptable for B. Hrinchenko. The URP rhetoric evolved from the independent slogans to the autonomous ones. B. Hrinchenko believed that at this stage the short-term political programme was the autonomy of Ukraine with a representative body – the Sejm (Bon & Perepelchenko, 2009, pp. 252–253).

D. Doroshenko was a member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, and since 1905 the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which gradually evolved from bourgeois-nationalist to socialist, and the demand for independence was replaced by autonomy. This made D. Doroshenko withdraw from the party work at the end of 1905. In addition, he believed that the interests of the Ukrainian issue should not depend on the narrow party situation.

D. Doroshenko was not a member of the URP, but to some extent he was involved into its activities, he carried out some instructions of B. Hrinchenko and participated in political rallies. During this period B. Hrinchenko had a great ideological influence on Dmytro Ivanovych. In a letter dated back to November 25, 1905, D. Doroshenko informed him that the Ukrainian movement was spreading in Hlukhiv county, that the language was well

understood, and the URP brochures “How People Get Rights” and the “The Swiss Union” were read (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 977, p. 1).

At the end of 1905, the URP merged with the moderate Ukrainian Democratic Party (its leaders were Ye. Chykalenko, O. Lototskyi, etc.) into the Ukrainian Democratic Radical Party (UDRP). It was in fact a party of intellectuals, representatives of the Ukrainian humanitarian elite, and B. Hrinchenko became one of its brightest figures (Ivanytska, 2010). Due to disagreements with other party leaders of a programme and organizational nature, B. Hrinchenko gradually moved away from politics. He focused on publishing, scientific and socio-cultural activities and works. B. Hrinchenko cooperated closely with D. Doroshenko. Thus, the political views of both B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary times can be defined as populist democratic. The National Democrats had two main tasks: gaining a national freedom and social liberation of the working masses. But these two tasks, in contrast to the Social Democrats, were not seen in the opposition, but as a process, in which the national issues were to be given the priority. (Hyrych, 2014, pp. 21, 344).

D. Doroshenko considered himself and his generation to be the successors of B. Hrinchenko and his generation. In the letter dated back from April 22, 1910, during the last weeks of Borys's Dmytroviych life, he wrote: “The work of those figures of ours, who during the sad 80–90-ies carried the entire burden of national work on their shoulders, was not in vain: now there is someone to support the Ukrainian issue” (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 946, p. 1 v.). After his death he was honoured with the title “one of the best and most deserving sons of the Ukrainian land”, whom any nation could be proud of (MI NLUV, f. 318, d. 1, c. 26, p. 2).

Thus, D. Doroshenko acknowledged his spiritual and ideological connection with the populist national movement. The gradual evolution of D. Doroshenko's political views took place in the direction of conservatism; he was deprived of the socialist illusions and took a consistent state position during the years of the liberation struggle (1917 – 1920). During emigration, in exile, D. Doroshenko became one of the ideologues of the Ukrainian conservatism together with V. Lypynskyi. Despite some difference in political views, D. Doroshenko praised B. Hrinchenko as a politician and a national leader and believed that if not for his untimely death, he could occupy a post in the Ukrainian government. D. Doroshenko as a historian inscribed the name of Borys Hrinchenko in the general history of Ukraine, emphasizing his role in the Ukrainian national movement (Doroshenko, 1992, p. 317).

D. Doroshenko, like most contemporaries, noted individualism and the tendency to autocracy as B. Hrinchenko's traits. But, together with a great energy and strength of will, these were the signs of a real fighter, and under conditions of the Ukrainian life at that time, it was more in favour of the Ukrainian issue.

The Conclusions. Thus, there have been determined a deep immanent connection and continuity in the activities of the representatives of two generations of the Ukrainian national movement – B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko. At the beginning of the XXth century, especially, during the revolution of 1905 – 1907, they fruitfully cooperated in the field of the Ukrainian independent press formation (“Hromadska Dumka”, “Nova Hromada”, “Rada”, etc.), public and educational work (writing and publishing books for the people, the activities of the Kyiv “Prosvita”, etc.). In this way, they actually contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nation from a huge ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people, a social organism capable of an independent cultural and political life, which would become the driving force of the liberation struggle during 1917 – 1920.

We do not observe any fundamental difference in the political views and practical political activities of D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko during 1905 – 1907; the tactical priority was the struggle for the autonomy of Ukraine within the Russian Empire, federalism and parliamentarism. For some period of time, D. Doroshenko was under the influence of populist democratic ideology and a personal authority of Borys Dmytrovych. It can be stated that these two personalities demonstrate a difficult transition from the populist Ukrainophilism to the political Ukrainianness, which is characteristic of the beginning of the modern era. (Hyrych, 2014, pp. 413–414).

B. Hrinchenko influenced D. Doroshenko's views in various fields of the Ukrainian studies (folklore, literary studies, linguistics, etc.) significantly, he contributed to the formation of the scientific interests, civic position and devotion to the Ukrainian national issue.

Further prospects for the study of the outlined issues are, in our opinion, in writing an intellectual biography of Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko and representation of his intellectual heritage on the international arena. At present, the task is to establish the network connections with a wide range of representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite, including the relationship between the Hrinchenko and the Doroshenko couples, the study of the circumstances and features of an epistolary communication, and etc.

Acknowledgement. We express our sincere gratitude to the rector of Borys Hrinchenko University of Kyiv, Professor Viktor Ohnevyyuk.

Funding: the research was carried out within the framework of the research laboratory of the Hrinchenko studies at Borys Hrinchenko University of Kyiv.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andryeyev, V. M. (2019). Viktor Petrov's "Epoch Theory": the Phenomenon in the National Historiography of the Middle of XXth century. *Relevant research of historical sciences: collective monograph* (pp. 5–30). Lviv-Toruń: Liha-Pres. [in English]

Andryeyev, V. (2006). Tvorchya biohrafiya D. I. Doroshenka (1882 – 1951). Evoliutsiia istoriohrafichnykh zatsikavlen i pohliadiiv [Creative biography of D. I. Doroshenko (1882 – 1951). Evolution of Historiographical Interests and Views] *Visnyk Tavriiskoi fundatsi*, (2), 123–144. [in Ukrainian]

Bon, O. I. & Perepelchenko, O. V. (2009). Hromadsko-politychna dialnist Borysa Dmytrovycha Hrinchenka [Socio-political activity of Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko]. *"Mrii, vystrazhdani zhyttiam ..."* (Vol. 1, pp. 240–253). Kyiv: KMPU im. Borysa Hrinchenka. [in Ukrainian]

Doroshenko, D. (1904). *Narodnaya ukrainskaya literatura. Sbornik otzyvov na narodnye ukrainskie izdaniya [Folk Ukrainian Literature. Collection of Reviews of Popular Ukrainian Publications]*. St. Petersburg: Tip. Uchilishcha glukhonemykh, 72 p. [in Russian]

Doroshenko, D. (1906a). Borys Hrinchenko [Borys Grinchenko]. *Rada*, 83, 2–3. [in Ukrainian]

Doroshenko, D. (1906b). Ukrainski kafedry v Kyivskomu universyteti [Ukrainian Departments at the University of Kyiv]. *Nova hromada*, 11, 121–129. [in Ukrainian]

Doroshenko, D. (1906c). Ukrainskaya tribuna v Yevrope [Ukrainian Tribune in Europe]. *Ukrainskiy Vestnik*, 4, 251–256. [in Russian]

Doroshenko, D. (1949). *Moi spomynu pro davnie-mynule [Мої спомини про давнє-минуле]*. Vinnypeg: Tryzub, 167 p. [in Ukrainian]

Doroshenko, D. (1992). *Narys istorii Ukrainy [Essay on the History of Ukraine]*. Vol. II. Kyiv: Hlobus, 349 p. [in Ukrainian]

Gonchar, O. (2018). From literature to history, from history to literature (Mykola Kostomarov and Dokiya Gumenna). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 8, 18–28. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.8.143751. [in English]

[Hrinchenko, B.] (1906). Ukrainski kafedry v Kyivi [Ukrainian Departments in Kyiv]. *Rada*, 30, 1. [in Ukrainian]

Hrych, I. B. (2014). *Українські інтелектуали і політична окремішність (середина XIX – початок XX ст.) [Ukrainian Intellectuals and Political Separation (mid-XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century)]*. Kyiv: Ukrainyskyi pysmennyk, 496 p. [in Ukrainian]

Ivanytska, S. H. (2010). “Kolektyvnyi portret” kerivnytstva Ukrainiskoi demokratychno-radykalnoi partii (1905 – 1908 rr.) [“Collective portrait” of the leaders of Ukrainian democratic radical party (1905 – 1908)]. *Ukrainska biohrafistyka. Biographistica Ukrainica*, (7), 279–294. [in Ukrainian]

Instytut rukopysu Natsionalnoi biblioteky Ukrainy im. V. I. Vernadskoho [Manuscript Institute of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky – MI NLUV].

Kazmyrchuk, H. D. & Kazmyrchuk, M. H. (2019). Novitnia ukrainska istoriohrafia Hadiatskoi uhody 1658 r.: dosiahnennia i problemy vyvchennia [Newest Ukrainian historiography of the Hadiach Treaty in 1658: achievements and problems of study]. *Hileia. Naukovyi visnyk – Hileya: Scientific Bulletin*, 141 (2), 62–68. [in Ukrainian]

Kovaliv, Yu. (2013). *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury. Kinets XIX – pochatok XX st. [History of Ukrainian Literature. The End of the XIXth – the Beginning of the XXIst century]*. Vol. I. Kyiv: VTs : “Akademiia”, 512 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kolesnyk, I. (2013). *Ukrainska istoriohrafia: kontseptualna istoriia [Ukrainian Historiography: Conceptual History]*. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 566 p. [in Ukrainian]

Melnychuk, O. P. (2000). Dmytro Doroshenko v Kyivskomu universyteti v 1906 – 1909 rr. [Dmytro Doroshenko at the University of Kyiv in 1906 – 1909]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka: Istoriia – Bulletin of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv: History*, 47, 66–70. [in Ukrainian]

[Ot redaktsii]. (1906). Zadachi “Ukrainskogo Vestnika” [Tasks of the “Ukrainian Bulletin”]. *Ukrainskiy Vestnik*, 1, 3–7. [in Russian]

Rudenko, A. S. (2015). Rid Doroshenkiv u hromadsko-politychnomu ta kulturnomu zhytti Ukrainy (XIX – persha polovyna XX st.) [Doroshenkos Generation in Social, Political and Cultural Life of Ukraine (XIX – first half of XX Century)] (*Candidate’s thesis*). Zaporizhzhia. [in Ukrainian]

Sayenko, V. & Shestakova, N. (2018). The history of study of scientific activity of O. Terenozhkin. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 9, 54–71. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.9.150351 [in English]

[St. Siropolko] (1925). Akademiia pam’iati B. Hrinchenka (Lyst z Prahy) [B. Hrinchenko Memorial Academy (Letter from Prague)]. *Dilo*, 20, 06. 1925. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Lviv [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv – CSHAUL].

Zhuchenko, M. [Doroshenko, D.] (1913). Pam’iaty Velykoho Diiacha na nyvi narodnii. *Borys Hrinchenko* [To the Memory of the Great Activist in the People’s Field. Borys Hrinchenko]. *Dniprovi khvyli*, (9), 137–140. [in Ukrainian]

Zubkova, N. M. (2008). *Arkhiv i biblioteka vydatnoho diiacha ukrainskoho prosvitnytstva B. D. Hrinchenka (z fondiv Natsionalnoi biblioteky Ukrainy im. V. I. Vernadskoho) [Archive and library of the outstanding figure of the Ukrainian enlightenment – B. D. Hrinchenko (from the funds of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky)]*. Kyiv: Drukarnia IR NBUV, 177 p. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received on November 26, 2019.

Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.

UDC 378(091)(477)(0892):63(477.41/.42)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210882

Viktor VERHUNOV

PhD hab. (History), PhD hab. (Agricultural Sciences), Professor, Academician of National Academy of Agricultural Sciences (NAAS), specialty “History and Archeology”, Director of the National Scientific Agricultural Library of NAAS, 10 Heroes Defense Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03127 (dns.gb.uaan@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5476-4845>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/H-1636-2018>

Віктор ВЕРГУНОВ

доктор історичних наук, доктор сільськогосподарських наук, професор, академік НААН, директор Національної наукової сільськогосподарської бібліотеки НААН, вул. Героїв Оборони, 10, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03121 (dns.gb.uaan@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Verhunov, V. (2020). Professor Oleksiy Stepanovych Shkabara (1886–1959) – a founder of scientific and educational swamp culture and meadow planting in Ukrainian Polissia. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 96–111. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210882

**PROFESSOR OLEKSIY STEPANOVYCH SHKABARA (1886 – 1959) –
A FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL SWAMP CULTURE
AND MEADOW PLANTING IN UKRAINIAN POLISSIA**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the activities of Professor O. S. Shkabara, his scientific heritage, contribution to the formation and development of an agricultural research and reclamation science, education during 1913 – 1959. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, the use of historical comparative, historical systemic, analytical synthetic, biographical, statistical methods, as well as the methods of personalization and source studies, the archival analysis of documents. The Scientific Novelty.* There has been proved the important role of Professor O. S. Shkabara in the formation and development of swamps culture of and meadows planting in the Ukrainian Polissia, both in theory and methodology, and in the organization of their scientific and educational support, which became the basis for the final statement of the concept of “swamp culture” as a science and appearance of the special field of plant technicians in the educational training of specialists. **The Conclusions.** The sphere of professional preferences of O. S. Shkabara was formed under the influence of lectures and practical classes conducted by a constellation of the prominent domestic scientists: P. R. Slozkin, V. H. Bazhaiev, K. H. Schindler, D. V. Kliuchariev and the others. The study of best foreign experience of Sweden, Denmark, and Germany contributed to the formation of a leading specialist in the field of an agricultural research and reclamation science, education. His contribution to the establishment of Kozarovytsia research and reclamation station and its special status as the leading republican center for the development of the agricultural reclamation problems during 1923 – 1933 and 1945 – 1959 was considered to be the scientist’s most significant contribution. He was formed as a talented educator; contributed to the spread of higher professional education during 1923 – 1933 on the basis of the Kyiv Engineering and Reclamation Institute. O. S. Shkabara was formed as a talented educator, who contributed to the spread of a higher professional education during 1923 – 1933, on the basis of Kyiv Engineering and Reclamation Institute.

Key words: *agricultural research and reclamation science and education, Kozarovytsia research and reclamation station, Kyiv Engineering and Reclamation Institute, O. S. Shkabara.*

ПРОФЕСОР ОЛЕКСІЙ СТЕПАНОВИЧ ШКАБАРА (1886 – 1959) – ФУНДАТОР НАУКОВО-ОСВІТНЬОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ БОЛІТ ТА ЛУКІВНИЦТВА В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ПОЛІССІ

***Анотація.** Метою статті є аналіз діяльності професора О. С. Шкабара, його наукової спадщини, внеску в становлення й розвиток сільськогосподарської дослідно-меліоративної науки та освіти. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, застосуванні історико-порівняльного, історико-системного, аналітико-синтетичного, біографічного, статистичного методів, а також методів персоналізації та джерелознавства й архівного аналізу документів. **Наукова новизна.** Доведено вагому роль професора О. С. Шкабара у становленні та розвитку культури боліт і луківництва в українському Поліссі як у питаннях теорії і методології, так і в організації їх науково-освітнього забезпечення, що стало підґрунтям остаточного ствердження поняття культури боліт як науки та появи в освітній підготовці фахівців спеціального напрямку культуротехніків. **Висновки.** Коло фахових уподобань О. С. Шкабара сформувалося під впливом лекцій і практичних занять плеяди видатних вітчизняних учених: П. Р. Сльозкіна, В. Г. Бажаєва, К. Г. Шиндлера, Д. В. Ключарьова та ін. Становленню провідного фахівця у галузі сільськогосподарської дослідно-меліоративної науки та освіти сприяло вивчення передового зарубіжного досвіду в Швеції, Данії, та Німеччині. Як найбільш вагомий внесок ученого, розглядали його сприяння становленню Козаровицької дослідно-меліоративної станції та здобуттю нею особливого статусу провідного республіканського центру з розроблення проблем сільськогосподарської меліорації в 1923 – 1933 та 1945 – 1959 рр. Сформувався як талановитий освітянин, сприяв поширенню вищої професійної освіти в 1923–1933 рр. на базі Київського інженерно-меліоративного інституту.*

***Ключові слова:** сільськогосподарська дослідно-меліоративна наука та освіта, Козаровицька дослідно-меліоративна станція, Київський інженерно-меліоративний інститут, О. С. Шкабара.*

The Problem Statement. A global climate change once again prompts us to reconsider the attitude to the place and role of an agricultural land reclamation in order to overcome the negative consequences, as well as to analyze it from a historical perspective. This is especially true of large-scale drainage projects during the second half of the XIXth – the first half of the XXth century. The areas in which, after reclamation changes, the culture of swamps and rational meadow planting were introduced, first of all, for the needs of animal husbandry, need a special analysis. At the initial stage, the experience of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and other countries in both agro-technological and regulatory issues was used for this purpose. This created a mutually beneficial cooperation between the center and the suburbs for the future of the country, in which agriculture was the leading sector of the economy historically. An outstanding role in this process belongs to the branch science and its individual representatives, in particular, Professor O. S. Shkabara, practically forgotten in the history of an agricultural reclamation research in Ukraine. The life and work of the scientist for the benefit of the Fatherland at the turn of the epochs is, without any exaggeration, a whole range of hopes and wanderings of an extraordinary personality under circumstances when trials harden a personality. This will confirm the thesis that one of the greatest achievements of Ukraine's statehood is the possibility of an impartial coverage of its own personalized history.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. There is no complete and even more contextual biography of the scientist nowadays, despite the private "The Family Chronicles" of O. S. Shkabara's daughter, son and granddaughter. (Shkabara, 1991; Sverbilova, 2017) and the researches of V. S. Tymoshenko, the local historian of the village Kozarovychi, built largely on these memories (Tumoshenko, 2017a, 2017b) with his own archival works

concerning Kozarovytsia research and reclamation station and the Investigative case of O. S. Shkabara, who was repressed in 1933. Significant archival discoveries belong to Ye. O. Filipovych a researcher from Rivne (Filipovych, 2013), which were included in her unique “Chronicle” and, to some extent, served as a source base in writing the author’s monograph on a fellow student, a colleague and friend of O. S. Shkabara at Kyiv and Ryga Polytechnic Institutes (KPI, RPI), – M. O. Tyuleniev, the future corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Verhunov, 2019). This fully concerns not only the evaluation of his creative work, but also to his contribution to the formation and development of the branch research.

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the activities of Professor O. S. Shkabara, his scientific heritage, contribution to the formation and development of an agricultural research and reclamation science, education during 1913 – 1959.

The Statement of the Basic Material. O. S. Shkabara was born in 1886 in Polissia, the territory of which at that time was belonged to Minsk, Grodno, Volyn, Chernihiv and Mogyliev provinces. There were several million acres of swamps in Polissia. Thus, he was genetically doomed not just to be born a “Polishchuk” or a representative of a mentally special human community, both in terms of perception of reality and Polishchuks’ cultural traditions, and to have an unsurpassed thirst for life, despite all the troubles of fate. At present, a significant number of questions remain about certain periods in O. S. Shkabara’s biography. Even the available archival documents, filled in by him during different years, do not give all the answers. As for the parents, when filling in “Personal Card of the Responsible Employee” NCMF of the UkSSR O. S. Shkabara wrote about them as peasants and added: “Both grandfathers were serfs, his father went instead of his older brother (recruit) to the military service in 1877, after which he worked all his life as a construction worker” (Central State Archive of Supreme Boodies and Administration of Ukraine (CSASB), f. 27, d. 17 l., c. 4507, p. 30). He had a sister Maria, and probably, he also had a brother, Petro (additional research is needed concerning his brother). His father did his best for Oleksiy to get a secondary education at the prestigious Kyiv Real School. After graduating from it in 1905, he entered the agricultural department of the KPI named after the Emperor Alexander II, not less elite in the country. On May 29, 1910 he graduated from KPI with a diploma speciality “Plant Technician” or “Agronomist-Reclamation”. The sphere of professional preferences was formed under the influence of lectures and practical classes conducted by a whole constellation of prominent professors: P. R. Slozkin, V. H. Bazhayev, K. G. Schindler, D. V. Klyuchariev, and the others. During the summer holidays he worked according to his specialty, first of all, to brush up the acquired knowledge. In addition, while studying during the senior years of the institute, he gave private lessons. For the rest of his life he made friends with his fellow student M. O. Tyuleniev (1889 – 1969), a future corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, one of the founders of a scientific educational land reclamation in Ukraine (Verhunov, 2019). After graduating from a high school and passing the final exams on February 16, 1911, he received a diploma in the first category with the right “to the rank of Type X ...” of the so-called Tsar Peter’s table of ranks (State Archive of Kyiv (SAK), f. 18, d. 1, c. 426, p. 319). Type X corresponded to a civil rank – the colleague secretary.

During the last year of his studies, he was arrested for three days for participating in the famous Kyiv student protests related to the death of Lev Tolstoy. After the graduation, he was sent to work as an agronomist of Kyiv County Zemstvo of Kyiv Province by the Department

of Agriculture. During this period his first publications on agronomy were published in the periodicals of Kyiv Provincial Zemstvo (CSASB, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4507, p. 2). In 1911 he married Tetiana Ivanivna Papashyka (1886 – 1968), a graduate of Kamyanets-Podilsky Women's Gymnasium and a second-year student of the Higher Women's Medical Paramedic Courses at St. Volodymyr University. Tetiana Ivanivna came from the family of the secretary of zemstvo administration of Khotyn zemstvo, the colleague secretary, who had a personal nobility – Ivan Petrovych Papashyka. In 1912, the Shkabara couple gave birth to a daughter, Kateryna, and a year and a half later, a son, Serhiy.

Taking advantage of the privileges granted to the graduates of agricultural universities, from January 1, 1912, O. S. Shkabara, together with M. O. Tyuleniev studied at one-year courses on swamp culture and meadow planting at RPI, organized by the Department of agriculture. He got acquainted with the work of exemplary farmers of the Baltic region and Finland, as well as some provinces of Russia. He worked in the experimental farm “Novo-Peterhof”. He was one of the best three graduates of the courses, who were sent to Sweden, Denmark, and Germany by the Department of Agriculture in the summer of 1912 to get acquainted with the culture of swamps and meadow planting (CSASB, f. 27, d. 17 1, c. 4507, p. 3). During his trip abroad, he personally met the scientists-classics of swamp culture and meadow planting, Professors Takke, Fleischer (Germany), Bersch (Austria), Reilitzen (Sweden), and the others.

It is worth noting that the foundations of swamp culture were formed in Germany after the opening of Bremen Research Station in 1877 and at about the same time in Austria, when Vienna Royal Agricultural Chemical Research Station began conducting special experiments on fertilization and use of swamps. In 1910, owing to the director of the Austrian Swamp Station, Professor W. Bersch, the definition of swamp culture was formulated as the use of certain methods for the transformation of swamps from their original state into cultural lands, lands for cultivation (Shtein, 1912). Since in the Russian Empire only in the European part of the lands unsuitable for cultivation there were more than 65 million desiatyn, O. S. Shkabara had great career prospects. However, having the privilege of choosing a place of service after a brilliant defense of his diploma project and obtaining a special certificate of the second higher education, he chooses not the capital, but his native Polissya. He was appointed a specialist in swamp culture of the Department of Agriculture of Volyn province (Shtein, 1914).

It should be noted that the drainage of Volyn swamps began at the end of the 80-ies of the XIXth century and on January 1, 1913, 871 miles of canals were built. At a meeting initiated by the governor of Volyn in 1912, a decision was made to continue drainage work, the plan was approved to build drainage mains with a length of 3523 miles. For these needs, a separate reclamation department was created at Volyn Provincial Zemstvo. The post of Zemstvo hydraulic engineer was introduced, and specialists in swamp culture from the Department of Agriculture were invited. O. S. Shkabara was enrolled in a vacant post in the newly created department. His responsibilities included “... conducting swamp drainage works, drawing up plans and providing loans from reclamation credit ...” (Serbin, 1913, p. 60). In addition, he acquainted the population with the methods and use of swamp culture founded in 1912, with the use of equipment of six agricultural rental stations, as well as demonstration of plots of land in different parts of the province.

The transition to the civil service allowed O. S. Shkabara to receive a promotion in the type of the Tsar Peter's table of ranks. O. S. Shkabara becomes a titular adviser with the right

of seniority, which corresponded to Type IX. This allowed him to receive a personal nobility for life, which was provided directly by the service or by law. He carried out his activities under the leadership of the government agronomist V. M. Drozdov and the provincial agronomist S. O. Yershov. It should be mentioned that the assistant of the latter was P. I. Havsevych (1883 – 1920) – later the founder of the first station of medicinal plants in the country in Lubny (1916) and an active figure of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917 – 1921. The fact cannot be excluded that under his influence, as well as under the influence of K. I. Osmak (1890 – 1960) – later the last president of the Principal Liberation Council (1944) – O. S. Shkabara joined the Ukrainian national movement. Thus, he published his article, namely “The Value of Ordinary Sowing” in Ukrainian on the pages of the newspaper “Rada” (№ 22, 1912).

At the meeting on February 12, 1913 of the second session of Volyn Provincial Zemsky Assembly it was decided to organize an experimental swamp in the region to test the most profitable methods of an agricultural use of swamps in the province (Shablygin, 1915, p. 63). On this purpose, in June 1913 a special commission, which included O. S. Shkabara, inspected the peat-swamp fund of the region and it was decided to open a research field on the massif “Chemerne” near Sarny, Rovenskyi county. In accordance with the order of Kholm-Volyn Department of Agriculture and State Property in July-August 1913, O. S. Shkabara also took part in the massif’s botanical and hydraulic survey. On this basis, the Bureau of Land Improvements of the Imperial Lifliand Public Utility Company elaborated developed a field drainage project.

There is almost no information about the life and work of O. S. Shkabara during World War I. Most likely he was involved into the rear to procure fodder for the South-Western Front. During February and October revolutions of 1917 he was a specialist in the culture of swamps of Volyn province. In the autumn of 1917, Volyn Provincial Agronomic Conference elected O. S. Shkabara “... initially an assistant of a province agronomist, and then the agronomist of the province. By the general meeting of zemstvo employees of the province he was also elected ... A Chairman of the Union of employees of land organizations of Volyn” (CSASB, f. 27, d. 17 l, c. 4507, p. 4). He occupied these posts during the time of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the Ukrainian State of Hetman P. Skoropadsky and the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic.

On February 2, 1919, the Directory and the Government of the Ukrainian People’s Republic moved from Kyiv to Vinnytsia. Five days later, the Directory approves the “Statute” of the All-Ukrainian Union of Zemstvos. After the beginning of the Red Army offensive, the Directory and the Government of the Ukrainian People’s Republic were forced to move from Vinnytsia to Zhmerynka and then to Proskurov. Three days later, the Directory passed a law on grain duty. At the beginning of April 1919, the government agencies moved again from Kamianets-Podilskyi to Rivne. The resolution of the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic on April 9, 1919 created a new government headed by B. Martos. To submit a report and estimations on the organization of sown fields to the office of the Ministry of Agriculture O. S. Shkabara went to Rivne, where he did not find an agricultural department, and then he went to Lutsk. During the presidency of the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic S. Petliura (from May 9, 1919) and the beginning of the hostilities, O. S. Shkabara lived in the city occupied by the Poles. With the beginning of the offensive of the 1st Cavalry Army of S. Budionnyi on June 13 – July 13, 1920 and the continuous offensive of the Red Army on November 10-20, 1920 and after the liberation of Lutsk, he was able to return to Zhytomyr (Verstiuk, Dziuba, Repryntsev Verstiuk, Dziuba & Repryntsev, 2005 & 2005, p. 306).

With the liquidation of zemstvo and the formation of "... new revolutionary bodies", O. S. Shkabara headed Volyn Workers' Technical School for a short period of time, and from the end of 1920 he "... received a mandate to reorganize Polonsky Secondary Agricultural School into an Agricultural Technical School" (CSASB, f. 27, d. 17 l, c. 4507, pp. 1–4). During 1921 – 1922 he was the head of Polonsky (Volyn) Agricultural Technical School. In December 1922, Volyn gubprofos decided to liquidate this institution. In February 1924, the only graduation of Polonsky Agricultural College took place. After that, it was turned into an agricultural vocational school.

O. S. Shkabara's knowledge of meadows planting and swamp culture proved to be extremely popular after the final establishment of the Soviet power in the Ukrainian lands and, especially, during the famine in the USSR in 1921. The pre-revolutionary network of branch research stations and fields began to be restored in the republic, and new specialized institutions were founded. The main burden of this state-building business fell on the branch sections of the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine (ASCU) organized on October 1, 1918. Taking into account the peculiarities of the location of a research institution and the main statutory objectives delegated to it, which were determined by the ASCU at that time on behalf of the NKVD of the UkSSR, the new formation received an appropriate functional name from its sections. To create new research institutions, first of all, they used the former manors, which were subordinated to the NKVD of the UkSSR. Thus, the reclamation section of the ASCU "... found... "one of such places as" ... typical meadow flood farm... "in the former Kozarovychi estate near Kyiv "... in the a floodplain of the Dnieper and Irpin..." (Opokov, 1922b, p. 17). Since, unfortunately, the order of the NKVD of the UkSSR on the date of establishment of the research station in Kozarovychi and appointment of O. S. Shkabara to the post of its director have not been found yet, on the basis of the available reporting publications, first of all, the reclamation section of the ASCU, certain logical assumptions can be made. The first of them is that the final decision of the ASCU on the establishment of this type of station dates back to the spring of 1922. This was confirmed by Professor E. V. Opokiv (1869 – 1937), the head of the reclamation section, pointing out that she devoted "... several meetings to the issue of this station organization, the elaboration development of provision for it..." (Opokov, 1922b, p. 18). Due to objective circumstances, O. S. Shkabara did not take part in all these processes. Nowadays it can be said that the previous hydrological studies of Kozarovytsia floodplain that summer were carried out by V. V. Riznychenko, the head of the Hydrological Bureau of the Reclamation Section of the ASCU. What concerns a botanical research, there is every reason to believe that they were performed by A. P. Chornyi, the head of the section of the forage area of the ASCU. In the same year, at the level of the Ukrainian government, a number of legislative acts were adopted to encourage the introduction of an agricultural land reclamation. It is the issue of the approval: 1) on February 11, 1922 by the Ukrekonomnarad (Ukrainian Economic Council) "Regulations on Reclamation Societies"; 2) on May 8, 1922 "Procedure for Reclamation Work"; 3) on August 22, 1922 "Regulations on Reclamation Credit". The departmental regulatory documents were also adopted, which significantly changed this matter in a positive direction. There is every reason to believe that in Kozarovychi it was planned to create a classic research institute like the State Meadow Institute in the RSFSR. There is no coincidence that Kozarovytsia research and reclamation meadow station, which functions in Kyiv district as the main institution, subordinates the branch departments – Maksakivska meadow farm in Konotop district and Malozahirska meadow grass seed station in Nizhyn district (Djovany, 1929b, p. 83).

After the ASCU moved to Kharkiv in early 1924, the Reclamation section (due to the dismissal of its head, O. P. Chorny), virtually ceased its activities. As a result, its cooperation with Kozarovytsia station was terminated. The Reclamation section managed to resume its full-fledged activity only on February 23, 1924. Under such circumstances, O. S. Shkabara was forced to resolve all urgent issues (programmes, reports, estimates, etc.) directly in Kharkiv. On his first visit on February 23, 1924 he took part in the All-Ukrainian Congress of Land Management and Land Reclamation, as well as a joint meeting of its participants with members of the Land Reclamation Section of the ASCU (since 1923 O. S. Shkabara – a member of the section). Since that time he was a participant and speaker of almost all branch meetings of the regional, republican and all-Union levels, where he worthily represented the best achievements of Kozarovytsia research and reclamation meadow station headed by him. Among the most significant one is his participation in the first All-Union Congress on swamp culture on September 24–26, 1927 at Rudnya-Radovel swamp research station. Together with D. O. Giovanni (1886 – 1971) and M. O. Tiuleniev he represented the UkSSR at the second such meeting, which took place in Minsk on October 15–18, 1927 (Djovany, 1927a, p. 12), as well as a member of the organizing committee and speaker at the plenary part of the First All-Ukrainian Meeting on experimental reclamation in December 1928 in Kyiv. The last meeting, on the one hand, “inspected the existing capacities” (27 research institutions and 12 newly formed institutions on an agricultural reclamation), and, on the other hand, “identified shortcomings and drawbacks, which were to be studied”. At the congress it was decided to create a coordinating Ukrainian Research Institute of Agricultural Land Reclamation, because of the active development of land reclamation in the UkSSR and the development of a network of research and reclamation stations (Djovany, 1929a, p. 3). It was to include Kozarovytsia research and reclamation meadow station. But the next changes in the administration of branch science brought something different to the structuring.

From the very beginning of its activity, the station has been under the double subordination of the NKVD of the UkSSR, namely, in the department of Ukrmeliovodkhoz, and from the scientific side – the ASCU. The main agrarian department of the Republic approved “The Statute” of the institution, which defined it as “the central research institution in Ukraine, which aims at establishing and developing the basics, technical ways and more advanced methods of reclamation and cultivation of meadows.” (Opokov, 1929a, p. 180). “The Statute” included the main tasks in the work, namely: the study of changes in meadow formations due to changes in moisture conditions, soil character and other factors; hydrogeological and hydrological study of the area; the search for effective ways to irrigate and dry meadows; the development of a drying and irrigation system in connection with the rolling of river dunes and the use of hydraulic energy of rivers, etc.

The general management of the scientific activity of the station was carried out by the Council of the station, which consisted of two representatives from the ASCU, one from the research department of Ukrmeliovodkhoz, one from the reclamation department of Kyiv province and the director of the station. Thus, not only democratic principles in any decision-making were proved, but also the desire to have a real full-fledged branch research institution in Kozarovychi. It had to ensure the restoration of livestock quickly and scientifically and, above all, livestock, which had actually been destroyed during the years of hardship.

The station in Kozarovychi actually became the only branch research institution that began to conduct comprehensive special experiments for the needs of the 2000-mile floodplain of the Dnieper river. Under the leadership of O. S. Shkabara, during the first years of activity,

hydrological studies of the territory, assigned to the station, were made, first of all, of the meadow terrace, on the slope of which there stretched a peat swamp. There was examined a large part of the forest zone of the sloping ends of sandy areas, which were practically cut down during the revolution and the civil war. Geodetic surveying of the territory was carried out with the main leveling network and carrying out the horizontals within 0,25 fathoms. Based on the obtained results, O. S. Shkabara finally formulated the main task of the station: "...to study the floodplain of the Dnieper river and its tributaries in Polissia of Ukraine in order to elaborate and install technical means and various methods of reclamation of the floodplain meadows and swamps near the river" (Yelenskie, 1927, p. 5).

In 1923 at O. S. Shkabara's request to the director of the State Meadow Institute, Professor A. M. Dmytriev, this institution sent a special expedition, headed by R. A. Yelensky, which conducted geobotanical surveys of 900 of the 1,000 acres of meadows assigned to Kozarovytska research and reclamation station. Later, D. O. Giovanni, speaking at the first All-Union meeting of meadows researchers at V. R. Williams State Meadow Institute on February 26, 1928, pointed out that these studies end the second period of study of a natural forage area in Ukraine (Djovani, 1929b, p. 81). O. S. Shkabara was directly related to the second period, as well as to the first, which began five years before World War I and is associated with the activities of Volyn provincial zemstvo and the Society of nature researchers of Volyn. His role was even more significant during the third period. With an introductory speech by O. S. Shkabara, the results of research by R. A. Yelensky's expedition were published in the first issue of "The Works" of the station in 1927. In 1924, the Meadow Institute continued its research in Kozarovychi to study the dynamics of high water. This provided a source base for the implementation of the programme issues assigned to the station by the ASCU of NKVD of the UkSSR (Yelenskie, 1927, pp. 5–11).

Even before the start of the whole complex of planned research work on the survey of meadow vegetation with a poor funding, O. S. Shkabara did everything possible to publish a hypsometric map of Kozarovytsia floodplain meadows, as well as the results of previous hydrogeological surveys. The map was created by a hydrologist V. V. Mokrynskyi. The research was continued by R. A. Yelensky and E. V. Yelensky, M. M. Godlin, a lecturer at Kyiv AGI. By the way, having made thirteen fundamental conclusions about the peculiarities of the soil cover of the Kozarovytsia floodplain, M. M. Godlin expressed a special gratitude to O. S. Shkabara for creating favourable conditions for the research and assistance in a further analysis of the collected materials (Godlin, 1928a, p. 44). On the basis of soil and botanical explorations of both expeditions, O. S. Shkabara in December 1927 concluded that "... the use of hydro- and agrotechnical methods of reclamation of meadows" requires "... a thoughtful approach to their choice" (Godlin, 1928a, p. 4). On this purpose, he recommends "Flexible" approaches to grass surface and root improvement of meadows, a careful selection of seed material by means of a thoughtful selection. He offers an extensive use of artificial irrigation and "park" reclamation by planting trees to overcome the negative effects of erosion processes by spring flood waters. As a result, the station expands its crop rotation research programme for the so-called variable meadows. In addition, in 1927 the programme included "the study of the dynamics of meadow soils of the floodplain, the nutrient regime of the most characteristic and soil varieties, which are often found in the valley of the Dnieper River" (Godlin, 1928b, p. 3). The implementation success of new approaches in the activities of Kozarovytsia research and reclamation meadow station and its subordinate network is illustrated by the fact that in 1927 the representatives of the above-mentioned

station and its networks were the monopolists in the UkSSR for the production of seeds of valuable meadow forage grasses of a very high quality and they found a consumer very quickly (Djovani, 1927a, p. 11). Together with Malozahorivka seed station, about 1 500 poods of seeds were produced. For the Soviet country, this was a breakthrough, as practically all other components of the high-tech supply of swamp culture were largely provided by the supplies from abroad. The organizational talent of O. S. Shkabara could be traced.

During 1927 – 1928, the station was changed from the reclamation department into the research department of the NKVD of the UkSSR (Djovany, 1929b, p. 83). In my own opinion, the highest all-round triumph in the post of the director of Kozarovytsia meadow research and reclamation station was achieved by O. S. Shkabara during his participation in the First All-Union Meeting of Meadow Researchers, which took place on February 23-March 1, 1928. The First All-Union Meeting took place in the State Meadow Institute named after Professor V. R. Williams. At the meeting on February 26, 1928, O. S. Shkabara reported on the work of Kozarovytsia research and reclamation station. The participants praised the work done by all branch research stations of the UkSSR on the issues of a scientific support of meadow planting in the Ukrainian Polissya. The contribution of Kozarovytsia research and reclamation station was especially singled out.

On March 15–22, 1929 O. S. Shkabara again represented the UkSSR at the Second All-Union Congress of Meadow Researchers at the State Meadow Institute named after Professor V. R. Williams. The main objective of the meeting was: "... to make planning in an experimental meadow planting, to invent methods of estimating the fertility of meadow lands, to use meadows rationally, to re-evaluate the nutritional properties of many grasses, to collectivize the use of meadow areas on the basis of their scientific study..." (Yevsiutin, 1929, p. 5).

In 1923 O. S. Shkabara began teaching part-time at the Kyiv Land Reclamation and Land Management College. After the closure of the Kyiv AGI on June 22, 1930, which, according to the decisions of the July (1928) Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), in September 1928 included the former reclamation and land management polytechnic, and Kyiv Reclamation Institute was established. From the end of 1930 the Institute received a new name – Kyiv Engineering and Reclamation Institute (KERI). The institute was subordinated to the NKVD of the UkSSR, Ukrmeliotrest, the NCO of the UkSSR and the headquarters of Kyiv Military District. Students studied at three faculties: engineering and reclamation; cultural and technical (agro-ameliorative) and water supply. From July 1, 1930, by Order № 5 of KERI, O. S. Shkabara was among 33 full-time teachers as an associate professor and conducted the disciplines: "Meadow Planting with Meadow Culture" and "Field Culture of Fodder Plants". By Order of the Institute № 32 of August 18, 1930, he became a member of the Commission for the election to the vacant position of professor for conducting lectures on "Drainage" (Filipovych, 2013a, pp. 13–23), as well as a member of another Commission – to analyze teaching programmes on the following disciplines: 1) Meadow, Swamp, Plant Growing, Livestock, Agricultural Mechanical Engineering, Monoculture, Physics and Culture of Ravines and Sands. 2). Botany. By order № 47 of KERI dated September 27, 1930, O. S. Shkabara was appointed the head (dean) of the Faculty of Culture and Technology. By another Order of the director of the institute № 55/8 dated 11.10.1930 he became a member of the Bureau of Industrial Practice (Filipovych, 2013a, pp. 30-36). In accordance with the resolution of the meeting of the institute management № 60 / 9 of 31.10.1930, he headed the commission to improve the curriculum for training specialists in the following specialties:

a) operation of hydraulic structures and culture of dried lands; b) operation of hydraulic structures and culture of irrigated lands. In accordance with the decisions of the meeting of the leadership of KERI from 20.11.1930, O. S. Shkabara joined the implementation of the provisions of Kharkiv Congress of Directors of Higher Education Institutions, primarily as a member of the commission for the establishment of institute departments (Filipovych, 2013a, pp. 43–54). According to the resolution № 73/13 of the directorate dated November 29, 1930, ten departments were established in KERI. By the same resolution O. S. Shkabara headed the department of cultural and technical disciplines (Filipovych, 2013a, pp. 59–60).

On December 4, 1930 at the meeting of the director of KERI, O. S. Shkabara was accused by members of the directorate of sabotage during the preparation of the curriculum for the practice of the third-year students of the Faculty of Culture and Technology. Those present voted in favour of the resolution: “Immediately remove Prof. Shkabara from the management of the faculty for his sabotage activity at the faculty, which is an attack by a class enemy on the front of training”, and it was added: “To send the case to the relevant authorities for investigation” (Filipovych, 2013a, p. 67). “The case” of O. S. Shkabara was sent to the NKVD of the UkSSR and NCO of the UkSSR, and from there it was sent to the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspectorate of the UkSSR. During the search of the guilty, he continued to manage KERI meadow planting office, to be the head of one of the institute’s 12 subject commissions. He continued to head the Department of Cultural Engineering, conducted the course “Meadow Planting and Culture of Meadows”, as well as “Agricultural Technology and Cultural Engineering” and “Swamp Studies, Peat Science and Botany” (Filipovych, 2013a, p. 91). According to Paragraph № 4 of Order № 24 of this document he was to manage the swamp culture cabinet. After the opening of the Institute of Postgraduate Studies at the NKVD of the USSR, he recommended the best of his graduates at a meeting of the directorate on March 23, 1931. On November 4, 1931, by Order №110, he was appointed the head of the agro-ameliorative cabinet and botanical cabinet of the institute (Filipovych, 2013a, pp. 87, 104).

The year of 1932 turned out to be difficult in all respects for O. S. Shkabara. He trained specialists at KERI and lost contact with Kozarovytsia research station. Among the circumstances that to some extent led to the decline in the activities of the station, there was the decision to reorganize it into a base, due to the adoption of the Resolution of the Council of the National Committee (the CNC) of the UkSSR № 11/664 “On the Reconstruction of Agricultural Research” on April, 3, 1930. It was decided to create the All-Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences with a corresponding two-stage system of research institutions (a branch institute – a base point). By its decision of September 5, 1930, “On the Deployment of a Network of Research Institutions of the UkSSR” the VASGNIL agreed on a general approach, and the CNC of the UkSSR by Resolution №154 of May 22, 1931 “On the Organization of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences” specified it. The adoption of these decisions, in the end, made O. S. Shkabara resign from the post of the director of Kozarovytsia research station. The decisions were in the plane of both organizational problems of communications with Poltava, and the financial ones. The latter were always problematic to solve, especially after the adoption of the Resolution of the Board of the NKVD of the UkSSR from 16.09.1931 on the report of VUASGN “On the Deployment of the Research Network in 1932”. According to it, the entire network of the Academy was divided into two levels. The first level included base departments located “... in the state farm, collective farm or MTS...” and financed by the local budget (Resolution). At the same

time, the research branch institutes and All-Ukrainian research stations were financed for 100% by the all-Union and republican budgets. The situation was not changed for the better even by the decision of the above-mentioned Resolution of the Board of the main agrarian department of the Republic in § 3 “e” (*in kyrlytsia alphabet*) of item 3 concerning the transformation of Poltava station of forage production into UkrNDI of forages. The new formation was fully provided with the budget funding, and seven of its base departments, including Kozarovytska, were in fact self-supporting. At the same time, in accordance with the approved problem-thematic plan for the development of an agricultural science in the UkSSR for 1932, the range of an experimental research with a proven list of clearly defined objectives significantly expanded. With the loss of its status as a station, the base department could not solve the objectives both qualitatively and quantitatively.

All the changes were overshadowed by the fabricated political processes that unfolded in the USSR, primarily against the scientific and educational elite, such as “The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” and “The Ukrainian Branch of the Labour Peasant Party”. Among the demonstrative trials, the accusation case of the famine of 1932 – 1933 was at the first place. Although it did not have such a direct name, the accusations were, first of all, in all sorts of “espionage”. Among this cohort of people accused of espionage in the regional groups in Lutsk, Zhytomyr, Kharkiv, and Kyiv regions, the members of which allegedly acted in favour of Poland during 1919 – 1931, – those were mostly agronomists. Among them, investigators “formed” Kozarovytsia spy group headed by O. S. Shkabara, which, according to V. S. Tymoshenko, was accused of giving information to the Poles about “how the sowing campaign is conducted, grain procurement operations, the results of land management and the mood of peasants in this regard”. Later, when the construction of collective farms began, the focus of this group was on this area (Tymoshenko, 2017a, p. 368). By accusation of the non-existent organization in Kozarovychi, investigators turned the lives of O. S. Shkabara and his relatives, as it turned out, for many years – to suffering. The first arrests began in Kharkiv and then almost simultaneously in Kyiv. Thus, L. V. Felinsky, the second husband of T. I. Papashyk-Shkabara-Felinskaya, was first arrested. A few days later, Tatiana Ivanovna was arrested. According to the warrant of January 11, 1933, the investigator decided to arrest and search for in the apartment of O. S. Shkabara. On February 3, 1933, the resolution of Kyiv City Department of Economic Management of the DPU of the Ukrainian SSR was issued accusing him “of committing a crime according to Article 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR” (Central State Archive of Public Association of Ukraine (CSAPA), f. 66059, vol. 1, p.2). As a result, he was detained in the DPU pre-trial detention center. The article incriminated – espionage in favor of Poland (Tymoshenko, 2017a, pp. 367–377). O. S. Shkabara was “accused” of: his service in the tsar’s army, his time spent in the Polish-occupied city of Lutsk, his work in Polonsky agricultural college, his work in Kozarovychi, and finally his work at KERI. Be that as it might, but at the meeting of the judicial commission at the board of the DPU of the UkSSR on August 28, 1933, on the accusation of O. S. Shkabara, according to Article 54-6 of the Criminal Code of the UkSSR, a rather “soft” punishment was accepted, namely: “To send through PP OGPU in Zapsibkray for a period of THREE years, taking into account the term from 3.02.33” (CSAPA, vol. 1, p. 54). Being guided by this decision, the head of the USO DPU of the UkSSR on September 7, 1933 issued the “Certificate” according to which O. S. Shkabara went to Omsk (Tymoshenko, 2017b, p. 375). After his arrest, his second wife, Z. M. Lebedieva-Shkabara (born in 1899), abandoned her husband (Volodin, 1939, pp. 3–4). It is difficult to say nowadays: wasn’t it

a mutual thoughtful decision?! Under such circumstances, families often used such denial statements to save their own lives.

It is unknown what O. S. Shkabara did in the settlement of "...a distant Kulunda" and where he worked. Taking into account the fact that with much less "baggage" of "the crime" fabricated by investigators, innocent ordinary peasants from Kozarovychi were shot, and after the execution of members of the Presidium of the VUASGN on the charges of organizing the famine of 1932 – 1933, were repressed almost all their relatives to the "seventh generation", we believe that O. S. Shkabara was lucky once again. However, in Omsk he had to endure all the troubles of life in exile. There is reason to believe that in the settlement O. S. Shkabara worked according to his specialty. On February 2, 1936 his third wife gave birth to a son – Ivan (1936 – 2006). Later she fell ill and died. After his release, in early 1936, O. S. Shkabara agreed to the proposal of Voronezh regional department to go to work as head of the department of agricultural engineering at Pavlovsk research and meadow station. In the spring of 1941 he was transferred to Weidel sorting plant (Voronezh region). There he was when the German-Soviet war began (State Archive of Rivne region (SARR), f. P.-1188, d. 8, c. 7, p. 5). By the way, in August 1937, the NKVD authorities first arrested his brother Peter in Kyiv, and in September of the same year in Kostiantynivka – his sister Maria. After the release, his brother emigrated to Germany, where he financially supported the emigrant Ukrainian student youth. The sister was imprisoned in Artemivsk prison and then deported to Kazakhstan. After her release, she returned to Kozarovychi and lived with O. S. Shkabara.

O. S. Shkabara worked at Weidel sorting plant until the end of 1942. He worked during the German occupation because he could not escape, he was already 54 years old and he was ill with his little young son Ivan to take care of... In December 1942 he was forcibly evacuated to the disposal of the State Property Department of Kharkiv city administration. He ran away during the evacuation. After long wanderings in the woods he found himself in Poltava. There, in the regional land administration he was ordered to go to Zolotonosha to the research station to work on tobacco culture. From May to September 1943 he worked as an instructor on the collective farms in Chornobayev district. After the liberation of the territory from the German occupants, he was appointed an agronomist of Bohodukhiv MTS, where he worked for six months. He fired because of a heart disease (Sverbilova's archive). He tried to find job in KERI on April 19, 1944, but the director of the institute P. A. Skoblikov did not dare to hire a specialist, tainted not only by the repression but also by working for the occupants (Filipovych, 2013, p. 68). Owing to the help of M. O. Tyuleniev, for a short time, most likely, he worked and conducted the research on Panphilic swamp research field (Yahotyn district, Kyiv region), which resumed its activities in accordance with the Resolution of the RNC of the UkSSR № 495 from 15.05.1944. By the way, the same document resumed the activities of Kozarovytsia research station of meadow planting of the Ukrainian Research Institute, headed by P. F. Sokolovsky (CSASB, f. 27, d. 17, c. 40, p. 371).

After the end of World War II until the end of his life he settled and lived in the village of Kozarovychi, because he was forbidden to live in large cities being the repressed in 1933. He was engaged in the research on meadow planting. During 1946 – 1948 he conducted experiments on the crop formation of *Bromus inermis* (in Latin) depending on the sowing dates (Mukutenko, 1961, pp. 114–115). During 1951 – 1959 under his leadership the system of crop rotations for peat soils, as well as for dry and fresh meadows of the Dnieper floodplain was studied. In the experiments, made during 1948 – 1955 on "... meadows of the fresh type of the Dnieper floodplain with accelerated flooding...", the hay yield for 4 years was obtained –

58 quintal / hectare (Morozova, Shkabara, 1961a, pp. 19–20). In 1951 he started experiments in "... the terraced part of the Dnieper floodplain on a drained peat soil" concerning the study of the system of fertilizer use in meadow crop rotations. In 1952 he began the research to study the role of a peat layer added to a sandy sod-podzolic soil in the Dnieper floodplain, which is considered as structural reclamation nowadays (Morozova, Shkabara, 1961b, p. 34). During 1947 – 1949 in the collective farm "Chervonyi Partyzan" of Dymersky district he studied the issue of terms of harvesting otava (Morozova, 1961c, p. 91). Under his leadership from 1946 to 1954 the terms and methods of sowing meadow grasses in the Dnieper floodplain on dry and fresh meadows were studied. In addition to stations, the research was conducted under the production conditions of the collective farm named after Stalin of Dymer district (Morozova, 1961b, pp. 81, 83). From 1953 to 1956 he studied the issue of increasing the productivity of dry and swampy meadows in the Dnieper floodplain, using disking and sowing of grasses in the areas with liquefied grassland (Morozova, 1961a, p. 47).

Since 1923 he continued breeding work (on an amateur basis) with the breed of the world-famous Russian greyhounds or the Russian greyhounds (Sverbilova's archive). He started this activity at the beginning of the 1920-ies, when, working at Volyn Agricultural College, he inspected former noble estates in official affairs. For the most part, they were left by their owners after the October coup of 1917. Thus, the breed survived all the difficult times of the famine of 1932 – 1933 and the German-Soviet war of 1941 – 1945. The occupants, by the way, took some puppies to Germany.

After the government-party decision in 1950 to build grand "hydraulic structures on the Volga, Dnieper and Don" in order to create huge reservoirs, O. S. Shkabara, as a recognized expert in this field, understood well that with the rising water level in the Dnieper, actually, the activity of Kozarovytsia research station was levelled (Skorodumov, 1955, p. 79). He opposed categorically the project of creating Kyiv Reservoir, arguing that "it would flood the floodplain meadows of the Dnieper and Irpin rivers and destroy the fodder base of coastal collective farms" (Volodin, 1939, pp. 3–4). This will lead to the reduction in livestock and the reduction in the city meat and milk supply. These prophetic words came true over the years (Tumoshenko, 2017b, p. 392).

However, in 1964 Kyiv Reservoir was built and the remnants of the station were moved to the village of Litvynivka. The relocation of the station is closely connected with P. S. Makarenko, the last director of Kozarovytsia research station of meadow research of the UkrNDI of Agriculture. During four years, he managed to return the previous glory of the station, this time in its name – Kyiv research station of meadow planting, UkrNDI of Agriculture PV VASGNIL. The infrastructure was built: a scientific building, housing for employees, a kindergarten, a canteen, a household, household and livestock facilities, an automobile park, a workshop for agricultural equipment repairs, etc. But this was another story of O. S. Shkabara's creation. The scientist died on June 25, 1959. He was buried in the cemetery of the village of Kozarovychi.

In 1961 after his death the first issue of "Scientific works" of the station was published, in which many kind words were said about O. S. Shkabara concerning the contribution to the scientific bases development, the development of hayfields and pastures on floodplain lands of Forest-steppe and Polissya of the UkSSR. O. S. Shkabara was rehabilitated according to Art. 1 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 16.01.1989 "On additional measures to restore justice to victims of repression, which took place during the period the 30–40-ies and the beginning of the 30-ies". The relevant

document was signed by Ovcharenko, a senior assistant of the military prosecutor of Kyiv military district.

The Conclusions. The life and creative destiny of O. S. Shkabara became a reflection of the epochs break, which inevitably affected the peculiarities of his worldview formation, spiritual and moral values, the realization of a scientific and educational potential for the benefit of the Fatherland. Each of the epochs gave him a chance to realize his creative potential, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, – each of the epochs brought so much disappointment, incredible humiliation and suffering. However, O. S. Shkabara managed to make a significant contribution to the formation and development of the culture of swamps and meadows planting in the Ukrainian Polissya, both in terms of theory and methodology, and in the organization of the scientific and educational support. The theory and methodology became the basis for the final approval of the concept of swamp culture as a science that “...studies the methods and measures of an agricultural use of peatlands...” (Oposhko, 1934, p. 7) and the appearance in the educational training of specialists the special field – plant technicians. In this regard, in the first place there should be noted his scientific and organizational activities during 1923 – 1933 and 1945 – 1959 at Kozarovytsia research and reclamation station and the educational activities during 1923 – 1933 at Kyiv Engineering and Reclamation Institute. Certain periods of his work, namely 1933 – 1945, require further historical explorations. The same item concerns his creative work in the form of articles, brochures, recommendations and etc.

Acknowledgement. I am sincerely grateful to the daughter and son of O. S. Shkabara – Kateryna and Serhiy Shkabara, as well as the granddaughter – T. H. Sverbilova and the local historian of the village of Kozarovychi – V. S. Tymoshenko for the provided information.

Funding. The author has not received any financial support for the research, authorship and / or publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arkhiv T. Sverbilovoji – Arkhiv onuky Shkaraby Oleksija Stepanovycha – Tetjany Sverbilovoji [Sverbilova's archive]

Centralnyj deerzhavnyj arkhiv ghromadsjkykh ob'jednanj Ukrainy (Central State Archive of Public Association of Ukraine – CSAPA).

Centralnyj deerzhavnyj arkhiv vyshhykh orghaniv vlady i upravlinnja Ukrainy (Central State Archive of Supreme Boodies and Administration of Ukraine – CSASB)

Derzhavnyj arkhiv m. Kyiv [State Archive of Kyiv – SAK]

Derzhavnyj arkhiv Rivnenskoji oblasti [State Archive of Rivne region – SARR]

Djovani, D. (1927). Kuljturtekhnika na Ukraini v suchasnomu j jiji perspektyvy [Cultural Technology in Ukraine in Present and its Prospects]. *Melioratyvne pytannja, 10–11*, 9–12. [in Ukrainian]

Djovani, D. (1929a). Doslidno-melioratyvna sprava na Ukraini [Research and Reclamation Work in Ukraine]. *Melioratyvne pytannja, 2*, 1–12. [in Ukrainian]

Djovani, D. A. (1929b). Puti razvitiia i sostoianie opytno-issledovatel'skogo dela po lugovodstvu i culture bolot na Ukraine [Ways of Development and the State of Experimental Research in Meadow Planting and Swamp Culture in Ukraine]. *Trudy 1-go soveshchaniia lugovodov-opytynikov 23-go fevralia – 1-go marta 1928 goda pri Gosudarstvennom lugovom institute. Doklady–Protokoly–Postanovleniia* (v 3-kh vyp., Vyp. 3, pp. 79–84). Moscow. [in Russian]

Filipovych, Ye. O. (2013). *Khronika VYSHU 1931 roku [Chronicle of the HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION of 1931]* (v 2-kh t., T. 1). Rivne, 195 p. [in Ukrainian]

Filipovych, Ye. O. (2013a). *Khronika VYSHU 1930 roku [Chronicle of the HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION of 1930]* (v 2-kh t., T. 1). Rivne, 165 p. [in Ukrainian]

Godlin, M. M. (1928a). *Pochvennyi pokrov Kozarovichskoi poimy r. Dnepra (s predisloviem zav. op. st. A. Shkaraby) [Soil Cover of the Kozarovychi Floodplain of the Dnieper River (with a foreword by A. Shkabara)]*. Kyiv, 44 p. [in Russian]

Godlin, M. M. (1928b). *Profilno-posloinoie raspredelenie vodnorastvorimykh azota i fosfora v lugovykh pochvakh Kozarovichskoi poimy r. Dnepra (s predisloviem zav. op. st. A. Shkaraby)* [Profile Layer-by-layer Distribution of Water-soluble Nitrogen and Phosphorus in the Meadow Soils of Kozarovychi Floodplain of the Dnieper (with a foreword by A. Shkabara)]. Kiev, 15 p. [in Russian]

Mokrynskyi, V. V. *Predvaritel'noe gidrologicheskoe obsledovanie territorii Kozarovichskoi op. melior. stancii (rukopis')* [Preliminary Hydrological Survey of the Territory of the Kozarovychi Reclamation Station (manuscript)]. [in Russian]

Morozova, Z. V. (1961a). Poverkhneve udobrennja i remont travostoju zaplavnykh luk Dnipro Polissja URSR [Surface Fertilization and Grass Repair of Floodplain Meadows of the Dnieper Polissya of the UkSSR]. *Dosvid osvojennja sinozhatej I pasovyshh na zaplavnykh zemljakh* [Experience in the Development of Hayfields and Pastures on floodplain Lands]. *Naukovi praci, Kyiv, (1)*, 42–51. [in Ukrainian]

Morozova, Z. V. (1961b). Stroky i sposoby sivby luchnykh trav [Terms and Methods of Meadow Grasses Sowing]. *Dosvid osvojennja sinozhatej I pasovyshh na zaplavnykh zemljakh* [Experience in the Development of Hayfields and Pastures on floodplain Lands]. *Naukovi praci, Kyiv, (1)*, 81–88. [in Ukrainian]

Morozova, Z. V. (1961c). Stroky zbyrannja sina [Terms of Haymaking]. *Dosvid osvojennja sinozhatej I pasovyshh na zaplavnykh zemljakh* [Experience in the Development of Hayfields and Pastures on floodplain Lands]. *Naukovi praci, Kyiv, (1)*, 89–93. [in Ukrainian]

Morozova, Z. V. & Shkabara, A. S. (1961b). Vplyv torfjanogho prosharku na zbaghachennja pishhanykh ghruntiv orghanichnoju rehovynoju [Influence of Peat Layer on Enrichment of Sandy Soils with Organic Liquid]. *Dosvid osvojennja sinozhatej I pasovyshh na zaplavnykh zemljakh* [Experience in the Development of Hayfields and Pastures on floodplain Lands]. *Naukovi praci, Kyiv, (1)*, 31–34. [in Ukrainian]

Morozova, Z. V. & Shkabara, A. S. (1961a). Lucni sivozminy i pryskorennja zaluzhennja v zaplavi Dnipro [Meadow Crop Rotations and Acceleration of Flooding in the Dnieper Floodplain]. *Dosvid osvojennja sinozhatej I pasovyshh na zaplavnykh zemljakh* [Experience in the Development of Hayfields and Pastures on floodplain Lands]. *Naukovi praci, Kyiv, (1)*, 19–25. [in Ukrainian]

Mukutenko, A. P. (1961). Do pytannja polipshennja nasinnyctva lukopasovyshhnykh trav [On the Issue of Improving the Seed Production of Meadow Grasses]. *Naukovi praci, Kyiv, (1)*, 110–117. [in Ukrainian]

Nemolovskyi, I. (1927). Ukrainsjka melioracija na desjati rokovyny Zhovtnja [Ukrainian Land Reclamation for the Tenth Anniversary of October]. *Melioratyvne pytannja, 10–11*, 1. [in Ukrainian]

Opokov, Ye. (1922a). Melioracijna Sekcija S.-Gh. Naukovogho Komitetu. *Visnyk s.-gh. nauky, T. 1, Vyp. 4*, P. 180–181. [in Ukrainian]

Opokov, Ye. (1922b). Centraljna Dosvidno-Melioracijna stancia [Reclamation Section A.-G. Scientific Committee]. *Visnyk s.-gh. nauky, 1 (1)*, 17–33. [in Ukrainian]

Oposhko, B. D. (1934). Kultura bolot [Swamp Culture]. *Nauchnye osnovy i agrotehnika* (p. 7). Moscow-Leningrad. [in Russian]

Serbin, Ye. Ya. (1913). Ob organizacii raionnoi bolotnoi opytnoi stantcii [Organization of the Regional Swamp Experimental Station]. *Bolotovedenie: Vestnik kulturny i izuchenia bolot i lugovodstva, 1*, 57–64. [in Russian]

Shablygin, F. P. (1915). Poiasnitelnaia zapiska k proektu osusheniia chasti bolot “Chemernoe” v Berezhanskoi kazennoi dache i chaste imeniia Sarny, otvodimye pod opytnoe pole [Explanatory note to the project of draining a part of Chemernoye swamps in Berezhanskaya state dacha and a part of Sarny estate allocated for an experimental field]. *Bolotovedenie: Vestnik kulturny i izuchenia bolot i lugovodstva, 1*, 63. [in Russian]

Shkabara, Ye. A. (1991). *Avtobiografiia 1991 g.* [Autobiography 1991]. URL: <http://www.shkabara-ko.ho.ua/autobiogr/avt.htm>. [in Ukrainian]

Shtein, V. P. (ed.). (1914). Volynskaia guberniia. Mestnyi agronomicheskii personal sostoiaščii na pravitelstvennoi i obshestvennoi sluzhbe 1 ianvaria 1914 g. [Volyn Province. Local Agronomic Personnel in Government and Public Service, January 1, 1914]. *Spravochnik* (sost. N.A. Aleksandrovskim, M.M. Glukhovym i N.F. Shcherbakovym) (p. 45). Petrograd. [in Russian]

Shtein, V. P. (ed.) (1912). *Rukovodstvo po culture bolot professor V. Bersha [A Guide to the Culture of Swamps by Professor V. Bersh]*. (perevod s nemetskogo iazyka G.V. Rozena, A.V. Sokolovskogo, Yu.P. Krasnokutskogo) (p. 1). S.-Peterburg. [in Russian]

Skorodumov, A. S. (1955). *Eroziia pochv i borba s nei [Soil Erosion and Control]*. Kiev, 79 p. [in Russian]

Sverbilova, T. *Iz istoriit potomstvennykh sobachnikov (Spogady T.Sverbilovoi pro svogho dida) [From the history of a family of hereditary dog lovers (Memoirs of T. Sverbilova about her grandfather)]*. URL: <http://vinipuh.retriever.net.ua/histories.htm>. [in Russian]

Tymoshenko, V. (2017a). *Vci doroghy vedutj u Kozarovychi. Fraghmenty istoriji sela [All Roads Lead to Kozarovich. Fragments of the History of the Village]*. (v 2-kh kn., Kn. 1). Kamjanecj-Podiljskij, 536 p. [in Ukrainian]

Verhunov, V. A. (2019). *Chlen-korespondent AH URSS M.O. Tyuleniev (1889–1960) – vchenyj, pedagogh ta fundator sils'koghospodars'koi doslidnoji spravy v Ukrajinii (do 130-richchja vid dnja narodzhennja) [Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR M. O. Tyuleniev (1889–1960) – a scientist, teacher and founder of an agricultural reclamation research in Ukraine (to the 130th anniversary of his birth)]*. Rivne, 123 p. [in Ukrainian]

Verstiuk, V. F., Dziuba, O. M. & Reprytsev, V. F. (2005). *Ukrajina vid najdavnishykh chasiv do sjoghodennja. Khronologhichniy dovidnyk [Ukraine from the Ancient Times to the Present. Chronological Reference Book]*. Kyiv, 716 p. [in Ukrainian]

Volodin, B. (1939). *Po nesootvetstviu opytnykh dannykh [On the Discrepancy of Experimental Data]*. *Leninskoie znamia*, 22 noiabria, P. 3–4. [in Russian]

Yelenskie, R. A. & Ye. V. (1927). *Geo-botanicheskie ocherk zalivnykh lugov Kozarovichskoi poimy r. Dnepra (s predisloviem zav. op. st. A. Shkaraby) [Geo-botanical Sketch of the Flooded Meadows of Kozarovychi Floodplain of the river Dnieper]*. Kiev, 48 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yevsiutin, V. (1929). 2-j Vsesojuznyj z'jizd jughovodiv-doslidnykiv [The 2nd All-Union Congress of Meadow Researchers]. *Melioratyvne pytannja*, 8, 5. [in Ukrainian]

Tymoshenko, V. (2017b). *Vci doroghy vedutj u Kozarovychi. Fraghmenty istoriji sela [All Roads Lead to Kozarovich. Fragments of the History of the Village]*. (v 2-kh kn., Kn. 2). Kamjanecj-Podiljskij, 576 p. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on October 27, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 37.014.2(477.83/.86)“18”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.211182

Andrii SLUSARENKO

PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Deputy Commander of the Academy for scientific work, Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, 32 Heroiv Maidanu Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (savnp@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7812-6277>

Tetiana KOLOMOETS

PhD hab. (Law), Professor, Honoured Lawyer of Ukraine, Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine, Dean of Law Faculty of Zaporizhzhya National University, 66 Zhukovskiyi Street, Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, postal code 69002 (t_deputy@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1101-8073>

ResearcherID: M-9082-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/M-9082-2019>)

Андрій СЛЮСАРЕНКО

доктор історичних наук, доцент, заступник начальника академії з наукової роботи, Національна академія Сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, Львів, індекс 79026 (savnp@gmail.com)

Тетяна КОЛОМОЄЦЬ

докторка юридичних наук, професорка, член-кореспондентка Національної академії правових наук України, заслужений юрист України, декан юридичного факультету Запорізького національного університету, вул. Жуковського, 66, м. Запоріжжя, Україна, індекс 69002 (t_deputy@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Slusarenko, A. & Kolomoets, T. (2020). “The Memorial” of public school teachers of Bibrka county of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (1891) as a historical and legal source. *Skhidnoievropeiskiyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 112–126. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.211182

**“THE MEMORIAL” OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS OF BIBRKA
COUNTY OF THE KINGDOM OF GALICIA AND LODOMERIA (1891)
AS A HISTORICAL AND LEGAL SOURCE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to publish and analyze “The Memorial” of public schools teachers of Bibrka school district (1891) as the source for the history of schooling in Galicia and the socio-legal culture of teachers at the end of the XIXth century. The research methodology – principles of scientific, objectivity, historicism, methods of external and internal critique of sources. The research novelty is that “The Memorial” of public schools teachers of Bibrka school district (1891) was first published and analyzed as a historical and legal source. The Conclusions. Thus, the analyzed “The Memorial” is an extremely interesting historical source, which reveals the level of a social, professional and group activity and solidarity of teachers in the small county of Galicia at the end of the XIXth century. The project elaborated by them, despite the completely uncalculated costs*

for its implementation, deserves attention, primarily, to the principles that teachers proposed to base the system of “advance”: linking the amount of salary (the transition from a lower to higher salary) to the personal success of a teacher; his qualification, experience. At the same time, “The Memorial” testified to the existence of a certain civil position of teachers, who, although timidly, protested against the unsatisfactory social situation, injustices in the provision of a post (the right to “presents”, the arbitrariness of officials), holding posts by unskilled and casual people in a pedagogical profession; the authors of *The Memorial* emphasized the negative effects of the protection mechanism (indirectly pointing at corruption in this regard) on the morality of teachers and the quality of education, and etc. It should be noted that the document was signed by both Polish and Ukrainian teachers, who pushed aside their interethnic contradictions in the field of defending the interests of their own professional group. The document is a clear proof of the growth of a legal and social culture of “folk teachers”, who gradually became aware of their social importance and dared to take on the role of an active subject in solving the most painful problems of an educational life. The document is published in the original language (Polish) in compliance with the necessary archaeological requirements.

Key words: “The Memorial” of public schools teachers of Bibrka school district, Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, State School Council, financial situation of teachers.

“МЕМОРИАЛ” УЧИТЕЛІВ НАРОДНИХ ШКІЛ БІБРСЬКОГО ПОВІТУ КОРОЛІВСТВА ГАЛИЧИНИ І ЛОДОМЕРІЇ (1891) ЯК ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО

Анотація. Мета статті – опублікувати й проаналізувати “меморіал” вчителів народних шкіл Бібрського шкільного округу (1891) як джерело до історії шкільництва Галичини та соціально-правової культури вчительства кінця XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, об’єктивності, історизму, методи зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що уперше публікується “меморіал” вчителів народних шкіл Бібрського шкільного округу (1891) та здійснюється його аналіз як історико-правового джерела. **Висновки.** Отже, аналізований “меморіал” є надзвичайно цікавим історичним джерелом, який виявляє рівень соціальної, професійно-групової активності і солідарності вчителів маленького повіту Галичини наприкінці XIX ст. Розроблений ними проєкт, незважаючи на зовсім непрораховані видатки для його реалізації, заслуговує на увагу передовсім принципами, які педагогі пропонували покласти в основу системи “авансу”: прив’язання розміру платні (перехід від нижчого до вищого класу оплати) до особистих успіхів вчителя, його кваліфікованості, досвідченості. Водночас “меморіал” засвідчив наявність певної громадянської позиції вчителів, які, хоч і несміливо, протестували проти незадовільного соціального становища, несправедливостей щодо надання посади (право “презенту”, свавілля чиновників), займання посад некваліфікованими й випадковими у педагогічній професії людьми, підкреслили негативні впливи механізму протекції (непрямо вказавши на корупцію у цьому плані) на моральність вчителя і якість освіти тощо. Зауважимо, що документ підписали як вчителі-поляки, так і вчителі-українці, які на полі відстоювання інтересів власної професійної групи відсунули у бік свої міжнаціональні суперечності. Документ є яскравим доказом зростання правової і соціально-станової культури “народних учителів”, які поступово усвідомлювали свою суспільну вагу й наважувалися брати на себе роль активного суб’єкта у розв’язанні найбільш болючих проблем організації освітнього життя. Документ публікується мовою оригіналу (польською) з дотриманням необхідних археографічних вимог.

Ключові слова: “Меморіал” вчителів народних шкіл Бібрського шкільного округу, Королівство Галичини і Лодомерії, Краєва шкільна рада, матеріальне становище вчителів.

The Problem Statement. The study of the history of social groups and the population strata, including teachers, is based on a wide range of different historical sources, among which an important place occupy the documents of a collective authorship (the statutes, memorials, projects, meetings and conferences decisions, etc.). They reflect the representatives’ views of certain groups on themselves and give the opportunity to form a clear idea of their

understanding of their own problems, objectives, rights and needs. Among the sources on the history of teaching in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria in the second half of the XIXth century, of great interest were the appeals initiated by the teachers themselves to the authorities, first of all the State School Council (hereinafter – the SSC), on various issues that concerned teachers at a certain historical stage. One of such appeals is “The Memorial” of teachers of Bibrka County to the SSC (1891) concerning the material and legal situation of primary school teachers. “The Memorial” needs a special attention of researchers.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The situation of primary (folk) school teachers in Galicia during the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries was described by the contemporary scientists: I. Fylypchak (Fylypchak, 2009), I. Franko (Franko, 1986a, 1986b), the educators M. Lozynskyi (Lozynskyi, 1906), H. Schmitt (Schmitt, 1874), a writer Yu. Shnaider (Uliana Kravchenko) (Kravchenko, 1975) and the others. They usually elucidated the poor material situation of public school teachers, often criticizing the government’s primary education policy and demanding to increase the budget expenditures for teachers. “Last year, – I. Franko wrote in 1892, – to the scoff of the whole world, there were two such cases in Galicia when teachers at work died of starvation. Our teacher earns less than the first-best coachman in court or a guard in crime cases” (Franko, 1986a, pp. 113–114). The Polish educators and researchers B. Baranowski (Baranowski, 1910), M. Baranowski (Baranowski, 1896), T. Fiutowski (Fiutowski, 1913) also outlined the issue of unsatisfactory wages of teachers, often emphasizing the authorities’ efforts to improve the financial situation of teachers. The miserable situation of Galician teachers was vividly described by Z. Mayer (Mayer, 1899), who provided many examples of being deprived of rights and poverty of teachers. The Soviet researchers L. Baik and B. Mitiurov (Baik & Mitiurov, 1965) from the class point of view, characterizing the situation of teacher, emphasized the poor material security of teachers, which was explained by bourgeois-capitalist oppression. Modern Ukrainian and Polish researchers (F. Rzemieniuk (Rzemieniuk, 1991), B. Stuparyk (Stuparyk, 1994), V. Blahyi (Blahyi, 1999), R. Petriv (Petriv, 2002), V. Stynska (Stynska, 2004), L. Sholohon (Sholohon, 2004), T. Vorobkevych and A. Vorobkevych (Vorobkevych & Vorobkevych, 2007), M. Haliv (Haliv, 2011), A. Varyanytsa (Varyanytsa, 2018) and the others) study the quantitative and qualitative indicators of Galician teaching, analyze the government’s policy on the material support, characterize the everyday life of teachers.

It should be noted that none of the above-mentioned researchers cited in their works “The Memorial” of public schools teachers of Bibrka school district (hereinafter – “The Memorial”) as a separate historical source. This document was briefly mentioned only in A. Varyanytsia’s dissertation (Varyanytsa, 2018). At present, “The Memorial” has not been published and analyzed from the point of a historical archeography.

The purpose of the article is to publish and analyze “The Memorial” of public schools teachers of Bibrka school district (1891) as the source for the history of schooling in Galicia and the socio-legal culture of teachers at the end of the XIXth century.

The Statement of the Basic Material. After the adoption of the Constitution and the acquisition of a limited autonomy by the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria in the Habsburg Empire (1867), the reform period began in the field of education: nationalization of parish and public schools, unification of school structure, modernization of curricula and programmes, teachers training in the state teacher’s seminaries, etc. Under these conditions, the number of Galician teachers gradually increased, which, on the one hand, was the result of a purposeful policy of the authorities to expand the network of elementary and other schools, on the

other hand – a certain, although quite insignificant, improvement in the financial situation of teachers.

The founders of the school were responsible for the salary of a village teacher: the community of the city or village, the private tabular estate, the state. During the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century there were some changes in the amount of salary of primary school teachers. According to the law of May 14, 1869, teachers had to be set a salary that would allow them to devote themselves entirely to their work, free from extracurricular activities. The regional school law of 1873 completely forbade teachers to perform other functions for part-time work. In general, public school teachers were divided into five job classes, according to which the salaries were calculated. Teachers of Class I (teachers of Lviv and Krakow) received 700 zł., teachers of Class II (teachers in towns with more than 10 000 of inhabitants) – 600 zł., and teachers of Class III (in communities with a population of 6 000 – 10000 of inhabitants) – 500 zł., teachers of Class IV (in urban communities with 2 000 – 6 000 of inhabitants) – 450 zł., teachers of Class V (in rural communities with a population of 2 000 – 6 000) – 400 zł. If the commune (gmina) had less than 2 000 inhabitants, the teacher could receive about 300 zł. The work of a junior or temporary teacher was to be 60% of the salary of a full-time teacher. However, in no case could it be lower than 200 zł. per year (Haliv, 2011, p. 51). In fact, this was the lowest salary (200 – 300 zł.) received by most teachers of public schools in Bibrka County (as well as other counties in Galicia) during the 1870-ies and 1890-ies.

“The Memorial” of public schools teachers of Bibrka school district is in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (Fonds 178: State School Council, description 1, case 1136, 8 p.). This is a manuscript document written in Polish in the county town of Bibrka in Galicia and dated on October 10, 1891. It was signed by 76 primary (folk) teachers of Bibrka school district (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 6a–7), whose boundaries coincided with the administrative boundaries of Bibrka County.

At that time, there were 73 primary schools in Bibrka County, in which there were employed 102 public teachers (Szematyzm, 1891, pp. 416–417). Therefore, this document was signed by the vast majority of county teachers (74,5%). Most likely, the “The Memorial” was made during the general conference of school district teachers, which a school inspector had to summon annually.

It should be noted that this document was called “The Memorial” by the teachers themselves, but in its content it corresponds to the concept of “petition”, which means an individual or collective request, appeal, proposal, complaint, request, petition submitted to the public authorities in a written form. However, we assume that teachers did not dare to call their appeal a “petition” to the SSC as the highest governmental institution in Galicia in the field of education. The latter (a “petition”) could be interpreted as a manifestation of an open dissatisfaction on the part of teachers with the school authorities policy. And this would certainly incur teachers (especially the initiators of writing such a “petition”) to a disciplinary action. Under such circumstances, in our opinion, teachers used a less irritating name for their address to the SSC – “The Memorial”.

In general, the document is in the form of a request to improve the material support of primary school teachers in Austrian Galicia. Its content can be divided into four parts: 1) an introductory address to the SSC, which contains emphasis on the social importance of teaching, its importance for the progress and development of the nation; 2) the description of the unsatisfactory material and social situation of teachers in Galicia; 3) the proposals for

improving the system of remuneration of teachers, their material incentives; 4) the final part, full of compliments for the SSC and assurances of teachers' loyalty.

In the first, rather short, part, the authors of "The Memorial" emphasized the role of teachers in spreading education and upbringing of the nation (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 1). It should be noted that the appeal to the nation-building role of teachers at the end of the XIXth century was extremely common in a social and political journalism. At the same time, the words of the German "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismarck about teachers as builders of the state were repeatedly mentioned in the press. From the document analyzed by us, we see that teachers had an awareness of the paramount importance of pedagogical work, its special role in the society, the formation of national, political and social visions of the people.

The second part of the document is the largest and quite eclectic in content. On the one hand, the authors of "The Memorial" emphasize the needy miserable financial situation of primary school teachers. They complain about: a) the existence of the "economy system" in the school budget of the region – the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, which negatively affects the development of schooling; b) a low level of teachers' salary, which is absolutely not enough "for the needs faced by the teacher in view of his position in the society, but even for the most modest maintenance of one person the salary is low, not to mention those, who have a family" (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 1v–2); c) because of a miserable situation, there was a widespread distrust among teachers concerning the improvement of their situation, which made them quit their jobs and search for the positions in various governments; d) while qualified teachers quit their jobs, teachers' vacancies are increasingly occupied by unskilled persons; e) young graduates of teachers' seminaries do not want to go to work at school either, looking for positions in the railway, post office, tax governments, etc. (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 2). There was the accusation of the prosperity of the "protection system / favourism system", under the conditions of which a recent graduate of a teacher's seminary, having protection, gets a better position than a teacher, who works for a long time (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 4).

On the other hand, the teachers of the schools of Bibrka County in "The Memorial" strongly emphasized the desire of the SSC to improve the funding conditions for primary school teachers. Reproaching the authorities, they use the abstract, in this case, the concept of "land": "our land treats teaching and schooling, in general, as a stepmother" (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 1 v). Nevertheless, the authors of the "The Memorial" wrote about the good regional school law of 1873, which "put teachers in an important position in the society, thus recognizing their all rights and privileges". They did not forget to note that the SSC understood the problem of an unsatisfactory funding of teachers. They were grateful to the SSC for the order, according to which unqualified teachers were forbidden to hold positions at schools. At the same time, they state that this order was not being implemented at local schools, although they were confident that the SSC would eventually ensure the order full implementation. Teachers persuaded Lviv SSC that they did not doubt its support of their ideas and believed in the Council's ability to persuade the regional Sejm to allocate appropriate funds to increase teachers' salaries (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 2–2v, 3v).

It should be noted that in addition to material factors, teachers of Bibrka County were also interested in social issues. Apparently, they were seriously concerned about the problem of unqualified teachers, who held positions in schools in the region en masse, mostly under the protection of the local authorities. Of course, the authors of "The Memorial" explained their concern by the decline in respect for teaching by the society, as well as the decline in the

quality of children’s education, which was a consequence of the lack of a proper pedagogical training of such “teachers”. “Where are these teacher candidates recruited from? – asked the compilers of the “The Memorial”. – These are people, who are very small in the first place, or do not have any studies, people, who cannot find a job anywhere and consider teacher’s bread to be a kind of shelter, or, finally, people, who consider the teaching status to be transitional, temporary and hold positions until they do not find another more suitable position. It should be added that women – unmarried old chaperons, who seek refuge in it, also dedicate themselves to this profession” (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 2v). Such a sharp negative characteristics reveals that in fact the authors of “The Memorial” were concerned about rivalry: they, as qualified teachers, who were educated in teachers’ seminaries, advocating higher salaries for themselves, constantly emphasized their own education and qualifications. Instead, the presence of a wide range of unqualified teachers, who agreed to work at schools even for a salary of 200 zl. per year, underlined the arguments of the teachers – the authors of “The Memorial”.

According to school teachers of Bibrka County, only the improvement of living conditions of teachers can prevent the outflow of a professional staff from schools. The improvement will promote the influx of young people to teachers’ seminaries, and later to primary schools. At the same time, there was noted the fact of low salaries of teachers in comparison with the salaries of a railway builder, a receptionist or servant in the Sejm building, who were not required to have any education (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 3v).

In the context of the third part of “The Memorial”, the teachers proposed to change the system of calculating teachers’ salaries, which depended on the location of the place of work. The authors of “The Memorial” proposed to introduce an “advance”, which they considered fairer than the current wage system. The essence of the “advance” was that each teacher should start the service of the lowest salary and gradually, “according to merit and years of service”, move to higher levels of the salary. The status of teachers in Galicia, according to teachers of Bibrka County, should be divided into 7 classes, each of which should correspond to the annual salary: Class I – 300 zl., Class II – 400 zl., Class III – 500 zl., Class IV – 600 zl., Class V – 700 zl., Class VI – 800 zl., Class VII – 900 zl. Therefore, the authors of “The Memorial” emphasized that the introduction of such “advance” should not be tied to the school location, but to the personality of a teacher. It was emphasized that linking teachers’ salaries to the area is harmful, as it encourages teachers to apply for relocation almost every year to other areas, where the wages are higher. The large number of such transfers has a negative impact on education: teachers are often changed at school, they do not work diligently because they hope to be sent to another school. Thus, transfers of teachers depend on the school administration, and it makes teachers ask for favours of officials that negatively affects a moral face of the first ones (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 4–4v).

In order to ensure the proposed system of wages, the teachers from Bibrka proposed to create a single school regional fund, which would be filled from separate annexes to the taxes, evenly imposed on a large and small property (“because everyone benefits from the charity of the school”), instead, to eliminate all district school funds and any community commitments to maintain schools. From the newly established fund, the administration of which should be entrusted to the SSC, all expenditures should go to schooling in general, and teachers’ salaries, in particular (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 4v–5).

At the same time, the authors of “The Memorial” mentioned about another problem: a teacher, who cares about the post must seek for the favour of various people: a) “lord” (owner

of a tabular estate), who “does not support the school, because it takes away his workers”; b) a priest, who has a negative attitude towards school, which was taken away from the influence of the Church, he considers school “non-religious” and calls a teacher a “socialist”; c) the whole community of the village or town, the members of which are dissatisfied with the school due to the action of “school coercion” (a compulsory education of all children aged 6–14). As a result, a teacher feels dependent on these forces, on the grace of “dark people”. This dependence does not give a teacher any respect, and therefore a teacher is often unable to perform his duties honestly. Therefore, the authors of “The Memorial” asked to release them from such dependence and various influences and to eliminate the procedure of “presents” – the appointment of a teacher after the community’s approval, the owner of the tabular estate, and etc. The nomination of a teacher, according to Bibrka teachers, should depend only on the teacher’s qualification patent and should be carried out by the SSC. This state of affairs would encourage young teachers to pass the qualifying exam as soon as possible and successfully. On the other hand, this would weaken the dependence of teachers even on school inspectors, “who under that review still have great arbitrariness and can arbitrarily control the fate of teachers, often guided by the personal views” (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 5–5v). It should be noted that this accusation was quite sharp in a general tone of “The Memorial” and it indicated indirectly that the school inspector of Bibrka school district, Jan Tchaikovsky, might not have participated in the conclusion of this document.

Another circumstance, opposed by Bibrka school teachers, was an excessive disciplinary action. They criticized the situation when a teacher was punished by depriving him of the so-called five-year allowance (50 zl. per year, i.e., 250 zl. for all five years). It happened that such a teacher was deprived of the previous five-year allowance and even transferred to a worse position (lower paid) in another area. This teacher had to spend money on moving, which was quite burdensome, especially when he had a family. According to the authors of “The Memorial”, there were no similar disciplinary sanctions in other institutions. Therefore, that punishment was proposed to be eliminated (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 5v–6).

In general, teachers grouped their proposals into the following items:

1. To introduce “advance” and a teacher’s status according to years of service.
2. To establish seven classes of teachers’ salaries (its size was mentioned above).
3. To link the salary of a real teacher (with a qualification patent) to his personal achievements and merits.
4. To eliminate the district school funds and all the obligations of the communities regarding school needs and to create a single regional school fund, the revenues of which will consist of supplements to the evenly imposed taxes.
5. To eliminate the right of “presents”.
6. To appoint teachers only on the basis of obtaining a qualification patent.
7. A teacher, who does not have any qualification patent may not expect to be paid more than 400 zl. per a year.
8. To establish the following disciplinary sanctions: a verbal and written rebuke, a fine, a transfer to another position, a failure at being provided the next “advance”, a temporary suspension in promotion, a dismissal from school management, a retirement or, in the worst case, a complete dismissal.
9. The supplement to the fee, to pay for the teacher’s apartment, set at 20% of the fee; the supplement “expensive” (provided only for teachers in areas where living standards were more expensive) – 15% to the fee; the overpay for school management – 25%.

10. Reduction of years of service to 30 (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 6).

It should be noted that the weakness of such proposals was the lack of justification in the text of “The Memorial” for items 9 and 10. At the same time, in paragraph 8 there was a direct contradiction with the previous statements, according to which it was proposed to remove fines from the list of disciplinary penalties (and this time they remain).

Such drawbacks, of course, undermined the argumentative power of “The Memorial”.

The fourth part of the document was full of, on the one hand, compliments for the SSC and assurances of its ability to solve teachers’ problems at the next session of the regional Sejm. At the same time, the teachers, as if justifying themselves, assured the officials from the SSC that while proposing their project, they were guided not only by personal and material views, but also by thoughts about the development of the school and the whole society (CSHAUL, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, p. 6 v).

It should be noted that “The Memorial” of school teachers from Bibrka County sent to the KSR (and at the same time to the regional Sejm) was never approved by the officials. Excessive budget expenditures were required for the implementation of the salary increase project and salary supplements. And no one wanted to change the system of financing schools and teachers developed over 20 years, to create a separate fund. At the beginning of the 1890-ies, due to the adoption of regular school laws, the size of teachers’ salaries even fluctuated somewhat. Thus, according to the Statute of June 15, 1892, the annual salary of public schools teachers was reduced from 400 to 300 zł. (Haliv, 2011, p. 53). Almost a third of all teachers in Galicia fell under this reduction in fees. It should be noted that according to an accurate comparison of B. Stuparyk, made on the basis of the article from the newspaper “Public Schooling” (“Szkolnictwo ludowe” – *in Polish*) (1896, Ч. 3), the annual salary of 400 zł. – it was less than spent on the maintenance of the mail horse, and 300 zł. – less than the maintenance of a criminal in prison (Stuparyk, 1994, p. 80). In general, only at the beginning of the XXth century there were some positive developments in raising the salaries of teachers in public schools in Galicia.

The Conclusions. Thus, the analyzed “The Memorial” is an extremely interesting historical source, which reveals the level of a social, professional and group activity and solidarity of teachers in the small county of Galicia at the end of the XIXth century. The project elaborated by them, despite the completely uncalculated costs for its implementation, deserves attention, primarily, to the principles that teachers proposed to base the system of “advance”: linking the amount of salary (the transition from a lower to higher salary) to the personal success of a teacher, his qualification, experience. At the same time, “The Memorial” testified to the existence of a certain civil position of teachers, who, although timidly, protested against the unsatisfactory social situation, injustices in the provision of a post (the right to “presents”, the arbitrariness of officials), holding posts by unskilled and casual people in a pedagogical profession; the authors of “The Memorial” emphasized the negative effects of the protection mechanism (indirectly pointing at corruption in this regard) on the morality of teachers and the quality of education, and etc. It should be noted that the document was signed by both Polish and Ukrainian teachers, who pushed aside their interethnic contradictions in the field of defending the interests of their own professional group. The document is a clear proof of the growth of a legal and social culture of “folk teachers”, who gradually became aware of their social importance and dared to take on the role of an active subject in solving the most painful problems of an educational life.

The document is published in the original language (Polish) in compliance with the necessary archaeological requirements.

Acknowledgement. We express sincere gratitude to all employees of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv for their help in finding historical documents.

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

The document

Wysoka

c. i k. Rado Szkolna Krajowa!

Stan nauczycielski zajmuje w społeczeństwie ważne stanowisko, na jego bowiem barkach spoczywa ciężar oświaty ludowej, jakoteż i wychowania narodu. Z tych tedy powodów zażywa ten stan wszędzie należytej czci, poszanowania obok najlepszego poparcia. Społeczeństwo bawiem kładąc wielką wagę na działalność stanu nauczycielskiego wspiera go na każdym kroku, tak materyalnie, jak i moralnie. Dzięki temu poparciu i ojcowskiej opiece, praca tego stanu błogie wydaje owoce, a przekonać się o tem możemy, gdy spojrzymy na Niemcy, Czechy, i inne kraje, gdzie oświata i postęp i w parze z tymi idący dobrobyt, zakwitły w peraciągu dość krótkiego czasu.

– Niestety! Trudno powiedzieć to o naszym kraju Galicyi!

Wprawdzie istnieją u nas i funkcjonują szkoły ludowe, istnieje stan nauczycielski, ale czy wydają pożądane owoce? – z ukolewaniem wątpić należy. – Dowodem tego konskrypcya ostatnia, która wykazała zwyż 70% analfabetów. – I jakaż temu przyczyna?

Podczas, gdy inne kraje monarchii otaczają pieczołowita opieką szkołę i nauczycielstwo, a widząc w nich połączony srodek do utrzymania idei narodowej, nie szcędząc dla teje największych ofiar – kraj nasz traktuje nauczycielstwo i szkolnictwo w ogóle po macoszemu. – Co najbardziej jest rażącym, to system oszczędnościowy w budżecie szkolnym, który gdzie indziej nie ma zastosowania, system, który dotkliwie czuć się daje całemu szkolnictwu nietylko materyalnie ale i moralnie – a odbija się na nauczycielach.

Ustawa krajowa postawiła nauczycieli na stanowisku ważnym w społeczeństwie, a tém samém przyznała im wszystkie prawa i przywileje, jakie się ludziom mającym wykształcenie, należą, zapomniała jednak o tém, że odpowiednio do stanowiska, musi być odpowiednie uposażenie materyalne, i uposażyła nauczycieli ludowych wynagrodzeniem, które absolutnie nie wystarcza nie tylko na potrzeby, na które nauczyciel już ze swego stanowiska w społeczeństwie jest narażony, ale nawet na otrzymanie jednej osoby, choćby najskromniejsze, a cóż dopiero powiedzieć gdy jest obciążony rodzina.

Sprawa ta nieraz była omowianą nietylko przez nauczycielstwo, ale i przez inne sfery miarodajne, a spodziewać się należy, iż i Wysoka c. i k. Rada Szkolna Krajowa jest przekonaną, iż dotychczasowe stosunki nauczycielstwa pod tym względem są pożałowania godne.

Niema potrzeby dowodzić rzeczy niejednokrotnie już omawianej, dodać jedynie należy, iż między nauczycielstwem obok nędzy zagnieździło się ogólne zniechęcenie i rozgoryczenie, zwłaszcza, gdy wszystkie prośby i zabiegi o polepszenie bytu materyalnego są bezskuteczne, a nawet nie ma nadziei, by w najbliższej przyszłości stosunki te zostały korzystnie dla nauczycieli unormowane. –

Nie należy zatem dziwić się, iż z każdym rokiem coraz to więcej posad nieobsadzonych, gdyż daje się czuć brak sił nauczycielskich, nie dziwić się iż z każdym rokiem powiększa się ilość nauczycieli bez najmniejszej często kwalifikacyi. –

Czy założenie jeszcze jednego seminaryum nauczycielskiego, czy wpływanie na młodzież przez wydziały powiatowe by się poświęcała temu zawodowi, zapobiegnię złemu,

watpić należy – i sądzić należy iż i Wysoka c. i k. Rada szkolna Krajowa sama najmocniej o tem jest przekonana. –

Młdzież bowiem nie widząc widoków dla siebie w zawodzie nauczycielskim, mając ukończone studia seminaryjne, poświęca się innym zawodom, szuka chleba przy kolei, poczcie, urzędach podatkowych, instytucjach prywatnych, w wojsku lub straży finansowej w końcu. – A iluż to mamy co roku nauczycieli nietylko prowizorycznych ale i rzeczywistych, którzy rezygnują z zawodu i inny sobie obierają?

Co więcej! Brakujące siły nauczycielskie zastępuje się siłami, które nie mają nieraz najmniejszej kwalifikacji. –

Pomijam już wzgląd na korzyści, jakie odnosi szkolnictwo przez obsadzanie posad nauczycielskich podobnymi indywiduami, lecz podnieść tu należy iż stan nauczycielski w oczach opinii publicznej bardzo a bardzo wiele traci na swej powadze i poszanowaniu dzięki tym stosunkom. –

Bo z kąd że rekrutują się ci kandydaci nauczycielscy? Oto z ludzi którzy najpierw bardzo małe, lub żadnych studjow nie posiadają, – z ludzi, którzy nie mogą sobie nigdzie stanowiska znaleźć, i chleb nauczycielski uważają za rodzaj przytułku, – albo w końcu z ludzi, którzy stan nauczycielski uważają za stan przejściowy, prowizoryczny, i zajmują posady tak długo, dopóki sobie innego odpowiedniejszego stanowiska nie znajdą. – Dodać tu należy iż poświęcają się temu zawodowi nawięcej kobiety, które skazane na staropanieństwo, szukają w nim przytułku na starość. –

I cóż za korzyść z tego? Oto najpierw szkoła nie funkcjonuje należycie, postępu nie można się spodziewać, dalej dzieją się ciągle zmiany, nieraz i w ciągu roku, bo na czemże zależy takiemu nauczycielowi, jeżeli opuszcza szkołę sam kiedy zachce, a wreszcie i powaga stanu nauczycielskiego cierpi na tem, gdyż wielu z tych niby nauczycieli uważając chleb nauczycielski tylko jako środek do tymczasowego nieraz utrzymania, nie są przejęci ważnością powołania, i zachowaniem się swoim na każdym kroku przynoszą tylko wstyd i hańbę stanowi nauczycielskiemu. To téż choć oficjalnie głoszoną bywa cześć i poszanowanie dla stanu nauczycielskiego, w stosunkach jednak codziennych i towarzyskich stoi stan nauczycielski bardzo nieodpowiedno, właśnie przez owe pojedyncze jednostki, które wkradłszy się w szeregi nauczycielskie, są tylko zagłada i przeszkoda. –

Nauczycielstwo powitało z wdzięcznością rozporządzenie Wysokiej c. i k. Rady szkol. Kraj., które zabrania obsadzania posad osobistosciami niekwalifikowanymi, ze smutkiem jednak patrzeć musi iż powyższe rozporządzenie nie jest ściśle wykonane. –

Nauczycielstwo wyraża nieraz swój żal z tego powodu, głównie dlatego, iż gdyby rozporządzenie to zostało ściśle wykonanem, wtenczas ogromna liczba nicobsadzonych posad zwrócić by masiała uwaga Wysokiego Sejmu, a nauczycielstwo mogłoby się wtenczas spodziewać polepszenia swego bytu. –

Nauczycielstwo naszego kraju jest przekonane iż Wysoka c. i k. Rada szk. Kraj. – jako władza przełożona jest przychylnia dla tego stanu usposobioną, i właśnie w tym celu wydała powyższe rozporządzenie i nie wątpi iż Wysoka c. i k. Rada szk. Kraj. postara się, by rozporządzenie te zostało w całej pełni wykonane. – Nauczycielstwo będzie bardzo wdzięczne Wysokiej c. i k. Radzie szk. Kraj. gdy pozbędzie się z swego grona indywiduów, które nietylko szkole ale i całemu stanowi korzyści nie przynoszą. –

Wprawdzie lepsze uposażenie materyalnie nauczycieli mogłoby zapobiedz tym anormalnym stosunkom, gdy tylko większa życzliwość i chęć dla szkolnictwa Wysoki Sejm okazać zachciał. –

Wtedy nie byłoby powodu narzekać na brak nauczycieli, i ludzi, którzy by z prawdziwym poświęceniem temu zawodowi się poświęcali, wykształconych, inteligentnych, którzyby szkole prawdziwą korzyść a nauczycielstwu zaszczyt przynosili. –

Dziś warunki byta są ciężkie, toteż gdyby w zawodzie nauczycielskim stworzyły się choć średniej miary widoki, młodzież poświęcałaby nia się z ochotą. – Jeżeli jednak uposażenie terazniejsze nauczycieli jest niższe od budnika kolejowego płacy, portyera lub sługusa gmachu sejmowego, od których to ludzi nie żąda się tych studyów, jakich żądają od nauczycieli, a do tego nie ma jeszcze żadnych widoków i awansu w przyszłości, trudno się dziwić, ze szeregi nauczycieli coraz bardziej się przerzadzają. –

Nie wątpimy, iż Wysoka ck. Rada szk. Kraj. w ten sam sposób zapatruje się na tę sprawę, jednakże nie o zależności Wysokiej ck. Rady szk. Kraj. od Wysokiego Sejmu, wie i o tem że mało tu zdziałać może jeżeli Wysoki Sejm swój dobrej woli ku temu sam nie zaznaczy. – Jednakże nauczycielstwo jest przekonane iż głos Wysokiej ck. Rady szk. Kraj. jako władzy fachowej ma wiele znaczenia, a poparcie próśb naszych z jej strony może wiele przyczynić się do pokierowania sprawy na dobre tory. – To też nauczycielstwo nie wątpi, iż Wysoka ck. Rada szk. Kraj. popiera na każdym kroku ich słuszne życzenia, a choć one nie znajdują posłuchu, tam gdzie należy, żywne to przekonanie iż może liczyć w każdej chwili na życzliwe poparcie naszej Wysokiej władzy. –

Wprawdzi omawiano już nie raz sprawą polepszenia bytu stanu nauczycielskiego, wyłoniały się różne projekta, lecz żaden z nich nie zadowolnił żądań nauczycieli, nie uczynił zadość życzeniom w kierunku awansu. – Nie tyle ubija się nauczycielstwo o podwyższenie płac, ile o awans. Zaprowadzenie awansu powitałoby nauczycielstwo z radością, gdyż byłby on aktem sprawiedliwości dla nauczycieli. – Wtenczas każdy nauczyciel poczynąłby służbę od najniższej płacy, a w miarę zasług i lat służby przechodziłby do coraz wyższej płacy. Byłyby wtenczas pewne widoki, i nauczycielstwo byłoby pewnem, iż nie protekcya, lub inne względy, jakto dotychczas się praktykuje wpływałyby na awans, lech jedynie zasługa. – Dziś z przykrością patrzeć trzeba na to, jak system protekcyjny kwitnie w całej pełni. Ukończony seminarzysta mając protekcję, dostaje lepszą posadę, jak nauczyciel który już dłuższy czas pracuje, a czyż nie może już być większej niesprawiedliwości, jeżeli osoba niemająca często najmniejszej kwalifikacyi otrzymuje posadę jakiej nie ma nauczyciel z kwalifikacją i zasługą?

To też nauczycielstwo nie może patrzeć na istniejący stan rzeczy obojętnem okiem, i celem zniknięcia go pragnie zaprowadzenia awansu. – W tym celu ma być ułożony krajowy status nauczycieli według lat służby, status ten ma być podzielonym na siedem klas, a do każdej klasy ma być przywiązana płaca, a mianowicie:

I klasa 300 zł.	IV klasa 600 zł.
II „ 400 „	V „ 700 „
III „ 500 „	VI „ 800 „
VII klasa 900 zł.	

W dalszem następstwie zaprowadzenia awansu musi być charakter rzeczywistego nauczyciela i płaca nie do miejscowości, lecz do osoby nauczyciela. Przywiązanie płacy i charakteru rzeczywistego nauczyciela do miejsca dzieła bardzo szkodliwie na rozwój szkoły, jakoteż i na stosunki służbowe nauczycieli. – Każdy bowiem nauczyciel stara się co roku o lepszą posadę i z tego powodu ciągle się przenosi, a na tem cierpi najpierw szkoła, która przez coroczne zmiany nauczycieli nie wiele korzysta. Kraždy bowiem nauczyciel, który się spodziewa iż dłużej nad rok lub dwa na jednej posadzie nie będzie, pracować przecież

dla swego następcy nie będzie tak, jakby to pracował, gdyby wiedział że dłużej tu zostanie. Zresztą częsta zmiana nauczycieli już ze względów pedagogicznych nie jest wskazaną. – Cierpi dalej na tem i nauczyciel, który albo zmuszony, lub na własną prośbę przenosi się, i naraża się na straty materyalne, a wreszcie przywiązanie płacy i charakteru rzeczywistego nauczyciela do miejsca wpływa niemoralnie na samych nauczycieli, którzy ubiegając się o jedną i ta samą posadę szukają różnych dróg i ścieżek celem otrzymania takowej wskutek czego powstają między nimi niejednokrotnie niesnaski i nieporozumienia. – Cierpią w końcu na tem nauczyciele rzeczywisci, którzy nie mogą się przenieść prowizorycznie na lepszą posadę, gdy ta się otworzy, i z żalem patrzeć muszą, jak takowa zajmuje nauczyciel mniej zasłużony. –

Z tych łady względów pragnęłoby nauczycielstwo by płaca i charakter służbowy nauczyciela był przywiązany nie do miejsca lecz do osoby, tak by nauczyciel na miejscu, bez przenoszenia się mógł awansować. –

Aby jednak rzecz tę przeprowadzić, należałoby stworzyć jeden fundusz szkolny krajowy przez osobne dodatki do podatków, które mają być równomiernie rozłożone tak na większe jak i na mniejsze własności, gdyż wszyscy zarówno z dobrodziejstwa szkoły korzystają – a natomiast znieść wszelkie fundusze szkolne okręgowe i wszelkie zobowiązania gmin na cale utrzymania szkół – i z tego funduszu, administrowanego przez Wysoką ck. Radą szkol. Kraj. opędzać należałoby wszystkie wydatki na potrzeby szkolnictwa w ogólności, a na opłacanie wszystkich bez wyjątku nauczycieli w szczególności. –

Przywiązanie płacy i charakteru rzeczywistego nauczyciela do miejsca naraża go jeszcze i na inne nie zbyt przyjemne okoliczności. Sytuacja nauczyciela starającego się o stałą posadę i o podpisanie prezenty jest nie do pozazdroszczenia. – Dbać musi on bowiem o łaskę różnych ludzi w gminie i tak: dziedzica, który nie popiera szkoły, dlatego że zabiera mu robotników, księdza, który przeciwny szkole że usunięto ją z pod wpływu kościoła, a który uważa ją za bezwyznaniowa a nauczyciela nazywa socyalistą, całej gminy wreszcie, która jest z nią niezadowolona, iż zastósowuje z całą energią przepisy co do przymusu szkolnego. W tym wypadku jest zatem nauczyciel między kowadłem, gdyż nie chciałby się ani różnym osobistościom ani przełożonej władzy narazić. – Czuję się zatem zależnym od wszystkich a nieraz zdany jest na łaskę ciemnych ludzi. Czy ta zależność nauczycieli przyczynia się do utrzymania jego powagi i poszanowania, czy może wobec tego nauczyciel wypołniać swe obowiązki sumiennie i bezwzględnie nie krępując się niiczem? Wątpię! –

Nauczycielstwo zatem pragnie być uwolnione od tej nienaturalnej zależności i różnorodnych wpływów, nie chce być krępowaniem w pełnieniu swych obowiązków, i chce mieć tylko jedną władzę, przed którą odpowiada za siebie. –

Nauczycielstwo pragnie zatem by podpisywanie prezenty zostało zniesionem, a nominacja rzeczywistego nauczyciela by mogła być wydana na mocy uzyskanego patenta kwalifikacyjnego, wprost z Wysokiej ck. Rady szk. Kr. i bez przywiązania do miejsca. Zyskałoby na tem nauczycielstwo po piezwce: niezależność wobec wielu czynników, po drugie, gdyby awans dalszy np. do III klasy zastrzeżona jedynie dla tych, którzy wykazują się patentem kwalifikacyjnym, staraliby się sami nauczyciele o jak najrychlejsze zdawanie tego egzamina we własnym interesie, i przełożone władze nie widziałyby konieczności zmuszać ich do tego, jak się to niestety dziś praktykuje. – Po trzecie, zyskałoby nauczycielstwo to, iż nie byłoby narazone na szykany inspektorów szkolnych, którzy pod tym względem mają dotychczas wielką samowolność i mogą dowolnie rozporządzać losem nauczycieli, kierując się nieraz względami osobistymi.

Lacznie z spawa polepszenia bytu materyalnego jest sprawa zmiany kar dyscyplinarnych. Kary dyscyplinarne jakie dotychczas istnieją są za zbyt surowe i zostawiają zbyt otwarte pole do samowolnego zastosowania. Nauczyciel dostający naganę, traci na pięć lat pięciolecie tj 250 zł w ileż razy trafia się ze traci i poprzednie pięciolecia które posiada, a w dodatku zostaje jeszcze przeniesionym na gorszą posada. – Wtenczas traci na tysiące, i zostaje zupełnie zrujnowanym, zwłaczca gdy ma jeszcze rodzinę. – Jeżeli powrótnamy kary, jakie mają zastosowanie w innych instytucjach, które nieraz materyalnie więcej tracą przez niedbalstwo swych funkcyonaryuszów, jak np. nagana, kara pieniężna, pominięcie w awansie, przeniesienie, spensyonowanie lub oddalenie w najgorszym wypadku, a porównamy skutki dyscyplinki u nauczycieli, którzy nie narażają, nikogo w razie zaniedbania swych obowiązków na stratę materyalną, to nie dziwić się, iż nauczycielstwo czuje się pod tym względem bardzo pokrzywdzonym w swych prawach. – Nauczycielstwo sadzi, iż zaniedbanie obowiązków powinno być karaniem nie tak jednak że by płaca zasłużana mogła być odobrana. Ta powinna być nienaruszona pod żadnym warankiem. –

Jeżeli tedy streścimy żądania nauczycieli, w kierunku polepszenia bytu materyalnego, przedstawiają się one sposób następujący:

1. zaprowadzenie awansu i statusu według lat służby.

2. ustanowienie siedm klas płac; a mianowicie:

I kl. – 300 zł. II kl. – 400 zł. III kl. – 500 zł.

IV „ – 600 zł. V „ 700 zł. VI „ 800 zł.

VII „ – 900 zł.

3. Płaca i charakter rzeczywistego nauczyciela jest przywiązany do osoby.

4. zniesienie funduszów okręgowych, i wszelkich zobowiązań gmin na cele szkolne a utworzenie jednego fundusza szkol. kraj. z dodatków do podatków równamiernie rozłożonych. –

5. Zniesienie prawa prezenty.

6. Nominacją rzeczywistego nauczyciela następuje na podstawie uzykanego patenta kwalifikacyjnego.

7. Nauczyciel nie mający patenta kwalifikacyjnego nie może awansować wyżej nad 400 zł. –

8. Kary dyscyplinarne są:

nagana usna, pisemna, pieniężna /:stopniowo:/, przeniesienie, pominięcie w awansie, czasowe zawieszenie w służbie, odebranie kierownictwa, spensyanowanie lub w najgorszym wypadku całkowite wydalenie. –

9. Dodatek na mieszkanie o ile go nie ma w naturze w wysokości 20% pobieranej płacy; drożyzniany w wysokości 15% za kierownictwo 25%. –

10. Zniżenie lat służby do lat 30. –

Te żądania przedkłada nauczycielstwo Wysokiej c. i k. Radzie szkolnej Kraj. w nadziei iż Wysoka c. i k. Rada szk. Kr. weźmie je pod swa rozwaga i poprze takowe na najbliższej sesyi Wysokiego Sejmu. – Nauczycielstwo przedkładając niniejszy projekt kierują się względami nietylko czysto osobistymi i materyalnymi, ale również względami o dobro i rozwój szkoły naszej oraz społeczeństwa, na ktorego pracują. Nie watpi, iż poparte przez Wysoka c. i k. Rada szk. Krajowa znajda posłuch w sferach kompetentnych, tem bardziej iż zasługują na to, by praca ich ciężka i mozolna, była wynagrodzona tak, jak sprawiedliwość nakazuje. Wprawdzie szkoła nasza nie wydała jeszcze tych owoców, jakichby spodziewać się należało, lecz właśnie przyczyny szukać należy w zbyt lichem materyalnem zaopatrzeniu nauczycieli. Nauczycielstwo dla tego nie watpi, iż jeżeli powyższe żądania pomyslnym skutkiem uwieńczone zostaną, rozwój

szkolnictwa w kraju naszym wejdzie na inne, bo lepsze tory, i tuszyć można, że dojdziemy pręcej do tego ideału, jakiśmy sobie wytknęli, by podnieść biedny i skołatany stuletnimi wypadkami kraj nasz do rzędu innech krajów cywilizowanych. –

Nie watpimy iż Wysoka c. i k. Rada szkol. Kraj. jako nasza przełożona Władza jest życzliwie usposobiona dla naszej sprawy i dlatego przedkładamy jej w pierwszym rządzie nasze żądania, które zarazem przedkładamy równocześnie Wysokiemu Wydziałowi Krajowemu i Wysokiemu Sejmowi, – i żywimy nadzieję, iż doznamy ze strony naszej Wysokiej Władzy wszelkiego życzliwego i słusznego poparcia. –

Bobrka dnia 10 października 1891.

(the signatures of 76 teachers)

The historical source: Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 178, d. 1, c. 1136, pp. 1–8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baik, L. & Mitiurov, B. (1965). *Stan narodnoi osvity i pedahohichnoi dumky na zakhidnoukrainskykh zemliakh v period panuvannia Avstro-uhorskoj monarchii [The state of public education and pedagogical thought in Western Ukraine during the reign of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy]*. Drohobych, 60 p. [in Ukrainian]

Baranowski, B. (1910). *Szkolnictwo ludowe w Galicyi w swym rozwoju liczebnym od r. 1868 do r. 1909 [The public education in Galicia in its numerical development from 1868 to 1909]*. Lwów, 47 p. [in Polish]

Baranowski, M. (1896). Pogląd historyczny na zmiany w ustroju szkół ludowych w Galicji po roku 1772 [Historical view on changes in the system of folk schools in Galicia after 1772]. *Rodzina i Szkoła*, 18, 420–428. [in Polish]

Blahyi, V. (1999). *Shkilnytstvo v Halychyni na poch. XX st.: istoriko-sotsiolohichni aspekt [Schooling in Galicia at the beginning of the XXth century: historical and sociological aspect]*. Lviv, 75 p. [in Ukrainian]

Fiutowski, T. (1913). *Szkolnictwo ludowe w Galicyi w dobie porozbiorowej [The public education in Galicia during the post-partition era]*. Lwów, 80 p. [in Polish]

Franko, I. (1986a). Nashi narodni shkoly i yikh potreby [Our public schools and their needs]. *Franko I. Zibrannia tvoriv. U 50 t. (T. 46, Kn. 2, pp. 108–115)*. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Franko, I. (1986b). Shcho koshtuiut nashi narodni shkoly? [What are our public schools worth?]. *Franko I. Zibrannia tvoriv. U 50 t. (T. 44, Kn. 1, rr. 145–150)*. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Fylypchak, I. (2009). Z istorii shkilnytstva na zakhidni Boikivshchyni (vid 1772 – 1930) [From the history of schooling in Western Boykivshchyna (from 1772 – 1930)]. *Litopys Boikivshchyny. Vyp. 1 (Chysla 1, 2 za 1931 – 1933 rr.)*. Lviv : Kameniar, 65–132. [in Ukrainian]

Haliv, M. (2011). Materialne zabezpechennia silskoho vchytelstva Halychyny u 1867 – 1918 rr. (na prykladi Drohobyt'skoho povitu) [The financial providing of rural teachers of Galicia during 1867 – 1918 (based on Drohobych district)]. *Problemy humanitarnykh nauk. Vypusk 28. Istorii*, 47–63. [in Ukrainian]

Kravchenko, U. (1975). Spohady uchytelky [Memoirs of a teacher]. *Uliana Kravchenko. Tvory. Povne vydannia (u 100-richchia zhinochoho rukhu)* (pp. 553–639). Toronto. [in Ukrainian]

Lozynskyi, M. (1906). Ukrainska shkola v Halychyni [Ukrainian school in Galicia]. *Nova hromada*, 10, 96–112; 11, 51–71. [in Ukrainian]

Mayer, Z. (1899). Z krainy nędzy. Stanowisko nauczyciela ludowego w stosunku do naszego społeczeństwa [From the land of poverty. The public teacher's position in relation to our society]. Nowy Sącz, 86 p. [in Polish]

Petriv, R. (2002). Realizatsiia natsionalnoi idei ukraintsiv Shkidnoi Galicia v rozvytkovi ukrainskoho shkilnytstva (1772 – 1916) [Realization of the national idea of the Ukrainians of Eastern

Galicja in the development of Ukrainian schooling (1772 – 1916)]. *Boikivshchyna. T. 1. Drohobych*, 152–159. [in Ukrainian]

Rzemieniuk, F. (1891). *Unickie szkoły początkowe w Królestwie Polskim i w Galicji 1772 – 1914* [Uniate elementary schools in the Kingdom of Poland and in Galicia 1772 – 1914]. Lublin: Tow-wo Nauk. KUL, 348 p. [in Polish]

Schmitt, H. (1874). Szkoły ludowe w Galicyi w roku 1873/74 [The people's schools in Galicia in 1873/74]. *Szkola*, 46, 427–429; 47, 439–442; 48, 453–454; 49, 457–459; 50, 469–470; 51, 477–481; 52, 489–492. [in Polish]

Sholohon, L. (2004). Stan ukraińskiej początkowej i średniej oświaty w Haličynie (druga połowa XIX – początek XX st.) [The Ukrainian primary and secondary education in Galicia (the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century)]. *Galicja. Naukovi i kulturno-prosvitni krajeznavchyi chasopys*, 10, 87–92. [in Ukrainian]

Stuparyk, B. (1994). Shkilnytstvo Haličyny (1772 – 1939) [Schooling in Galicia (1772 – 1939)]. Ivano-Frankivsk, 144 p. [in Ukrainian]

Stynska, V. V. (2004). Systema shkilnytstva v Haličynie (kinets XIX – pochatok XX st.) [The system of schooling in Galicia (the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century)]. (Extended abstract of Candidate's thesis). Ivano-Frankivsk, 20 p. [in Ukrainian]

Szematyzm. (1891). *Szematyzm Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi z wielkiem księstwem krakowskiem na rok 1891* [Schematism of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the Grand Duchy of Kraków of 1891]. Lwów: Nakł. Galic. c.k. Namiestnictwa, 976 + XVIII p. [in Polish]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Lviv [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv – CSHAUL]

Varianytsa, A. O. (2018). *Uchyteli narodnykh shkil Haličyny druhoi polovyny 19 – pochatku 20 stolittia* [Elementary School Teachers in Galicia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries]. (Candidate's thesis). Lviv, 316 p. [in Ukrainian]

Vorobkevych, T. & Vorobkevych, A. (2007). Pryvatni shchodennyky pro zhyttia ukrainskoho vchytelstva Galicja kintsia XIX – pershoi polovyny XX st. [Private diaries about the life of Ukrainian teachers in Galicia at the end of the XIXth – the first half of the XXth century]. *Buttia v mystetstvi: zbirnyk naukovykh prats i materialiv na poshanu Stepana Kostiuka z nahody 80-richchia* (pp. 141–150). Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received on November 27, 2019.

Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.

UDC 930.25:314.17(470+571)“1897”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210903

Serhiy VODOTYKA

PhD hab. (History), Professor of Department of History, Archeology and Techniques of Teaching of Kherson State University, 27 University Street, Kherson, Ukraine, postal code 73000 (sergijvodotyka@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6011-6468>
Researcher ID: AAD-9481-2019

Ihor ROBAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of Department of Social Sciences of Kharkiv National Medical University, 4 Nauky Avenue, Kharkiv, Ukraine, postal code 61022 (robak@ukr.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4837-4058>
Researcher ID: AAA-4501-2019
Scopus Author ID: 57216803103

Сергій ВОДОТИКА

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри історії, археології та методики викладання Херсонського державного університету, вул. Університетська, 27, м. Херсон, Україна, індекс 73000 (sergijvodotyka@gmail.com)

Ігор РОБАК

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри суспільних наук Харківського національного медичного університету, проспект Науки, 4, м. Харків, Україна, індекс 610022 (robak@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Vodotyka, S. & Robak, I. (2020). *Ad Fontes: source capacity of the first General Census of the Russian Empire population of 1897. Skhidnoievropейskiy Istorychny Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin], 16, 127–139.* doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210903

AD FONTES: SOURCE CAPACITY OF THE FIRST GENERAL CENSUS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE POPULATION OF 1897

Abstract. *In fact, this situation with using the materials of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 determines **the purpose of the article** – to prove the fruitfulness of the Census results of 1897 for the analysis of a new, industrial society formation in sub-Russian Ukraine at the end of the XIXth century and the crisis of the old class structure. **The research methodology** is determined by the fact that all demographic phenomena recorded by the Census of 1897 are considered in the context of historical events and reflect their consequences, i.e., in this case it was an industrial modernization. The authors proceeded from the need to use new methods of calculating the Census results to analyze the social consequences of an industrial modernization in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire, which are based on the adaptation of the demographic statistics methods to the processing of the Census data of 1897. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in historiography new methods have been used to recalculate the results of the Census of 1897 to characterize the trends*

and consequences of changes in the social structure of the society due to an industrial modernization. This allowed us to correct the existing in historiography ideas about the social consequences of the first post-reform 40th anniversary of 1861 – 1897. **The Conclusions.** Summing up, first of all, we note that the source analysis of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 is quite topical taking into account the preparation for the second, after the restoration of independence, demographic census in Ukraine. The Census materials are published, recognized as a reliable source of a historical demography and are widely used in the domestic and foreign historiography. However, the Census programme does not make it possible to record the social consequences of an industrial modernization and the crisis of the population class structure, and in historiography there are almost no attempts to list the results of the Census. Accordingly, the authors set a goal to analyze possible ways of recalculating the Census data of 1897.

The authors suggested the feasibility of using three methods of recalculating the Census results. The first one consists in grouping of 64 groups of population occupations, registered by the Census, into industrial clusters (groups) – civil service, public activities, finance, industry, construction, transport and communications, agriculture, services and traditional industries. On the example of the largest city in the Ukrainian provinces – Odesa, it was proved that the Census recorded considerable progress in forming the social structure of the industrial era, but the remnants of the past, traditional society remained significant (the correspondent observations were compared with other cities).

The second method aims at analyzing the mobility of the population, clarify the role of individual social sources in the formation of new strata of the society and urbanization. The method was used to analyze the data of Kharkiv province, especially Kharkiv and other major cities of the province. The method allowed to characterise the mobility of both the population as a whole and its individual states, the role of local people and migrants in the formation of industrial centers, the role of individual social groups in modernization processes.

The content of the third method is an attempt to overcome the main flaw of the Census programme of 1897 – the lack of information on the formation of new social groups and the collapse of the states of the Russian Empire. On the example of Katerynoslav and Kamyanets-Podilsky, the formation tendencies of the new social structure elements and disintegration of the old one were characterized.

In other words, the source analysis of the results of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 proves that its heuristic potential is far from exhausted, and the multiplicity of methods of its study (including recalculation of results) seems appropriate. The Census results make it possible to characterize the leading social consequences of the industrial modernization of the Russian Empire at the end of the XIXth century.

Key words: the Census of 1897, recalculation, social structure, mobility, consequences of modernization.

AD FONTES: ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧИЙ ПОТЕНЦІАЛ ПЕРШОГО ЗАГАЛЬНОГО ПЕРЕПИСУ НАСЕЛЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ 1897 року

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати колективність нових методів перерахунку підсумків Першого всеросійського перепису населення Російської імперії 1897 р. заради уточнення ступеню кризи станової структури суспільства та рівня формування нового індустріального суспільства в підросійській Україні кінця XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження** визначається тим, що всі демографічні феномени, зафіксовані переписом 1897 р., розглядаються у контексті історичних подій і відображають їхні наслідки, тобто йдеться про індустріальну модернізацію. Автори виходили з необхідності використання нових методів перерахунку підсумків перепису для аналізу соціальних наслідків індустріальної модернізації в українських губерніях Російської імперії, які базуються на пристосуванні методів демографічної статистики до обробки масиву даних перепису 1897 р. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії застосовані нові методи перерахунку підсумків перепису 1897 р. для характеристики тенденцій і наслідків зміни соціальної структури суспільства внаслідок індустріальної модернізації. Це уможливило скоригувати сформовані в історіографії уявлення про соціальні наслідки першого пореформеного 40-ліття 1861 – 1897 рр. **Висновки.** Дослідження підтвердило тезу про практичну невичерпність

інформативних можливостей такого специфічного історичного джерела, як підсумки демографічних переписів населення на протязі панівній в середовищі істориків думки щодо їх обмеженості через визначене спрямування програми перепису. Для перерахунку підсумків перепису було запропоновано три нові методи. Перший зводиться до групування виділених у переписі 64 груп занять до визначальних щодо наслідків модернізації кластерів (груп) отримання прибутків – це державна служба, громадська діяльність, фінанси, промисловість, будівництво, транспорт і зв'язок, сфера послуг і доіндустріальні галузі. На прикладі великих і середніх міст (Одеси, Харкова, Катеринослава і Кам'янець-Подільського) було доведено, що перепис зафіксував значний прогрес в індустріальній модернізації міста, хоча в соціально-економічній сфері зберігався чималий сектор традиційного суспільства. Дію другого методу перерахунків перепису продемонстровано на прикладі Харківської губернії. Для аналізу мобільності різних станів населення та їх ролі у формуванні модерних соціальних структур, у тому числі урбанізації, було перераховано відомості підсумкової таблиці перепису “Розподіл населення за станами та місцем народження”. Внаслідок було уточнено стан мобільності населення загалом та окремих його верств, з'ясовано роль місцевого населення і мігрантів у формуванні нових індустріальних центрів, передусім Харкова. Застосування третього методу перерахунків даних перепису Катеринослава (Дніпра) і Кам'янець-Подільського, зведених у таблиці “Розподіл населення за станами та соціальним становищем”, дало змогу виявити нові нюанси в динаміці розкладу станів традиційного суспільства і становленні нових соціальних елементів індустріальної доби та суттєво доповнити усталені в історіографії уявлення щодо тенденцій формування модерної соціальної структури.

Ключові слова: перепис 1897 р., перерахунок, соціальна структура, мобільність, наслідки модернізації.

The Problem Statement. In Ukraine there is some preparation for a new, second, after the restoration of independence, general census. Scholars and activists take into account the experience of the previous censuses. The reference to the materials of the First All-Russian Census of the Population of the Russian Empire in 1897 is caused by the following reasons.

Firstly, it was the first and the only one in the history of the Russian Empire. Secondly, the Census was conducted at a turning point in the history – the period of an industrial modernization.

The Census materials were quite fully published concerning all provinces and Odesa separately, which allows us to make correct calculations, taking into account the modern borders of Ukraine (Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, Vv. 3, 8, 13, 16, 20, 32, 33, 41, 46, 47, 47, kn. 1, 48).

The researchers do not often take into account the population calculation of the entire modern territory of Ukraine in accordance with the administrative territorial structure of the Russian Empire in 1897, which requires quite hard work. In the researches the materials of the Census of 1897 are mostly analyzed in only nine Ukrainian provinces (Volyn, Podil, Kyiv, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katernoslav, Kherson and Dnipro, Melitopol and Berdyansk counties of Tavria), which significantly affects the analysis of many social processes. Perhaps, the most illustrative in this regard is the situation with Kherson region due to significant changes in the administrative territorial boundaries of modern Kherson region compared to Kherson province (Savenok, 2014, pp. 6–10). Thus, modern Kherson region, according to the administrative territorial boundaries of 1897, included the parts of Kherson district of Kherson province and Melitopol district of Tavriya province and the entire Dnieper district of Tavriya province. Accordingly, in order to determine many statistical data on the social face of Kherson region in 1897 (the amount of population, its ethnolinguistic composition, level of urbanization, etc.) it is necessary to calculate the relevant figures carefully, including

the population in volost (a small administrative peasant division in the Russian Empire). However, this requires the analysis of each region and Ukraine as a whole, because as compared to the administrative division of the Russian Empire, not only the boundaries of modern regions changed, but also the state border of independent Ukraine.

The Census of 1897, according to demographers and historians, was conducted according to the highest standards of science at that time. Though, the Census was not perfect. For instance, the native language literacy was recorded only if the person did not speak Russian, which distorted the ethnic structure; the urban population included only cities residents recognized by the authorities; due to the military registration the peasants, regardless of a residence place, were included into rural communities. As it was organized in winter (at that time the migration of the population was the smallest) the Census recorded an underestimated real number of workers among the peasants. The Census simultaneously took into account three categories of the population, which were partially mutually superimposed on each other. However, the most significant, fundamental shortcoming was its focus on the realities of a traditional society. Accordingly, the formation of an industrial society and the class division crisis were not reflected in the Census. This fact creates significant difficulties in using the materials of the Census of 1897 for the analysis of modernization processes – employment and mobility of the population, the level of a real urbanization, the number of employees and entrepreneurs, intellectuals and etc.

The analysis of recent researches and publications shows that certain drawbacks of the Census of 1897 did not prevent historians from using its results as the source. Initially, researchers (such approaches survived till nowadays) used the final Census materials to illustrate and review the professional composition of the employed population (Litvak, 1990, pp. 116–119).

It is difficult to agree with those scholars, who consider the linguistic and confessional groups, identified by the Census, as ethnic groups. For instance, these scholars call the Orthodox people, whose native language was Ukrainian, – the Ukrainians (Chornyi, 2001, pp. 8–37). Meanwhile, modern science considers self-consciousness to be a decisive feature of ethnicity, and therefore, according to the results of the Census, we can speak only of ethnolinguistic groups.

The materials of the Census of 1897 are often used in modern Ukrainian historiography. In V. Konstantynova's monograph "Urbanization: the South-Ukrainian Dimension (1861 – 1904)" a relevant professional extensive historiographical review is presented, which allows us to dwell on only the most important aspects (Konstantynova, 2010, pp. 14–54).

Firstly, domestic and foreign researchers refer to the Census materials in the plots of the generalized works on the population dynamics, ethnic and religious composition, health status, number of foreigners, etc. Typical in this regard is the work of the American P. Herliha "Odesa. History of the City, 1794 – 1914" (Herlihi, 1999, pp. 226–253), in which the Census data are used as illustrative, sometimes confirming material is used to characterize some social trends – the population growth, ethnic dynamics, and etc.

Much more informative possibilities of the Census of 1897 materials were used in the monograph by professor H. Turchenko from Zaporizhzhya "Southern Ukraine at the Turn of the Epochs" (Turchenko, 2005, pp. 20, 24). The researcher operates successfully with demographic statistics for a comprehensive study of the modernization scheme of the Ukrainian nation-formation.

The comprehensive and comparative approaches to the results of the First All-Russian Census of the Population of the Russian Empire in 1897 are generally applied professionally

by modern Ukrainian researchers. Thus, D. Chorny, Kharkiv resident, in the monograph “On the Left Side of the Dnieper: Problems of Modernization of Ukrainian Cities (the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century)” included into the source of his study the results of the Census of 1897 in combination with other demographic statistics, primarily, the results of the survey of cities in the Russian Empire in 1904 and 1910. This allowed to reconstruct the dynamics of urbanization, the class structure of citizens, the composition of the population by gender and age (Chorny, 2007, p. 27).

The above-mentioned work by V. Konstantynova is widely illustrated by the materials of the Census of 1897 on the characteristics of the sectoral employment of citizens and the comparison of the employment structure of the towns and village inhabitants, religious and confessional composition of the population (Konstantynova, 2006, pp. 539–589).

A successful attempt to compare the results of the Census of 1897 with the results of the one-day censuses of Berdychiv in 1882, Katerynoslav in 1865 and Kyiv in 1874 was made in T. Vodotyka’s article “Peculiarities of Modernization Processes in the Cities of the Dnieper Region in the Second Half of the XIXth Century: New Source Searches” (Vodotyka, 2013, pp. 161–169).

During our writing the article, V. Lyubchenko published the research material on the verification of the ethnosocial composition of the urban population of the Ukrainian provinces according to the Census of 1897 in the collection “From Walls to Boulevards: the Creation of a Modern City in Ukraine (the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XXth century)” edited by O. Reyent, a member-correspondent of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Lyubchenko, 2019, pp. 188–228). The author came to the conclusion that the indicators of a high share of the Russians among the citizens on the basis of the language criterion are not confirmed by the Census data on the composition of migrants. The scholar corrected the prevailing notions in the publications about the predominance of the Russians or the Russians and the Jews in the cities and proved that according to the Census of 1897, “the ethnic Ukrainians outnumbered almost everywhere (or were approximately commensurate) with the ethnic Russians” (Lyubchenko, 2019, p. 228).

At the same time, we emphasize that the researchers underestimate the information potential of the Census, in particular, it is a matter of recalculating the results of the Census of 1897 to correct its drawbacks. This concerns the ignorance by the authorities and, accordingly, the Census leaders of the state of a traditional society and the reflection of the consequences of modernization, the birth of a new social structure.

In fact, this situation with using the materials of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 determines **the purpose** of the article – to prove the fruitfulness of the Census results of 1897 for the analysis of a new, industrial society formation in sub-Russian Ukraine at the end of the XIXth century and the crisis of the old class structure.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The purpose of the article was formed gradually. Initially, the authors used the results of the Census in a traditional way. Thus, S. Vodotyka analyzed the composition of the population of Kherson, its language and religion, class structure and employment (Vodotyka, 2004, pp. 8–12). In the doctoral dissertation “Historical Conditions of Organization and Specifics of Health Care Development in Kharkiv (the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XXth century)” I. Robak used the Census of 1897 on mortality (the number of deaths, reasons, etc.) of population in large cities to analyze the state of health care and to identify its specifics in Kharkiv (Robak, 2009, pp. 107–108).

Reflections on the possibility of the Census results recalculating revolved around two mutually exclusive postulates, realized by the authors from the time of the student bench

of the Faculty of History of Kharkiv V. N. Karazin National University. The first postulate consists in the inexhaustibility of information resources of the source, the second one – the materials of demographic censuses cannot be recalculated. In the end, the discussion resulted in the decision to rely on the first postulate. Taking into account the format of this study, the authors decided to limit themselves to a few examples of the Census results recalculating.

The Census materials contain Table XXI “Distribution of the Population According to Groups of Occupations”, 64 groups are dealt: “administration, court, police”, “public and class service”, “armed forces”, “church liturgy”, “educational activities”, “science, literature and art”, “agriculture”, “clothing manufacturing”, several types of trade, etc. (Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis’ naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904, v. 8, pp. 156–158; vol. 47, book 1, pp. 173–175, etc.). Groups are formed with the following indicators: administrative territorial division (province, county, urban and rural population, cities) and “groups of nationalities” according to the indicator – a native language.

The essence of the first method of the Census data recalculating will be illustrated by the example of the largest city in sub-Russian Ukraine, Odesa, where 403,8 thousand inhabitants were recorded. It is obvious that the legend about the nature of work of 151,5 thousand Odesa residents with “independent income” (according to the allocated 64 “groups of occupations”) does not give anything to understand the social consequences of an industrial modernization. Therefore, 64 groups of occupations were “folded” and listed in several spheres that really defined the social face of Odesa – a civil service, community service, finance, industry, construction, transport and communications, agriculture, fisheries and crafts (in Odesa, in the Census there were recorded farmers, livestock breeders, beekeepers, fishermen), services. In this case, a clearer picture of the social consequences of modernization emerges when clarifying the share of Odesa residents employed in the above-mentioned industries (spheres) of labour. The calculations are made on the basis of the Census (Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis’ naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904, v. 47, kn. 1, pp. 173–175).

Thus, 590 people were employed in the financial sector, which is 0,38% of self-employed people. Thus, the traditional notions of Odesa as a financial center were “somewhat exaggerated” and the network of financial institutions available in 1897 was insufficient for modernization. For comparison, in Odesa, (the neighbourhoods were not taken into account), in agriculture, fishing and woodworking there were employed 3,8 thousand people (2,5% of the population), which was seven times more in number as compared to banks employees. Trade played a significant role in the city’s economy, as it was the main port of the Northern Black Sea coast and the trade centre of a large region. 21,8 thousand people were employed in trade, (14,4% of population). The number is significant, but not decisive for the city’s economy.

The leading role in socio-economic life was played by industry, which employed 31,7 thousand people or 21% of all self-employed people. However, we should not make a conclusion about significant steps in the industrialization of Odesa. After all, in the actual industrial sectors (metallurgy, metalworking, chemical industry, mechanical engineering, printing) there were employed 9,8 thousand people, which was only 6,5% of the total employed population or 29,3% of people employed in industrial production.

The bulk of those employed in Odesa’s industry worked in traditional industries (famous stonemasonry, processing of livestock and wood products, ceramics, clothing, footwear, distilling, etc.) in small, semi-artisanal and handicraft establishments. A similar picture with the level of industrial progress was observed in other major cities of sub-Russian Ukraine –

Kyiv, Kharkiv and Katerynoslav (Dnipro) (Vodotyka, 2013, pp. 165–171). Thus, even in large cities of the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire, the success of industrialization at the end of the XIXth century should be assessed critically, and the growth of industries did not displace traditional handicrafts.

The situation in industry was similar to other sectors of Odesa economy. Thus, 11,9 thousand workers were employed in transport and communications, which was 7,8% of Odesa residents with an independent source of income. This seemed to be enough for the beginnings of an industrial modernization. In addition, the Census was conducted in the winter, when the port of Odesa almost “died out” and the number of employees decreased sharply. At the same time, qualitative changes in this sphere were slow. For example, in the industrial sectors of transport and communications (railway, telegraph, telephone) 3,2 thousand men received a livelihood, which was 2,1% of self-employed persons and only slightly more $\frac{1}{4}$ (more precisely 26,5%) employed in transport and communication.

Many residents of Odesa were employed in the civil service and it was their main source of income – the state budget “fed” 27,2 thousand residents of the city, which was 18% of self-employed people. But there were 23,2 thousand military men of them, i.e., the actual civil service was not very common at that time. For instance, among 403,8 thousand Odesa residents there were only 3,0 thousand officials, court employees and police officers, which comprised 2% of the employed population. Obviously, among many other reasons, the small number of civil servants was one of the reasons for the weakness of the Empire.

Another sphere of the economy should be mentioned – the service sector, which became fundamental for the society progress during the era of an industrial modernization and nowadays, during the post-industrial period. The service sector is the basis of socio-economic progress of developed countries. In 1897 a lot of Odesa residents were employed in the service sector – 9,8 thousand people, which was 6,5% of non-professional workers. But even in this case, there was some discrepancy of quality indicators to the requirements of an industrial modernization. About 1 thousand people were the clergy or 10,2% of those employed in this religious sphere out of the 9,8 thousand employed in the service sector. At the same time, the sectors of services, which were fundamentally important for the industrial era, are the following ones: education (1,816 people worked in the sphere of education and upbringing) (which only 1,8 times exceeded the number of the clergy), science, literature and art (totally in the last three segments there were only 733 people employed) – were underdeveloped in Odesa. All this was sharply dissonant with the social needs of the accelerated development of education and science. There were 163 people employed in a social security. In medicine and sanitary institutions 1,2 thousand people worked, which was extremely insufficient for 400 thousand inhabitants of the city. This clearly confirms the critical state of health care in Odesa – this is discussed in detail in the above-mentioned work of P. Herlihi (Herlihi, 1999, pp. 226–231). I. Robak draws similar conclusions about Kharkiv and other large cities of the Dnieper Ukraine in his works (Robak, 2007, pp. 250–252).

Summarizing the application of the results recalculating method of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 by making the groups of occupations selected by the Census according to the criteria of an industrial society, we note that it allows to make more accurate assessment of quantitative and qualitative indicators of industrialization, to assess the extent to which the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire advanced on the path of a “catch-up” modernization and to identify quantitative and qualitative indicators of this process.

The following method of the results recalculating of the Census of 1897 concerns the analysis of the mobility of different social classes and layers. Mobility allows us to characterize several aspects of the modernization processes depth – the destruction of the traditional social layers structure and sources of new social groups formation, to clarify the role of individual social groups in these processes, to some extent, to determine the openness of the society.

For instance, let's analyze the Census results of Kharkiv province. The final volume of the Census in the province contains Table VI "Distribution of Population by Estates and Place of Residence" (*Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904, vol. 46, pp. 44–46*. Similar Tables are for all provinces). Table VI (information on province, county, city and village) illustrates the division of the population by place of birth – those born in the county where they live; natives of Kharkiv province; migrants from other provinces of the Empire and those born abroad. Indicators of residence place and birth place are combined by estates (peasants, hereditary nobles, nobles and officials) and sex (men and women). This combined Table VI helps find out how many locals, migrants from other counties of this province, other provinces of the Empire or from abroad were among the registered.

For example, in general, among the population of Kharkiv province (Table contains information on 2492,3 thousand inhabitants) in the native county lived 2238,2 thousand people (89,8%), in another county of Kharkiv province 91,3 thousand inhabitants were born (3, 7%), in other provinces of the Empire – 160,8 thousand (6,5%) and abroad – 2047 people (0,08%).

However, behind the so called "average temperature in the hospital" there is a significant difference in the mobility and composition of the rural and urban population, the share of migrants in the population of Kharkiv or other cities. Different social strata illustrated different involvement into modernization processes and significant differences in mobility. We provide the information on our calculations to confirm these provisions (different involvement into modernization processes by different social strata).

Thus, 230,6 thousand out of 367,3 thousand (62,8%) of inhabitants of Kharkiv province lived there. For these 230,6 thousand people Kharkiv province was the place of birth. In other words, there were 37,2% migrants among city dwellers and 10,2% – of the total population, it was 3,6 times less. This fact clearly reflects the dominance of the urbanization trend due to a significant migration from rural to urban areas. In Kharkiv, 66,5 thousand out of 174 thousand Kharkiv residents (38,2%) were local natives, i.e., almost two thirds of Kharkiv residents were migrants. Other cities of the province according to this indicator occupied an intermediate place between the urban population of the province and the provincial center – in Okhityrka locals made up 84,3% of the population, in Izyum – 89,1%, Slovyansk – 84,4%, Sumy – 67, 8% and etc.

The rural population was much less mobile – among 2124,8 thousand rural residents of Kharkiv province for 2007,6 thousand people (94,5%) it was the place of birth; 47,6 thousand (2,2%) were born in other counties of the province; 69,3 thousand people (3,2%) came from other provinces of the Empire (obviously, nobles, officials and rural intelligentsia mostly) and only 519 people were born abroad (0,02%).

Naturally, according to relative date, the peasantry was not very mobile. Thus, among the peasantry of the province in the native county there continued to live 2098,5 thousand of 2265,6 thousand peasants of Kharkiv province (92,6%), in the native province 63,5 thousand of 2265,6 thousand (2,8%), migrants from other provinces – 4,6% (103,5 thousand in absolute numbers). However, the peasantry showed a greater mobility compared to the rural

population as a whole (which seems to be unexpected), although it was inferior in mobility to hereditary nobles (51,8% lived by place of birth) and personal nobles and officials, among whom 59 lived in their native county. Unfortunately, there are no data on other conditions. In addition, there is an error in the calculations of the information on the category of “personal nobles and officials” in the Census (*Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii*, 1904, vol. 46, pp. 46–47). This may happen in statistical publications, so researchers should check their calculations in different ways.

Due to its large number (the peasantry comprised 90,9% of the total population of the province) and a relatively high mobility, the peasantry itself was the main source of urbanization and, accordingly, the formation of new social components of an industrial society (naturally, especially the working class). Thus, in the cities of Kharkiv province the peasantry comprised 58,6% of the population, including among Kharkiv residents – 49,5%, among the residents of Okhtyrka – 69,7%, Izyum – 57,3%, Sumy – 61,3%. The peasantry comprised 69,6% among 91,3 thousand immigrants to Kharkiv province from other provinces of the Empire, recorded by the Census of 1897. It is obvious that the situation with the peasantry reflects the picture of the old class structure destruction. This process was clearly recorded in the Census of 1897.

However, the Census also records a high mobility (modernization required it) among other social strata, who were ahead of the peasantry due to greater opportunities for migration (material and organizational opportunities, a higher level of education, etc.). Thus, among almost 9 thousand hereditary nobles of Kharkiv 2439 (27,2%) were born in the provincial center; those who were born in Kharkiv province and moved to Kharkiv – 1343 (15%); 5144 people (57,3%) were natives of other provinces of the Empire. This significantly exceeded the corresponding indicators of the peasantry.

It is logical to prognose that the greatest mobility was observed among the categories “personal nobility and officials” registered by the Census – they lived mainly at the expense of the civil service and moved to Kharkiv at the first opportunity. Therefore, it is not surprising that in Kharkiv out of 7715 people of this category, only 2624 (34,0%) were natives of Kharkiv; there were 1277 people born in the province (16,6%); 3763 people (48,8%) were migrants from other provinces people or 48,8 %.

But a real picture of the mobility of “personal nobles and officials” was more complex compared to the hereditary nobility. Among this group of Kharkiv there were more locals than among hereditary nobles born in Kharkiv province almost equally. But there were 1,2 times more new-comers from other provinces among hereditary nobles than among personal nobles and officials (57,3% and 48,8%, respectively). It is obvious that hereditary nobles had a greater migratory potential to move to a large city. However, such difference in the social mobility of the categories “hereditary nobles” and “personal nobles and officials” during the period of an industrial modernization may be the subject of a special analysis.

Thus, the use of the second method of recalculation of the Census of 1897 on the distribution of population according to a social status and birth place provides a reliable and representative factual material on the state of mobility of the population as a whole, rural and urban populations and social groups, the potential of mobility of certain social strata and layers, their involvement into modernization processes. Our calculations also clarified the sources of urbanization.

The third approach to the results recalculating of the Census of 1897 consists in the attempt to try get rid of the gaps in the Census programme concerning the information on a social structure. For this purpose, Table VIII was used in the results of the Census

“Distribution of the Population by Estates and Social Stratum” – in the original Table’s name is “Distribution of the Population by Class and Wealth”. Usually, as we say in the results of Podilsk province, this is Table VIII (Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis’ naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904, vol. 32, pp. 56–57).

The authors proceeded from two positions. Firstly, the estates (status groups) of the Russian Empire still had certain features of social groups, which allows the use of the class structure of the society to reconstruct the leading features of the social structure evolution. This does not deny the fact that the social strata at the end of the XIXth century should be understood as remnants of a traditional society, which overshadowed the statistical picture of new elements formation of the social structure of an industrial society.

Secondly, the authors in no way equate estate and social groups. It is a question of revealing progress tendencies of a social structure as a component of an industrial modernization on the basis of those materials, which were included into the Census programme.

For instance, the presence of a large number of peasants in the cities (even in the winter when the Census was conducted) is a manifestation of the proletariat formation. The predominance of men over women among the peasants and the urban population as a whole is also the evidence of the intensive formation of the social elements of an industrial society. After all, at first mostly young men moved to the city, family members, brides and other females joined men. The predominance of men over women in the gender structure of the society – a sign of its intensive growth during the traditional and industrial epochs.

The share of entrepreneurs can be indirectly judged by the number of merchants and hereditary and personal honorary citizens – it is from these categories that entrepreneurs were most often recruited. Of course, peasants, nobles and officials, burghers, university professors, etc., were also engaged in business in the cities.

As for the estate of the “bourgeoisie” in the process of the social strata formation of an industrial society, it is almost impossible to assess them unambiguously as an indicator of modernization or patriarchy. It is obvious that the burghers in the industrial cities, to a large extent, merged into the modern elements of the social structure gradually. At the same time, in most Ukrainian cities, the economy retained a significant niche for the traditional occupations of the burghers – gardening, animal husbandry, fishing, tailoring and repair of clothing and footwear, semi-handicrafts in the food industry, small trade and etc. Yet a significant proportion of the bourgeoisie in the urban population showed patriarchal and traditional features rather than an industrial modernization, as they, unlike rural migrants, tried to preserve the old rather than to create the new.

Let us analyze to the use of the third method of the results recalculating of the Census of 1897 on the example of Katerynoslav (Dnipro). The above-mentioned Table VIII “Distribution of the Population by Estates and Social Stratum” shows the distribution of registered residents according to the following estates: hereditary nobles, personal nobles and officials without nobility status, the clergy, hereditary and personal honorary citizens, merchants, burghers, peasants, Cossacks, foreigners born in Finland, stateless persons and foreign nationals (Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis’ naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904, vol. 13, pp. 44–45). Information on Katerynoslav was compared with the data on Kamyanskyi-Podilskyi, the center of Podilsk province at that time (Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis’ naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904, vol. 32, pp. 56–57).

Thus, typically the urban estates of a pre-industrial society (nobles, officials, clergy and burghers) comprised 67,5% of the total population in Katerynoslav, and 75,3% – in Kamyanskyi-Podilskyi. That is, the excess of the share of traditional “typically urban”

states in Kamyanets-Podilsky by 11,6% as compared to Katerynoslav testifies to its lag in modernization processes. It is no less significant that in Katerynoslav burghers comprised 55,4% of the city's residents, in Kamyanets-Podilsky – 60,7%. Thus, there were 9,6% more burghers in the center of Podil province than in the industrial center of the Lower Dnieper.

The situation was similar with the peasants, who migrated to the city and were the main source of the social strata formation of an industrial society. Thus, in Katerynoslav, accountants recorded 37,5 thousand peasants, who practically became city dwellers. These peasants comprised 33,5% of the total population, while in Kamyanets-Podilsky there were 7,000 peasants, which was only 19% of the total population. In other words, there were 1,7 times more peasants in Katerynoslav.

All these figures statistically reflect much more intensive industrial modernization in Katerynoslav than in Kamyanets-Podilsky. However, the social structure of the latter had the features of a modern society formation. For instance, in contrast to the traditional division of the population by gender with a predominance of women (longer life expectancy, fewer industrial injuries, etc.) in Kamyanets-Podilsky men comprised 51,9% – although they were less in number than in Katerynoslav, where their number reached 53, 8% (our calculations are based on *Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossijskoj imperii, 1904*, vol. 13, pp. 44–45; vol. 32, pp. 56–57).

Thus, the third method of the results recalculating of the Census of 1897 makes it possible, on the basis of Table VIII “Distribution of the Population by Estates and Social Stratum”, to determine the dynamics of the distribution of the class structure of an agrarian society and the formation of the social strata of an industrial society. Naturally, these tendencies were observed in the cities mostly, which were the locomotives of modernization.

The recalculation results of the Census of 1897 allows us to compare the degree of an industrial modernization of individual cities and regions, to identify “leaders” and “those, lagging behind”. Equally important is the fact that information on the distribution of the population by estates and social strata statistically confirms the irreversibility of an industrial modernization and the system crisis of the class structure.

It should be emphasized that we analyze the nature, direction and tempo of changes in the social structure during the period of an industrial modernization, the specifics of the relevant trends in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire.

The Conclusions. Summing up, first of all, we note that the source analysis of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 is quite topical taking into account the preparation for the second, after the restoration of independence, demographic census in Ukraine. The Census materials are published, recognized as a reliable source of a historical demography and are widely used in the domestic and foreign historiography. However, the Census programme does not make it possible to record the social consequences of an industrial modernization and the crisis of the population class structure, and in historiography there are almost no attempts to list the results of the Census. Accordingly, the authors set a goal to analyze possible ways of recalculating the Census data of 1897.

The authors suggested the feasibility of using three methods of recalculating the Census results. The first one consists in grouping of 64 groups of population occupations, registered by the Census, into industrial clusters (groups) – civil service, public activities, finance, industry, construction, transport and communications, agriculture, services and traditional industries. On the example of the largest city in the Ukrainian provinces – Odesa, it was proved that the Census recorded considerable progress in forming the social structure of

the industrial era, but the remnants of the past, traditional society remained significant (the correspondent observations were compared with other cities).

The second method aims at analyzing the mobility of the population, clarify the role of individual social sources in the formation of new strata of the society and urbanization. The method was used to analyze the data of Kharkiv province, especially Kharkiv and other major cities of the province. The method allowed to characterise the mobility of both the population as a whole and its individual states, the role of local people and migrants in the formation of industrial centers, the role of individual social groups in modernization processes.

The content of the third method is an attempt to overcome the main flaw of the Census programme of 1897 – the lack of information on the formation of new social groups and the collapse of the states of the Russian Empire. On the example of Katerynoslav and Kamyanets-Podilsky, the formation tendencies of the new social structure elements and disintegration of the old one were characterized.

In other words, the source analysis of the results of the First All-Russian Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 proves that its heuristic potential is far from exhausted, and the multiplicity of methods of its study (including recalculation of results) seems appropriate. The Census results make it possible to characterize the leading social consequences of the industrial modernization of the Russian Empire at the end of the XIXth century.

The prospects of further source studies of the materials of the Census of 1897. Information on the distribution of the population by groups of occupations should be classified into the leading sectors of the economy in several versions. Firstly, within the administrative territorial units – according to provinces, cities, villages, different groups of cities (large, medium, small), different regions. Moreover, all these researches should be made comparative – the analysis of the cities of the South and the Right Bank of the Dnieper, the villages of the Left Bank and the Right Bank, and etc. Secondly, the presence of the combined tables in the Census materials (the distribution of the population by groups of occupations and native language) makes it possible in the same way to analyze the inclusion in the modernization of different ethnolinguistic groups.

Of great interest is the analysis of the mobility of the population of the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire as a whole, in individual provinces, counties, cities, in particular large, medium and small, and rural areas. It is necessary to study the migratory mobility of individual estates, their role in urbanization and the social structures formation of an industrial society. The analysis of the migration consequences should be carried out in comparison with regions, provinces, cities and certain categories of the urban population. The observations on mobility among estates, in regions and provinces will provide significant statistics on the extent of a state destruction.

The analysis has a considerable potential, which is based of the nature, trends and rates of change in the social structure during the process of an industrial modernization on the basis of information on the distribution of the population by estates and social status. Moreover, researchers should pay attention to both sides of this process – the destruction of the old class structure and the formation of a modern social structure. In the course of such research, a comparative approach to analyzing cities data, including their various groups of population, counties, provinces and historical and geographical regions should become dominant.

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chorny, D. M. (2007). *Po liviyi bik Dnipro: problemy modernizatsii mist Ukrainy (kinets XIX – pochatok XX st.)* [On the Left Side from the Dnieper: Cities' of Ukraine Modernization Problems (Late 19th – Early 20th Century)]. Kharkiv: KhNU imeni V. N. Karazina, 304 p. [in Ukrainian]

Chorny, S. (2001). *Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia Ukrainy v XX st. Dovidnyk*. [National Composition of Ukraine's Population in the 20th Century. Handbook]. Kyiv: DNPV "Kartohrafiia", 88 p. [in Ukrainian]

Herlihi, P. (1999). *Odesa. Istoriia mista, 1794 – 1914* [Odessa: A History 1794 – 1914]. Kyiv: Krytyka, 382 p. [in Ukrainian]

Konstantynova, V. M. (2010). *Urbanizatsiia: pivdenoukrainskyi vymir (1861 – 1904 roky)* [Urbanization: the South Ukrainian Dimension (1861 – 1904)]. Zaporizhzhia: AA Tandem, 596 p. [in Ukrainian]

Litvak, K. B. (1990). Perepis' naseleniia 1897 goda o krest'yanstve Rossii (istochnikovedcheskij aspekt) [1897 Census' Information about Peasantry of Russia (Source Study Aspect)]. *Istoriya SSSR – History of the USSR*, (1), 114–126. [in Russian]

Lyubchenko, V. (2019). Etnosotsial'nyy sklad mis'koho naselennia ukraïns'kykh huberniy: sprobha veryfikatsiyi danykh perepysu 1897 r. [Ethno-Social Composition of Urban Population of Ukrainian Provinces: an Attempt to Verify Data of the 1897 Census]. In O. P. Reyent (Ed.). *Vid muriv do bul'variv: tvorennya modernoho mista v Ukrayini (kinets' XVIII – pochatok XX st.)*. (pp. 188–228). Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Pervaya Vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniia Rossijskoj imperii. (in 89 vol., 119 books). (1905, vol. 3). Bessarabskaya guberniya. – XXIII, 253, [1] p., (1904, vol. 8). Volynskaya guberniya. – XX, 282 p., (1904, vol. 13). Ekaterinoslavskaya guberniya. – [5], XIV, 233, [1] p., (1904, vol. 16). Kievskaya guberniya. – [6], XII, 287 p., (1904, vol. 20). Kurskaya guberniya. – [6], XVIII, 291 p., (1904, vol. 32). Podol'skaya guberniya. – [4], XI, 285 p., (1904, vol. 33). Poltavskaya guberniya. – XXXIV, 315 p., (1904, vol. 41). Tavricheskaya guberniya. – [4], XXV, [1], 309, [1] p., (1904, vol. 46). Har'kovskaya guberniya. – [7], XVII, 297, [3] p., (1903, vol. 47, book 1). Gorod Odessa. – [4], XVII, 167 p., (1904, vol. 47, book 2). Hersonskaya guberniya. – 319, XIV p., (1905, vol. 48). Chernigovskaya guberniya. – [4], 24, [1], 341 p. [First General Census of the Russian Empire. Bessarabian Province. Volhynian Province. Ekaterinoslav Province. Kiev Province. Kursk Province. Podolian Province. Poltava Province. Tauride Province. Kharkov Province. The City of Odessa. Kherson Province. Chernigov Province]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdanie Central'nogo statisticheskogo komiteta MVD. [in Russian]

Robak, I. Yu. (2009). *Istorychni umovy orhanizatsii ta spetsyfika rozvytku okhorony zdorovia v Kharkovi (XVIII – pochatok XX st.)*. [Historical Conditions of Organization and Specifics of Health Care Development in Kharkov (18th – Early 20th Century)] (*Doctor's thesis*). Kyiv, 438 p. [in Ukrainian]

Robak, I. Yu. (2007). *Orhanizatsiia okhorony zdorovia v Kharkovi za imperskoj doby (pochatok KhVIII st. – 1916 r.)* [Health Care Organization in Kharkov during the Imperial Era (Early 18th Century – 1916)]. Kharkiv: KhDMU, 346 p. [in Ukrainian]

Savenok, L. A. (2014). Stvorennia Khersonskoi oblasti v konteksti administrativno-terytorialnoho ustroiu modernoi Ukrainy [Creation of the Kherson Region in the Context of Administrative and Territorial Organization of Modern Ukraine]. *70-richnyi shliakh Khersonskoi oblasti – dosiahnennia i perspektivy: materialy oblasnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii* (pp. 6–10). Kherson. [in Ukrainian]

Turchenko, H. F. (2005). *Pivdenna Ukraina na zlami epokh (1914 – 1922)* [Southern Ukraine at the Turn of the Epochs (1914 – 1922)]. Zaporizhzhia: Prosvita, 324 p. [in Ukrainian]

Vodotyka, S. H. (2004). Zahalnyi perepys naselennia 1897 r. pro pidsumky sotsialno-ekonomichnoho rozvytku Khersona u poreformenu dobu [General Census of 1897 Information on the Results of Socio-economic Development of Kherson in the Post-Reform Era]. *Naukovi zoshyty Khersonskoho kraieznavchoho muzeiu: Problemy arheologii, etnohrafii, istorii, istoriografii – Scientific Notebooks of the Kherson Museum of Local Lore: Problems of Archeology, Ethnography, History, Historiography*. (pp. 8–12). Kherson. [in Ukrainian]

Vodotyka, T. (2013). Osoblyvosti modernizatsii nykh protsesiv u mistakh Naddniproshchyny druhoi polovyny XIX st.: novi dzherelni poshuky [Features of Modernization Processes in Cities of Dnieper Ukraine in the Second Half of the 19th Century: New Source Rummage]. *Rehionalna istoriia Ukrainy. Zb. nauk. statei – Regional History of Ukraine. Digest of scientific papers*, (7), 159–172. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on November 11, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 37:061.2(477.8)“1900/1939”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210887

Andrii KOROLKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine and methods of teaching history State Higher Educational Institution “Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University”, 57 T. Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (korolko_andr@ukr.net; andrii.korolko@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7435-5806>

Researcher ID: Z-1663-2019

Ihor FEDORYSHYN

postgraduate student of the Department of History of Ukraine and methods of teaching history State Higher Educational Institution “Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University”, Deputy Head of Tysmenytsia District Council, 57 T. Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (ifedo1984@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5760-2836>

Researcher ID: Z-1534-2019

Андрій КОРОЛЬКО

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України і методики викладання історії Державного вищого навчального закладу “Прикарпатський національний університет імені Василя Стефаника”, вул. Т. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76018 (korolko_andr@ukr.net; andrii.korolko@gmail.com)

Ігор ФЕДОРІШИН

аспірант кафедри історії України і методики викладання історії Державного вищого навчального закладу “Прикарпатський національний університет імені Василя Стефаника”, заступник голови Тисменицької районної ради, вул. Т. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, 76018 Україна, (ifedo1984@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Korolko, A. & Fedoryshyn, I. (2019). Branches activity of “Native School” Society in Pokuttia (1900 – 1939): content and activity directions. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 140–152. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210887

**BRANCHES ACTIVITY OF “NATIVE SCHOOL” SOCIETY IN POKUTTIA
(1900 – 1939): CONTENT AND ACTIVITY DIRECTIONS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to elucidate the educational activity of the circles, branches of the “Native School” in Pokuttia during 1900 – 1939 on the basis of the analyzed archival sources and scientific literature. The Scientific Novelty.* In the article on the basis of archival documents and scientific works for the first time there has been elucidated the circles activities, which performed the duties of branches of the society “Native School” in Pokuttia during 1900 – 1939. The main directions of the society’s branches work in Horodenka, Kolomyia, Sniatyn, Tovmach, Tysmenytsia, Otyniya have

been singled out and analyzed; their educational, cultural and public activity has been characterized; separate statistical data on a quantitative composition of circles have been illustrated. The principles of objectivity and historicism are **the methodological basis** of the research. The methods of analysis and synthesis, archival and statistical (cliometry), problem-chronological, comparative historical methods have been used in the research. Adherence to the principles of objectivity and historicism prompted the authors to consider the study of the activities of the society "Native School" (Ridna Shkola) in Pokuttia, taking into account the peculiarities of each historical period, under conditions of different state systems, political relations and circumstances. The methods of analysis and synthesis have been used to study the structure of the society. The information potential of statistical evidence required the use of the cliometry method. Periodization of the society activities "Native School" in Pokuttia has been carried out by using the problem-chronological method. The comparative historical method allowed to show the participation of the society members in government bodies, cultural and educational organizations, etc. **The Conclusions.** The establishment in 1881 of the Ruske Pedagogical Society (since 1912 – the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, since 1926 – the "Native School") was an adequate response of the Ukrainian national conscious intelligentsia to the biased educational policy pursued by the Austro-Hungarian government in the field of Ukrainian schooling. The Ukrainian Pedagogical Society set itself the goal, through the organization of conducting various reports and educational courses, the creation of schools and preschools, scholarships, gymnasiums and institutes, publishing the Ukrainian language educational and fiction literature. The Ukrainian Pedagogical Society set itself the goal to give a Ukrainian child a Ukrainian teacher, to educate him in his native language. In Pokuttia the branches of the Ruske Pedagogical Society were established in Kolomyia, Horodenka, Tysmenytsia and Sniatyn. In 1913, due to the reorganization, the branches of the UPS were transformed into circles, but with the authority of the county circles. Disrupted by World War I and the Polish-Ukrainian War, the activity of local UPS organizations was resumed during the first half of the 1920-ies. Under conditions of the new occupation policy, the work of native school societies was aimed at cherishing the Ukrainian language, history, culture, running and maintaining private gymnasiums, schools, arranging and maintaining kindergartens in summer; collecting donations for the "Native School" and other educational needs, holding holidays and parties for young people and children, concerts in honour of prominent Ukrainian figures, etc. As a non-party institution according to the statute, the "Native School" often became the object of an inter-party competition. Leaders of local political forces often directed the activities of native school organizations in the direction they needed. In general, the branches, and later the circles of the "Native School" in Pokuttia were not only the most effective local Ukrainian educational organization in the region, but also during the 1920-ies – the 1930-ies managed to become ideological and organizational centres of the struggle for the Ukrainian school and its development in the region.

Key words: the Ukrainian pedagogical society "Native School" (Ridna Shkola), Pokuttia, union, circle, education, upbringing.

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ФІЛІЙ ТОВАРИСТВА "РІДНА ШКОЛА" НА ПОКУТТІ (1900 – 1939): ЗМІСТ І НАПРЯМИ РОБОТИ

Анотація. Наукова новизна. У статті на основі архівних документів та наукових праць уперше висвітлено діяльність філій і гуртків, які виконували обов'язки філій товариства "Рідна школа" на Покутті у 1900 – 1939 рр. Виділено та проаналізовано головні напрями роботи осередків товариства у містах Городенка, Коломия, Снятин, Товмач, Тисмениця, Отинія, охарактеризовано їхню освітньо-виховну, культурну й громадську діяльність, подано окремі статистичні дані щодо кількісного складу кружків. **Методологічною основою дослідження** слугували принципи об'єктивності й історизму. У роботі використано методи аналізу і синтезу, архівної й статистичний (кліометрії), проблемно-хронологічний, порівняльно-історичний. Дотримання принципів об'єктивності й історизму спонукало розглядати вивчення діяльності товариства "Рідна школа" на Покутті з урахуванням особливостей кожного історичного періоду, в умовах різних систем державно-політичних відносин та обставин. Методи аналізу і синтезу використано для дослідження структури товариства. Інформаційний потенціал статистичних свідчень потребував застосування методу кліометрії. Періодизацію діяльності товариства "Рідна школа" на Покутті проведено за допомогою проблемно-хронологічного методу. Порівняльно-

історичний метод дав змогу показати участь діячів товариства в органах влади, культурно-просвітницьких організаціях тощо. **Висновки.** Заснування 1881 р. Руського педагогічного товариства (з 1912 р. – Українського педагогічного товариства, з 1926 р. – “Рідна школа”) стало адекватною відповіддю української національно-свідомої інтелігенції на упереджену освітню політику, яку проводили австро-угорські уряди у сфері українського шкільництва. Українське педагогічне товариство поставило собі за мету шляхом організації різноманітних відчитів й освітніх курсів, створення шкільних і дошкільних закладів, бурс, гімназій та інститутів, видавництва українськомовної навчальної і художньої літератури, дати українській дитині українського вчителя, виховати її рідною мовою в рідній школі на користь українському народові. На Покутті філії Руського педагогічного товариства були засновані у містах Коломия, Городенка, Тисмениця, Снятин. 1913 р., у зв’язку з реорганізацією, філії УПТ перетворено на кружки, але з повноваженнями повітових осередків. Перервана Першою світовою та польсько-українською війнами діяльність місцевих організацій УПТ була відновлена впродовж першої половини 1920-х рр. В умовах нової окупаційної політики, робота рідношкільних товариств спрямовувалася на розвиток і покінення української мови, історичних знань, культури, ведення й утримання приватних гімназій, початкових шкіл, влаштування і провадження сезонних (літніх) дитячих садків, збирання пожертв на “Рідну школу” та інші освітні потреби, проведення свят і забав для молоді та дітвори, концертів на пошанування видатних українських діячів тощо. Будучи за статутом позапартійною інституцією, “Рідна школа” часто ставала об’єктом міжпартійних змагань. Керівники місцевих політичних сил неодноразово спрямовували діяльність рідношкільних організацій у потрібному їм річищі. Загалом філії, а згодом кружки «Рідної школи» на Покутті були не лише найефективнішою місцевою українською освітньо-виховною організацією регіону, але й протягом 1920 – 1930-х рр. зуміли стати ідейними та організаційними центрами боротьби за українську школу й розбудову шкільництва в краю.

Ключові слова: Українське педагогічне товариство “Рідна школа”, Покуття, союз, кружок, освіта, виховання.

The Problem Statement. One of the key problems of the Ukrainian national revival at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries there was the issue of the Ukrainian schooling absence in Eastern Galicia. To solve this important issue in 1881, Ruske Pedagogical Society (RPS) was founded, which functioned in the region until 1939. The creation of such organization gave impact to the energetic and systematic work of the Ukrainian educators on the national school development, which was seen as one of the main factors of the nation’s self-determination.

Ruske Pedagogical Society, renamed in 1912 into the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, and in 1926 – into the “Native School”, became a kind of a cultural and educational fortress, which for almost six decades preserved the strength and inspiration of the Ukrainians to organize educational processes in the region. The future of many generations of the nationally conscious Ukrainians was formed in this society.

If the Ukrainian nation wants to preserve its statehood, it must take a proper care of the Ukrainian education development. Nowadays, one of the most important problems is the preservation of the national identity of the school, the main task of which is to form a high intelligence of the nation, preservation of its social and cultural genetic fund. Raising the national consciousness level of modern youth is the key to the future of the Ukrainian people. The experience of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society “Native School” with its more than half a century of practical work, aimed at building a national school system, may be useful. After all, acting under conditions of statelessness, this organization managed to teach and bring up a Ukrainian child in his/her native language in his/her native school, to give him/her a Ukrainian teacher, to found school and preschool educational institutions for the Ukrainian youth, to publish the Ukrainian language educational and fiction literature.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Halyna Bilavych and Borys Savchuk (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999), Bohdan Kravtsiv (Kravtsiv, 1975, pp. 418–419), Stepan Heley (Heley, 2017) and the others studied the activities of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society “Native School” in their scientific works.

The functioning of the native school organization in Horodenka was characterized in the memoirs of Mykhailo Marunchak (Marunchak, 1978), Omelyan Shklyar (Shklyar, 1978). The information about the activities of the “Native School” in Kolomyia and Kolomyia County can be found in the memoirs of Maria Kobrynska (Kobrynska, 1988), Yaroslav Shypailo (Shypailo, 1962), the author under the pseudonym “B. R.” (however, we assume that it could be Bohdan Romanenchuk – a well-known linguist and literary critic, a teacher, an editor of the collection of memoirs and articles “Kolomyia and Kolomyia District” (B. R., 1988). The work of the society in Tysmenytsia was described by Ihor Andrukhiv and Stepan Havryliuk in their fundamental work on the history of the town (Andrukhiv & Havryliuk, 2008). The materials on the activities of the society branch “Native School” in Sniatyn are contained in the work of Mykhailo Bazhansky, a diaspora researcher (Bazhansky, 1983). Little-known archival sources of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (CSHAUL) and the State Archive of Ivano-Frankivsk region (SAIFR) are extremely important and informative for revealing the content of the problem.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the educational activity of the circles, branches of the “Native School” in Pokuttia during 1900 – 1939 on the basis of the analyzed archival sources and scientific literature.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Ruske Pedagogical Society aimed at establishing Ukrainian folk, secondary and higher schools, upbringing of children in their native language, and material and moral support of the society members. In order to achieve the set goals, it was planned to submit to the authorities a request to establish Ukrainian schools and to teach children in their native language, to publish the magazine, to hold a conference with the participation of a wide audience, the reports on a scientific and educational content, to provide members with a material assistance for educational and didactic needs (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, pp. 10–11).

Initially, the RPS had a two-stage structure: the Central Branch in Lviv and its branches. In 1902 the society received the permission to establish branches – “circles”, which should include at least five members. Thus, the organization turned into a three-stage structure (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 17). The members of the society were divided into “ordinary”, i.e., all those, who were interested in the issues of the national education and upbringing, and “honorary”, who had special merits before public schooling. Decisions were made at the general meeting (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 11).

It should be noted that during 1884 – 1887 the head of Ruske Pedagogical Society was Fr. Vasyl Ilnytsky (1823 – 1895) – a Greek Catholic priest, historian, teacher, writer, public and cultural figure, a native of Pokuttia, namely the village of Pidpechary of Tovmatsky district (nowadays – Pidpechery village of Tysmenytsia district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. – *The author*) (Heley, 2017, p. 496; Herasymova, 2005, p. 449).

Gradually, the process of establishing branches of Ruske Pedagogical Society took place in Pokuttia. At the initiative of the public and with the support of the Central Department, the RPS branches were established in Kolomyia (1900 p.) (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 22) (according to other sources – on March 12, 1899) (B. R., 1988, c. 93), in Horodenka (1906 p.), in Tysmenytsya (1906 p.) (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 22), in Sniatyn (1913 p.) (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 1).

There were 32 members of the branch established in Kolomyia. Ostap Makarushka was elected the first chairman (B. R., 1988, p. 93). In September 1906, the branch of the RPS founded Kniahynia Olha private 3-class secondary seminary for women of a town type, which functioned in the form of seminary courses. In 1910 the seminary was transformed into a 4-class one. The director of the educational institution was Yosyf Tchaikovsky during 1908 – 1926 (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1130, pp. 2, 11).

The established branch of Ruske Pedagogical Society in Horodenka was inactive for the first few years. The impact for the activity intensification was the establishment of the Ukrainian gymnasium. The initiator for the establishment of the educational institution was the head of the local branch of the RPS, Dr. Teofil Okunevsky. In February 1909, “Committee of the Gymnasium Founders” was established, headed by Dr. Ivan Tsippanovsky. On August 29, 1909, the Ukrainian private gymnasium was officially opened. The institution was headed by Professor Kyrylo Polyansky (Marunchak, 1978, pp. 136–139).

Initially, the gymnasium was located in the reading-room in Kotyktivka (a suburb of Horodenka. Nowadays, the village of Kotyktivka, Horodenka district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. – *The authors*), from September 1910 – in the building of People’s House, and from 1911 – in the building, which was constructed by the efforts of the construction committee, which included the gymnasium and the RPS branch representatives. Ivan Priyma, a teacher, became the manager of the educational institution, and since 1912 – Antin Krushelnysky, a writer and teacher (Marunchak, 1978, c. 140, 143). The branch received acknowledgment and gratitude from the top management in Lviv for active work in the field of organization of schooling and establishment of circles in villages (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 1).

In the town of Tysmenytsia, Tovmatsky district (nowadays – the district centre. – *The author*), the RPS branch was named after Markiyian Shashkevych. On March 15, 1913, Atanasy Ostrovsky, a teacher at a local school, was elected the head of the branch (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, p. 2). As of June 1, 1913, there were 56 members in Tysmenytsia organization (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, p. 5).

In 1912, due to changes in the charter of the RPS, it was renamed into the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (UPS). The central branch was transformed into the Main Board, and the General Meeting was transformed into the General Congress. The UPS became a union of separate independent organizations. As a result, branches and circles were given broad powers. The branches became the link between the General Board and the branches. The circles had to be divided into men’s, women’s, students’ and mixed (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, pp. 24–25).

During 1912 – 1913, the Main Board of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society turned some of the branches, which did not have time to carry out an internal reorganization into circles. Thus, the branches in Horodenka, Kolomyia, Tysmenytsia were renamed into circles (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 25). During the interwar period, the branches in Kolomyia, Horodenka, Sniatyn, Tovmach, Tysmenytsia, and Otyniya had the status of county circles, i.e., they performed the duties of branches.

In May 1913, the UPS circle was founded in Sniatyn. Ivan Holubovych, the headmaster of a 4-grade school in the village of Karliv, was elected the head of the circle. 20 members joined the circle (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, pp. 1–2).

In order to collect donations for the needs of the organization, the management decided to turn not only to the members of the society, but also to “all intelligent people, who understand the national issue” and “to the more conscious and richer peasants”. The decision was made

to provide material support to school and gymnasium pupils and, if possible, to several secondary school pupils. It was also planned to establish clubs in the villages of Illintsi, Vovchivtsi and Stetseva (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 3). At the end of July 1914, there were more than 300 members in the circle and it was divided into two sections – Sniatyn and Zabolotiv (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 41).

Unfortunately, fragmentary archival data do not allow a comprehensive approach to the study of the activities of the society branches in Pokuttia during the Austrian times. A search is made for new materials in archival sources, the Ukrainian newspaper periodicals of that time and memoirs.

With the beginning of the occupation of Galicia by the Russian troops in 1914, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, as well as other cultural, educational and youth societies, was banned. The occupants conducted searches in the premises of the Ukrainian organizations, looted and destroyed property, and burned literature books and documents. For instance, all the documentation and the library of Sniatyn circle of the UPS burned down during the hostilities (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 41).

After the defeat of the national liberation struggle in the western Ukrainian lands and the occupation of these lands by Poland, the UPS entered a new stage of its development and activity. On the one hand, more than forty years of experience in conducting educational work, and on the other – the organizational structure destroyed by the war, the policy of forced assimilation and administrative oppression. However, despite the hardships of the war and their tragic consequences, fairly quickly in April 1920, the activities of the Main Board of the UPS were resumed. (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 36).

At the conference in June 1920, with the participation of representatives of leading political, cultural and economic organizations, the society was recognized as the supreme body for school affairs. All private Ukrainian schools came under the leadership of the UPS, and no other school could be established without its permission. The school's curriculum was aimed at developing vocational education and schools for peasants. On December 25, 1922, at the first post-war congress of the organization, the restoration of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society was proclaimed (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, p. 36).

On June 23, 1926, a new charter of the UPS was approved, according to which the organization received a new name – “Native School” – the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (or a shortened form – “Native School”). The main task of the native school organization was to meet the needs in the field of schooling. The ways to achieve this goal were wide, for instance: from the maintenance of all types of schools, educational institutions, scholarships and institutes, the construction of educational facilities to various educational courses, libraries, publishing school and children's literature, amateur theatrical performances, concerts, celebrations, holidays, fun, etc. According to the charter, the circles of one county could form the County Union of circles of the “Native School” (Bilavych & Savchuk, 1999, pp. 41–42).

In Kolomyia, the activity of the UPS circle was resumed at the beginning of the 1920-ies. The centre covered 84 settlements of Kolomyia district (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, p. 43). In 1920, Joseph Tchaikovsky was elected a head of the circle. In 1927, a famous writer Andriy Tchaikovsky became a head of the circle (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, p. 6), in 1931 – a lawyer Yaroslav Shypailo, who moved from Tysmenytsya and was also a head of the District Union of Circles “Native School” in Kolomyia (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, арк. 6; Shypailo, 1962, p. 272).

In 1928 there were 335 members in Kolomyia circle. It was housed in the People's House together with a branch of the "Prosvita" society. The circle ran a teacher's seminary for women, a gymnasium for women, a private people's co-educational (co-education of boys and girls) 4-grade school, in which 285 children were involved into the educational process (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, pp. 34–35). During September 1927– July 1928, authorized persons of the circle made 55 reports and abstracts in 46 settlements of Kolomyia district. The total number of participants-listeners was 3455 people (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, pp. 41–42).

In addition to successful educational activities, the circle conducted vigorous cultural activities organizing different celebrations, such as: Youth Holidays, Ukrainian fairs, festivals, concerts. For instance, on February 23, 1929 in the People's House of Kolomyia a festive concert was held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of A. Tchaikovsky's writing and public activity (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, p. 45). There were self-help, singing and drama circles (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, p. 150).

In 1931, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the "Native School", Kolomyia circle organized a grand celebration. The programme included exhibitions of children's literature, school textbooks, embroidery, woodwork, drawings and paintings, conducting reports on the importance of the native language during upbringing, the history of the organization in Kolomyia, a solemn academy and a concert with the participation of choirs of the society "Boyan" and the music institute, assembly. Similar events were held in the villages of the county. During the celebrations, fundraising was organized for the needs of the "Native School" (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, p. 54).

The native school organization in Kolomyia was, perhaps, the most active in Pokuttia. This is clearly evidenced by the statistics data. Thus, in 1933 in Kolomyia society there were 445 members, and the branches of the society functioned in 60 out of 84 settlements of the county (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1125, pp. 159–161).

In Horodenka the circle named after T. Shevchenko of the UPS resumed its activity at the beginning of the 1920-ies. In 1922, the head of Horodenka circle asked the Main Board for help in opening a gymnasium (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 3). During 1925 – 1927, owing to the efforts of the leadership, the circles were established in Horodenka in Filvark Kut (1925) (62 members, a head – Dmytro Tsalyn) (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 18), the circle named after M. Shashkevych in Haluzivka (1926) (39 members, a head – Dmytro Nykyforuk, and later – Hryts Hubchyn) (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 729, pp. 1–3), the circle named after T. Shevchenko in Kotykivka (a head – Stepan Kotelko) (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 12), the circle named after I. Franko in Monastyrsky Kut (29 members, a head – Vasyl Kotyk) (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 16).

In 1928, there were 405 members of the circle, including 184 peasants, 23 burghers, 74 teachers, 32 priests, 14 and 17 civil and private official, 10 merchants, and 7 lawyers. The circle maintained and cared for a 6-grade gymnasium with 128 pupils, conducted a course for the illiterate and a three-month course for 28 girls. A cultural activity consisted in organizing holidays of the "Native school", St. Nicolas Day, Mother's Day, holidays in honour of T. Shevchenko, V. Stefanyk, festivals, concerts, amateur performances, parties for youth (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, pp. 19–20).

In 1932, the circle included: Mariyska group, cooperative, the Union of communities, sports, anti-alcohol, scientific and chess clubs (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, pp. 72–75). In 1933 in four villages of Horodenka district, namely: in the village of Hlushkiv, the village

of Tyshkivtsi, the village of Chernyatyn and in Horodenka (Kotykvivka) – the kindergartens were established owing to the efforts of the county circle "Native School" headed by Roman Komarynsky. They functioned from the beginning of June to the end of September and covered more than 180 children with a preschool education (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 103).

In 1934, there were 37 clubs in Horodenka County, which had 1 841 members. The most powerful centres were in Obertyn, the villages of Tyshkivtsi, Serafynka, Verbiivtsi, Torhovytsia, Zhukiv, Chernyatyn, Horodnytsia, Chortovets, Nezvysko, Harasymiv and Potochyshche. The weakest ones were in Haluzivka and Monastyrsky Kut in Horodenka, the villages of Vilkhivtsi, Semakivtsi, Strilche, Kopachyntsi, Dzhurkiv, Zhyvachiv and Mykhalche. The main reason for the weak activity in these villages was the indifferent attitude of the residents to the "Native School" (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 731, p. 168).

The circle of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society in Sniatyn resumed its activities in 1919. The field of activity of the UPS branch covered 41 communities with a population of over 70 thousand people (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 68). In November 1920, Volodymyr Leviysky, a notary in Sniatyn, was elected a head of the circle (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 5). From October 29, 1922 until his death in April 1927, the circle was headed by Ivan Semanyuk – the Ukrainian public figure, a lawyer, Doctor of law, an outstanding writer, who worked under the pseudonym Marko Cheremshyna (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 4).

In October 1919, the leadership of the circle received permission from the Regional School Council to conduct "private gymnasium courses" (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 7). In September 1920, two classes of the gymnasium were opened in Sniatyn, where 55 children studied. It was located in a rented house (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 31). Klavdiy Bilynsky was appointed the headmaster of the educational institution (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 4). The curriculum for the 1st grade of grammar school courses included the following subjects: Religion, Ukrainian, Latin, Polish, Mathematics, Geography, Nature Studies, Calligraphy, Drawing. The curriculum for the 2nd grade – the same subjects, but History and German were added (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, pp. 12–15), and for the 3rd grade – the Greek language and Physics were added (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 21). There were 24 pupils in the 1st grade, including 16 boys and 8 girls, in the 2nd grade – 35 pupils (21 boys and 14 girls), in the 3rd grade – 9 pupils (4 boys and 5 girls). Totally 68 children were educated, including 41 boys and 27 girls (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 18).

On February 1, 1921, the leadership of the circle opened a private course for 25 entrants to teachers' seminars, i.e., for those children, who went to a secondary school, but had to interrupt studying because of the hostilities. Unfortunately, the course lasted for 2 months only in March-April 1921, and then it was stopped due to a low attendance and non-payment for tuition (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 9). In September 1925, instead of private gymnasium courses, the circle opened a 6-grade school. The educational institution was maintained exclusively at the expense of the UPS circle. There were 12 pupils, though the minimum amount of pupils had to be 25 (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 97).

Despite the successful educational work, the circle was not very active from the organizational point of view. The centres were not established in the villages, especially in Zabolotiv district, where "peasant councils" were spread, whose members opposed the "bourgeois" "Native School", and disrupted meetings on the native school organization (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 32).

A significant obstacle to the circle's work was the fact that almost half of the communities in its area of activity belonged to Zabolotiv court district, whose residents ignored native

school appeals, “stating that they do not like the “Native School” in the very form it is nowadays”. There was a general reluctance among the population to go to school, as the population was mostly burdened by the taxes and consequences of poor crop. We must also take into account that Sniatyn county belonged to the border region, and therefore it was densely populated by the Polish border guards and gendarmerie, whose personnel were hostile to an educational activity and considered it as a political action (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 80).

At the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, the situation arose when some communities in the villages of Zabolotiv area, which organizationally belonged to the activity area of Sniatyn circle and were geographically closer to Kolomyia district, began to move to the circle in Kolomyia. In this regard, the circle in Kolomyia requested “to let these communities belong to it”, to which it was categorically refused, as “interference in the district only does harm, because it causes confusion among the people” (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 48).

In 1924, the members of the UPS circle in Sniatyn together with representatives of the local “Ukrainian reading-room” collected some money at Christmas among the residents of Sniatyn, the villages of Beleluya, Vydyniv, Zavallya, Zadubrivka, Karliv, Mykulyntsi, Popelnyky, Potichok, Stetseva, Tulova, Ustya. Gymnasium pupils also collected some sum of money. The sum of money – 608 zl. was sent to the Main Board for the needs of the society (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 56). The authorities fined the head of the circle for collecting money. The fine exceeded the collected sum of money (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 80).

In October 1925, the Main Board of the UPS noted the low level of activity of the circle in Sniatyn, stating that, for instance, the native school organization in Kolomyia since the resumption of work established the circles in 19 communities, the circle in Pechenizhyn – in 10 of 19 existing communities, and in Sniatyn – none (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 99).

In September 1926 there were 63 members in the circle of the “Native School” (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2310, p. 99). During the next ten years, the membership situation did not change cardinally. In 1928 the circle numbered 55 members, in 1930 – 50 members (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2311, pp. 25, 49), in 1933 – 48 members (ЦДІАУЛ, ф. 206, оп. 1, с. 2311, арк. 98), in 1936 – 68 members (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2312, p. 82).

In Tovmach the circle of the UPS named after T. Shevchenko was founded in December 1924. There were 53 members in the circle, among whom there were well-known statesmen, socio-political and military figures of Western Ukraine, such as: Ivan Makukh, Lev Klykailo, Semen Solonyna, Fr. Zenoviy Kysilevsky, Fr. Yevstakhiy Tesla, Ignatius Loshniv, Ambrosiy Kadaisky. The head of the circle was Fr. Z. Kysilevsky, a pastor of the village of Hrynivtsi, and his deputy – I. Makukh (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, pp. 3–4). The circle did not have its own premises, that is why, it was temporarily housed in the private house of I. Makukh (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, p. 70).

The native school organization in Tovmach performed the functions of the County circle. Its activities included three judicial districts: Tovmatsky, Tysmenytsky and Otyniysky.

In October 1933, Tovmach district circle of the “Native School” became a member of the County Union of the circles of the “Native School” in Stanyslaviv (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, p. 74). Thus, the Union covered two counties – Stanyslaviv, Tovmach. Roman Ripetsky was elected the head of the county circle (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, p. 67), Kost Voyevidko became the head of the Union (Kravtsiv, 1975, p. 419). The County Union coordinated the activities of the society’s circles (Marchuk & Korolko, 2010, p. 174). Taking

into account the extensive network of branches of the “Native School” (in Stanyslaviv County there were 53 circles, and in Tovmach – 39, i.e., the County Union took care of 92 local organizations). This was not easy (Kravtsiv, 1975, p. 419).

Back in February 1936, the Main Board of the “Native School” allowed to establish in Tovmach the County Union of circles of the “Native School” (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, p. 88). However, the authorities banned its establishment, arguing that such an institution could lead to the rise in a political activity and the threat to security and public order, which, in its turn, contradicted the statutory activities of the society (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, p. 114).

In 1939, Tovmach district circle united 39 registered branches and 7 at the stage of registration. There were 25 circles in Tovmach judicial district, of which 1 was urban and 24 rural. There were 14 active circles (in the village of Bratyshiv, the village of Hrushka, the village of Olesha, the village of Ostrynya, the village of Palahychi, the town of Tovmach), there were 7 circles less active, inactive ones – 4. The latter included the circles in the villages of Lypa near Novosilky, Novosilky, Ozeryany and in the town of Nyzhniv. There were 13 circles in Otyniya district, of which 1 was urban and 12 were rural. The most active circles – 6 (in the village of Vynohrad, the village of Hostiv, the village of Holoskiv, the town of Otyniya), the less active ones – 1, the inactive ones – 6 (in the village of Lyatske-Shlyakhetske, the village of Novi Kryvotuly, the village of Stari Kryvotuly, the village of Strupkiv, the village of Torhovytisia, the village of Vorona). The latter was banned on April 12, 1939 for the anti-government activities. There were 8 circles in Tysmenytsya district, of which 1 was urban and 7 rural. The active circles – 6 (in Roshniv village, Stryhantsi village, Markivtsi village), the inactive ones – 2. The latter included the circles in the villages of Klubivtsi and Vilshanytsia, which were banned by the authorities for the anti-statutory and anti-government activities.

In general, there were 26 active circles in Tovmach district, 8 less active ones, and 12 inactive ones. The average number of the circle members was 25–80. The total number of members of the society “Native School” in the county was about 1 500 people.

The donations, membership fees and a preschool education were poorly organized in Tovmach district. Kindergartens were ready to start functioning only in the villages of Olesha, Stryhantsi, Korolivka, Hostiv, Roshniv, Ostrynya, Hrushka, Oleshiv and they were also waiting for the authorities’ permission. None of the kindergartens had educators. This fact endangered functioning of those preschool institutions (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2479, p. 128).

In Tysmenytsia, the circle named after Ivan Franko of the UPS was restored on July 7, 1923. However, from the pre-war documents, except of the circle statute of 1912, there is not any single document that could be used in case of the authorities’ requests. Yaroslav Shypailo, a lawyer, was elected the head of the circle. The circle was located in one of the premises of the Ukrainian People’s House. The authorities planned to establish a private 5-grade public school (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, p. 4).

In 1926 there were 30 members of the circle. For the needs of the Main Board, in January 1926, the circle organized money collection at Christmas (by carol singing) in the town and villages of Tysmenytsia judicial district. The sum of money turned out to be small, because two days before the carol singing, on January 5, there was a disaster in the town – the Ukrainian People’s House burned down. Therefore, the residents donated a huge sum of money for its reconstruction. It’s quite interesting that the authorities of the society in Lviv reacted with understanding and ordered all funds raised by the local organization to be used

for the reconstruction of the People's House (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, p. 8). In April 1926 Tysmenytsia circle held a similar collection of money for the needs of the UPS, but this time for the "pysanka" (on the eve and during Easter holidays. – *The author*) (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, pp. 9–11).

At the beginning of May 1928, the Main Board of the "Native School" stated the following: in the circle of Tysmenytsia, which had the status of a county, there was a complete stagnation in organizational activities. It is obvious that there was some truth in the words of the authorities, because the re-registration of the UPS circle into the "Native School" circle was carried out on September 13, 1929 (Andrukhiv & Havryliuk, 2008, p. 256).

Under conditions of the pacification policy and Polonization pursued by the Polish government towards the Ukrainian population at the beginning of the 1930-ies, the work of the native school organization was aimed at cherishing and popularizing the Ukrainian language, history, culture and traditions. The funds raised from cultural and educational events, as a rule, partly were sent to the "Native School", for the purchase of educational books and fiction for reading-rooms and libraries. For instance, on December 3, 1933, the circle of the "Native School" in the hall of the People's House staged a 3,5-hour concert in honour of Ivan Franko. The income from the concert in the amount of 50 zl. the members of the circle sent to purchase books for the reading-room of the society "Prosvita" (SAIFR, f. 72, d. 1, c. 12, p. 171).

In 1933 Volodymyr Ostrovsky, the son of Athanasius Ostrovsky, was elected a head of the native school organization. There were 48 members in the circle, including 32 men and 16 women (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, p. 30). The local society organized three kindergartens, each with 18 – 20 children (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 2468, p. 38).

Although the "Native School" society positioned itself as a non-party institution, there was an inter-party struggle for making influence on the society. We do not find direct documentary information about this. However, we assume that during the hardships of World War I and the era of the Ukrainian national revolution, the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP) had a certain influence on Tysmenytsia branch, since the head of the circle Athanasius Ostrovsky was a delegate to the Congress of the URP, which took place on March 22–23, 1919. During the second half of the 1920-ies the circle of the "Native School" named after Ivan Franko was apparently under the influence of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDU), Tysmenytsia branch of which was headed by Yaroslav Shypailo, the head of the native school organization. We do not exclude the idea that along with the UNDU, the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) had some influence on the "Native School" in Tysmenytsia, because the leadership of the circle during the 1930-ies included of the OUN members – Volodymyr Ostrovsky, Teodor Beley, Yevstakhiy Fedyk, Pavlo Reketchuk and the others.

In Otyniya, Tovmach district, a circle named after Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky was established in April 1932. Kostya Kozlovsky was elected a head of the circle (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1936, p. 4). There were 39 members including 5 burghers, 3 artisans, 1 entrepreneur, 2 priests, 1 public teacher, 3 civil officials, 2 lawyers, 1 doctor, 1 engineer, 1 student and 3 railroad workers, 14 unemployed, 2 private government officials (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1936, p. 9).

In 1933, there were 8 circles in Otyniya judicial district, namely: in the villages of Babyanka, Vorona, Vynohrad, Hostiv, Zakrivtisi, Novi Kryvotuly, Strupkiv, Uhornyky (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1936, pp. 8, 12).

In order to create new circles and attract membership, the leadership of the circle in Otyniya on February 20, 1934 conducted a district native school questionnaire with the participation of more than 130 delegates representing all 19 communities of Otyniya (CSHAUL, f. 206,

d. 1, c. 1936, p. 16). It should be noted that this event gave some results, as the communities of Molodyliv and Sidlyska-Bretgail villages of Kolomyia district decided to establish the circles (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1936, p. 19).

In 1936 there was a certain decline in the work of the circle, which at that time had only 22 members. During the year only 7 new members joined the organization. The management failed at establishing kindergartens in Otnyia, the villages of Vynohrad, Hostiv, and Zakrivtsi. However, there were also positive moments, such as: successful organization of the autumn money collection, the money collection at Christmas (for singing carols), the money collection at Easter (Easter eggs), St. Nicholas Day for children. The circle also coped well with the functions of the county circle (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1936, p. 38).

The "Native School" Society, like other cultural and educational organizations, functioned until the autumn of 1939. With the establishment of the Soviet power, the native school activities were banned and the circles were liquidated. Some members of the society went underground and continued the struggle, but this time an armed struggle during the 1940-ies and the 1950-ies.

The Conclusions. The establishment in 1881 of the Ruske Pedagogical Society (since 1912 – the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, since 1926 – the "Native School") was an adequate response of the Ukrainian national conscious intelligentsia to the biased educational policy pursued by the Austro-Hungarian government in the field of Ukrainian schooling. The Ukrainian Pedagogical Society set itself the goal, through the organization of conducting various reports and educational courses, the creation of schools and preschools, scholarships, gymnasiums and institutes, publishing the Ukrainian language educational and fiction literature. The Ukrainian Pedagogical Society set itself the goal to give a Ukrainian child a Ukrainian teacher, to educate him in his native language.

In Pokuttia the branches of the Ruske Pedagogical Society were established in Kolomyia, Horodenka, Tysmenytsia and Sniatyn. In 1913, due to the reorganization, the branches of the UPS were transformed into circles, but with the authority of the county circles. Disrupted by World War I and the Polish-Ukrainian War, the activity of local UPS organizations was resumed during the first half of the 1920-ies. Under conditions of the new occupation policy, the work of native school societies was aimed at cherishing the Ukrainian language, history, culture, running and maintaining private gymnasiums, schools, arranging and maintaining kindergartens in summer, collecting donations for the "Native School" and other educational needs, holding holidays and parties for young people and children, concerts in honour of prominent Ukrainian figures, etc.

As a non-party institution according to the statute, the "Native School" often became the object of an inter-party competition. Leaders of local political forces often directed the activities of native school organizations in the direction they needed.

In general, the branches, and later the circles of the "Native School" in Pokuttia were not only the most effective local Ukrainian educational organization in the region, but also during the 1920-ies – the 1930-ies managed to become ideological and organizational centres of the struggle for the Ukrainian school and its development in the region.

A perspective direction of a further research problem is a detailed study of the activities of branches and circles of the society "Native School" not only in Pokuttia, but also in Stanyslaviv region. The practical work of native school organizations in rural settlements of Pokuttia is rather poorly studied or not studied at all. It is necessary to study carefully the educational activities, relations with local authorities, political parties, cooperation with other cultural and educational societies.

Acknowledgement. The authors are grateful to Olesya Stefanyk, the director of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv; Lubomyr Haruk, a performer of the duties of the director of the State Archive of Ivano-Frankivsk region, for the opportunity to use the archival materials; Konstantyn Kurylyshyn, the head of the Ukrainian Department of Lviv national Scientific V. Stefanyk library of Ukraine, for the opportunity to use the newspaper periodicals of the analyzed period.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrukhiv, I. O. & Havryliuk, S. V. (2008). *Tysmenytsia [Tysmenytsia]*. Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV, 494 p. [in Ukrainian]

B. R. (1988). Z diialnosti “Ridnoi shkoly” v Kolomyishchyni [About the activity of the “Native School” in Kolomyia region]. (Red. B. Romanenchuk). *Kolomyia y Kolomyishchyna. Zbirnyk spomyniv i statei pro nedavnie mynule*. (pp. 93–96). Filadelfia: vydannia Komitetu kolomyian. [in Ukrainian]

Bazhanskyi, M. (1983). *Tvorchyi dynamizm patriotyzmu moikh zemliakiv. Vid pershykh proia- viv orhanizovanykh suspilnykh hurtkiv, tserkovnykh bratstv, remisnychyykh tsekhiv – azh do “Sichei”, “Sokoliv”, “Prosvit”, “Ridnykh shkil” ta boiovykh formatsii i politychnykh partii: Haslova entsyklo- pediiia*. Ditroit, 1983, 256 p. [in Ukrainian].

Bilavych, H., & Savchuk, B. (1999). *Tovarystvo “Ridna Shkola” [“Ridna shkola” (“Native School”) society]*. Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV, 208 p. [in Ukrainian]

Helei, S. (2017). Ukrainiske pedahohichne tovarystvo “Ridna shkola” – natsionalnyi symvol ukrainskoho shkilnytstva v Halychyni (1881 – 1939) [Ukrainian Pedagogical Society “Ridna shkola” (“Native School”) – a national symbol of Ukrainian schooling in Galicia (1881–1939)]. (I. Pater, Hol. redkol., L. Khakhula, Uporiadn.) *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist*, (29), 496–519. [in Ukrainian]

Herasyimova, H. (2005). Ilnytskyi Vasyl Stepanovych [Ilnytskyi Vasyl Stepanovych]. Hol. redkol. V. A. Smolii. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy* (v 10 t. T. 3, p. 449). Kyiv: Naukova dumka. [in Ukrainian]

Kobrynska, M. (1988). Ukrainiske shkilnytstvo v Kolomyi [Ukrainian school in Kolomyia town]. (Red., B. Romanenchuk). *Kolomyia y Kolomyishchyna. Zbirnyk spomyniv i statei pro nedavnie mynule* (pp. 79–92). Filadelfia: vydannia Komitetu kolomyian [in Ukrainian]

Kravtsiv, B. (Ed.). (1975). “Ridna shkola”, yii shkoly, filii i kruzhky [“Ridna shkola” (“Native School”), her schools, branches and circles]. (B. Kravtsiv, Redaktor-uporiadnyk), *Almanakh Stany- slavivskoi zemli. Zbirnyk materialiv do istorii Stanyslavova i Stanyslavivshchyny* (Vol. 1, p. 418). Niu-Iork; Toronto; Vinnipeh. [in Ukrainian]

Marunchak, M. (1978). Do pochatkiv ukrainskoi himnazii v Horodentsi [The beginning of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Horodenka town]. (Red., M. Marunchak). *Horodenshchyna. Istorychno-memuarnyi zbirnyk*. (pp. 134–145). Niu-Iork; Toronto; Vinnipeh. [in Ukrainian]

Marchuk, V. V. (Ed.), **Korolko A. Z.** (Ed.) (2010). *Pokuttia. Istoryko-etnografichni narys [Poku- ttia. Historical and ethnographic sketch]*. Lviv: Manuskryst-Lviv, 456 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv u m. Lvovi (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv – CSHAUL)

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivskoi oblasti (State Archives Ivano-Frankivsk Region – SAIFR).

Shypailo, Ya. (1962). Pratsia dlia “Ridnoi shkoly” [The activity for “Native School”]. *Nad Prutom u luzi...”. Kolomyia v spohadakh*. (pp. 272–279). Toronto: vydannia Komitetu pokutian “Sribna surma”. [in Ukrainian]

Shkliar, O. (1978). Ukrainiska himnaziia v Horodentsi v 1912 – 1918 rr. [Ukrainian gymnasium in Horodenka town in 1912 – 1918]. *Horodenshchyna. Istorychno-memuarnyi zbirnyk*. (pp. 145–163). Niu-Iork; Toronto; Vinnipeh. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received on September 30, 2019.

Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.

UDC 94(477.83/.86)“1914/1917”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210900

Svitlana ORLYK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Professor of Department of History, Archeology, Informational and Archival Affairs at Central Ukrainian National Technical University, 8 Prospekt Universytetsky, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25006 (svitlana.orlik@gmail.com)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6280-9273>

Researcher ID: C-1033-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/C-1033-2019>)

Alina MEKHEDA

PhD (Education), Department of History, Archeology, Informational and Archival Affairs at Central Ukrainian National Technical University, 8 Prospekt Universytetsky, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25006 (wiatr.cieply@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5660-512X>

Researcher ID: <https://publons.com/researcher/2915789/alina-mekheda/>

Світлана ОРЛИК

докторка історичних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри історії, археології, інформаційної та архівної справи Центральноукраїнського національного технічного університету, пр. Університетський, 8, м. Кропивницький, 25006, Україна (svitlana.orlik@gmail.com)

Аліна МЕХЕДА

кандидатка педагогічних наук, старша викладачка кафедри історії, археології, інформаційної та архівної справи Центральноукраїнського технічного університету, пр. Університетський, 8, м. Кропивницький, 25006, Україна (wiatr.cieply@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Orlyk, S. & Mekheda, A. (2020). Natural duties of the population of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna under conditions of the Russian occupation (1914 – 1917). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 153–162. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210900

**NATURAL DUTIES OF THE POPULATION OF EASTERN GALICIA
AND NORTHERN BUKOVYNA UNDER CONDITIONS
OF THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION (1914 – 1917)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to study the mechanism of establishment and organization of natural duties by the Russian occupation authorities in the occupied territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I and the attitude of the local population to the problem of performing these natural duties. The methodological basis of a scientific research is a set of general scientific and special research methods. Special historical methods characteristic of socio-economic history have been widely used: historical-comparative, retrospective, diachronic (periodization), historical-systemic, historical-typological, historical-genetic and the method of a historical economic analysis. The scientific novelty of the study consists in the following: for the first time in historiography on the materials of the archival documents, introduced by the author into a scientific circulation, there has been analysed the mechanism of natural duties (labour duties), organized by the Russian occupation*

authorities in the occupied territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I. **The Conclusions.** Thus, the natural duties imposed by the Russian occupation authorities during World War I were a heavy burden to the local population of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, bankrupt and devastated by war. The natural duties were one of the elements of the financial policy of the country-occupant. Extremely difficult, especially for women and adolescents, were the natural duties in the form of trench work, deforestation, restoration of rail and land routes, etc. The natural duties were extremely difficult for livestock owners, as a result of which the local population was forced to get rid of horses, which negatively affected the quality of agricultural work and worsened the level of food supply in the region. At the same time, the Russian occupation authorities practised paying low salary, which was not even always paid. The performance of the natural duties by the local population was coercive, which was exacerbated by the imposition of severe liability in the form of high fines or imprisonment (arrest). At the same time, it was advantageous for the occupation authorities to exploit the local population, because during the war the exploitation allowed them to save significant financial resources.

Having done a comparative analysis of the occupation authorities actions, established in the lands of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, – the Russian occupation authorities (during World War I) and the German occupation authorities (during World War II), we concluded that in both cases the local population was subjected to severe coercion measures and had to work in the interests of the occupation military forces and civilian authorities. According to the author, the whole set of the natural duties should be divided into two groups, taking into account the peculiarities of establishment: military occupation natural duties, civil occupation natural duties. In general, under conditions of both world wars, the process of introduction of natural duties for the needs of both the army and the civilian occupation authorities by the conquering countries – the Russian Empire and the Nazi Germany – was characterized by many common features. Therefore, further research requires the establishment and collection of taxes, fees and other non-tax payments from the population of Western Ukraine by various occupation regimes during the First and Second World War I and World War II. In our opinion, a comparative analysis of these problems will be especially important and perspective for scientific consideration.

Key words: World War I, World War II, Eastern Galicia, Bukovyna, the Russian Empire, Galicia-Bukovyna Military Governor-General, the Russian occupation, natural duties.

НАТУРАЛЬНІ ПОВИННОСТІ НАСЕЛЕННЯ СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ ТА ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ (1914 – 1917)

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження механізму встановлення та стягнення російською окупаційною владою натуральних повинностей на захоплених територіях Східної Галичини та Північної Буковини в роки Першої світової війни. **Методологічну основу** наукового пошуку становить сукупність загальнонаукових і спеціальних методів дослідження. Широко використовувалися спеціальні історичні методи, характерні для соціально-економічної історії: історико-порівняльний, ретроспективний, діахронний (періодизація), історико-системний, історико-типологічний, історико-генетичний і метод історико-економічного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії на матеріалах архівних документів, які вводяться автором до наукового обігу, розглянуто механізм стягнення російською окупаційною владою натуральних повинностей на захоплених територіях Східної Галичини та Північної Буковини в роки Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Натуральні повинності, які стягувалися російською окупаційною владою в роки Першої світової війни, лягали важким тягарем на розорене війною місцеве населення Східної Галичини та Північної Буковини. Надзвичайно тяжкими, особливо для жінок і підлітків, були натуральні повинності у вигляді оконних робіт, вирубки лісу, відбудови залізничних та сухопутних доріг тощо. Вкрай обтяжливою була підводна повинність, внаслідок впровадження якої місцеве населення було змушене позбуватися тяглової сили, що негативно впливало на якість виконання сільськогосподарських робіт та погіршувало рівень продовольчого забезпечення регіону. Виконання натуральних повинностей мало примусовий характер і супроводжувалося встановленням суворої відповідальності у вигляді високих грошових штрафів або позбавлення волі (арешту). Окупаційній владі було вигідно експлуатувати місцеве населення, адже це дозволяло їй економити значні фінансові ресурси.

У результаті проведеного порівняльного аналізу поведінки окупаційних влад, які встановлювалися на землях Східної Галичини та Північної Буковини, – російської (в роки Першої світової

війни) та німецької (під час Другої світової війни) – з урахуванням особливостей встановлення і стягнення натуральних повинностей запропоновано увесь комплекс натуральних повинностей розділити на дві групи: військово-окупаційні та цивільно-окупаційні. Доведено, що під час обох світових воєн у процесі запровадження натуральних повинностей як для потреб армії, так і для цивільної окупаційної влади політика країн-завойовниць – Російської імперії та нацистської Німеччини – на окупованих територіях мала багато спільних рис, зумовлених закономірним у такій ситуації протистоянням окупаційної влади та місцевого населення.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, Друга світова війна, Східна Галичина, Буковина, Російська імперія, Галицько-Буковинське військово-генерал-губернаторство, російська окупація, натуральна повинність.

The Problem Statement. During the world wars, when the enemy's territories were in the rear of the conquering countries, the latter without any delay tried to establish their own civilian occupation authority in order to maximize the consolidation of their positions in these lands. However, among the political tasks and functions assigned to the civilian occupation authorities, the financial and economic ones were also important, which concerned the restoration of strategically useful sectors of the local economy for the immediate use of its resources for military needs and the establishment of a mechanism of collecting taxes and fees from the local population. In the context of considering the problem of the occupation authorities specifics deploying their tax system during the wartime, when the principles of the tax system construction were completely shifted in favour of the fiscal interests of the conquering country, the local population was considered as free labour, being forcibly deprived not only of a material wealth, the local population was made to work physically in the form of natural duties (a compulsory enlistment).

The Analysis of Recent Researches. In modern Ukrainian historiography, the problems of the Russian occupation authorities, organizing natural duties in Western Ukraine during World War I, were mentioned only briefly by the Ukrainian historians in the context of general works, researches on the socio-economic situation of the local population during the Russian civil administration. In particular, these are the works of I. Baran (Baran, 2009), K. Kondratiuk (Kondratiuk, 2006 – 2007), I. Lozynska (Lozynska, 2017), the articles by O. Mazur and I. Pater, (Mazur & Pater, 2007, pp. 48–49), O. Reyent and I. Pater (Reyent & Pater, 2006, p. 503).

The works of the Ukrainian researchers should be singled out, in particular, the works of P. Korinenko, V. Tereshchenko, V. Starka, and A. Kydaniuk (Korinenko, Tereshchenko, Starka & Kydaniuk, 2016, pp. 64–65) and S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2017; Orlyk, 2018, pp. 477–484), who considered the issue of natural duties in the occupied territories of Western Ukraine during World War I in special researches on the general problems of taxes, fees collection and other non-tax payments of the local population, organized by the Russian occupation authorities in these occupied territories. At the same time, in the domestic historiography the problems of natural duties, organized by the German occupation administration in Eastern Galicia during World War II were covered in the researches of the domestic historians: A. Bolianovskiyi (Bolianovskiyi, 1998), O. Klymenko and S. Tkachov (Klymenko & Tkachov, 2013), in the monographs of K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2010) and V. Starka (Starka, 2019).

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned analysis of the historiography of the problem, it should be noted that there was not carried out a special study of the problem of introduction and organization of natural duties by the Russian occupation authorities in the occupied territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I.

The purpose of the article is to study the mechanism of establishment and organization of natural duties by the Russian occupation authorities in the occupied territories of Eastern

Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I and the attitude of the local population to the problem of performing these natural duties.

The Statement of the Basic Material. During World War I the entry of the Russian troops into Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna led to the deployment of their civilian occupation administration in the rear of the occupied territories by creating a Provisional Military Governor-General with a division into provinces and counties. By Subparagraph “u” of Paragraph 22 of the “Temporary Provisional Regulations on the Management of the Regions of Austria-Hungary Occupied by the Law of War”, approved by the order of the Supreme Commander of the Russian Army of July 3, 1916 №895, the Galician-Bukovynian Military Governor-General was authorized “to establish the types of natural duties and to involve the local population into natural duties performance in the order, specified in the mandatory regulations” (Temporary regulation, 1916). For their part, governors, mayors, and county chiefs had to ensure compliance with these mandatory regulations and to be guided in their work by the “principal duty” to assist by all means at their disposal to meet the needs of the army and to facilitate relations between the army and the local population (CSHAUK, f. 722, d. 2. c. 6, p. 1).

Taking into account the above-mentioned power of the civilian bodies of the Russian occupation authorities in terms of establishing and organizing natural duties, it should be noted that the military occupation authorities also functioned in parallel in the occupied territories, whose orders had to be carried out first. Thus, in particular, in Paragraph 1 of Article 10 of the Rules “About the areas. On areas where martial law was declared” it was stated that the commanders of the armies were authorized to use the work of the local population by “involvement in work to achieve the goals of the war” (About the areas, 1892, pp. 479–480). In Article 16 of the same Rules it was stated that in the districts under the jurisdiction of the Commandant or the Head of the Precinct, all civil authorities and local residents “must obey (their – S. O. and M. A.) requirements and orders unquestioningly”, even providing “horse-drawn carts, as well as the supply of provisions, a group of labourers and means of transportation” (About the areas, 1892, pp. 480–481). At the same time, the military road and transport department, which was the part of the Department of Military Communications of the Russian Army’s Front, was to supervise “the construction of new roads and dirt roads, as well as the maintenance of communications in the entire area under the Commander-in-Chief of the armies” (Changes and additions, 1916, p. 15). Such provision, of course, was carried out with the broad involvement of the local population in the form of natural duties. In addition to road work, to meet the needs of the troops there were the following types of heavy natural duties: 1) earth work and construction work related to the reconstruction of fortifications; 2) logging for military purposes and for heating; 3) reconstruction of the damaged railway line; 4) weapon cleaning, etc.

Representatives of the civil occupation authorities – heads of counties – proposed to expand the list of a mandatory natural duties, which would provide: repair of dirt country roads and paths, dams, locks and dikes, especially during spring and autumn floods; garbage removal and streets and squares cleaning, primarily, in settlements where the troops were stationed; supply of urgent letters and packages for officials of civilian institutions; night guard of a town property and the Orthodox churches; transportation of firewood for heating of the Russian administrative institutions and apartments where the military lived, etc. (SACHR, f. 27, d. 1, c. 43, pp. 18–26, 28–28v.)

The local adult population aged 17-54 was involved in the performance of natural duties, but adolescents from the age of 12 and people over the age of 54 were hired for separate jobs.

For instance, in October 1916, the head of the ammunition depot appealed to the head of Chernivtsi district and “asked to take measures” to “deliver” him about a hundred of workers, they could be “teenagers and girls, who were 12 years old”. The head of the ammunition depot asked not to send the old ones “as it used to be” (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 116–116 v.)

In the letters to the governors, the Russian county chiefs complained about the lack of the required working male population of a certain age, also acknowledging that due to the “small number of horses among the population and its devastation from the hostilities, etc., natural duties will be extremely burdensome for the population” (SACHR, f. 27, d. 1, c. 43, p. 18). In addition, people were afraid to go to work in those areas, which were near the front line.

The main organizers of the process of performing natural duties were county chiefs, who kept records of people, who could work, and distributed those people to work according to the military and civilian orders (SALR, f. 905, d. 1, c. 110, pp. 127 – 127v, 177). Local civilian police and county bailiffs were involved into coercive measures organization (SACHR, f. 27, d. 1, c. 43, pp. 20–21, 25v.). However, under war conditions, the military and civilian occupation authorities often acted inconsistently, and conflicts arose over the priority of involving the local population into performing natural duties at those or other types of work. In particular, the representatives of military units often took local residents and their horse-drawn carts to strengthen military positions without notifying the local civilian administration (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, p. 592).

It should be noted that for the use of the local population’s labour in the form of natural duties, the occupation authorities had to pay a certain sum of money in cash, approved by the governor. For instance, in November 1916 for the performance of labour duties in Chernivtsi district there was the following payment: adult men were paid from 1 ruble up to 2 rubles per day; teenagers – from 50 kopicks up to 75 kopicks, women – from 70 kopicks up to 1 ruble 25 kopicks per day; owners of two horse-drawn carts – from 4 rubles up to 5 rubles per day; owners of one horse-drawn carts – from 2 rubles 50 kopicks up to 3 rubles per day (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 592–593). Such amount of payment was quite symbolic. In some cases, the amount of wages was set not for the day of work, but it depended on the weight of cargo transported and the distance over which the transportation was carried out. Such salaries were set by the Department of State Property at Galicia-Bukovyna Military Governor-General’s Office in cases of payment for natural duties related to the use of a horse-drawn cart for transporting firewood from the forest to the city of Chernivtsi (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 951–951v.).

If the customers were military units, they had to pay the money directly to the local population, who performed natural duties, or give the money under the requisition receipt to the head of the county, who later made the final settlements with the people (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, p. 577; SACHR, f. 966, d. 1, c. 1, p. 127). In addition, during the use of the local population’s labour at trench and road work, the population was given a meal in accordance with the norms established in the “Food Table”, approved by the resolution of the Chief Office of Army Supply of the South-Western Front. In particular, “Food Table”, approved on May 1, 1916, provided three types of the daily norm of food for one worker:

type № 1 – it cost 40,335 kopecks, including meat or fish for 14,875 kopicks. (this type of a daily food norm was used once a week);

type № 2 – 35,109 kopicks (this type of a daily food norm was used twice a week);

type № 3 – 33,124 kopicks (this type of a daily food norm was used three times a week) (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 597–599).

Of course, such a calculated daily food norm “idyll” was disrupted by a rapid retreat or advance of the troops, when during the earth work the local labour was used in a chaotic and uncontrolled manner, mostly without any payment or, at best, with the provision of requisition receipts of a subsequent payment during indefinite term.

The use of a horse-drawn cart of the local population was problematic for the Russian occupation authorities. All cattle and their owners were registered by the heads of counties, but with each passing month there was a decrease in these indicators. Low wages, intensive and ruthless use of animals and carts for heavy work caused almost a complete destruction of the carts. These factors made people get rid of horses (SACHR, f. 505, d. 1, c. 13, p. 592). Lack of fodder was also one of the reasons for the reduction of the number of farm horses, as hay and fodder grain were confiscated by the quartermaster’s detachments from the peasants by forced purchases and requisitions for the needs of the army (Orlyk, 2019).

This state of affairs endangered the implementation of the necessary military transportation, “unsystematic and improper use of horse-drawn carts, caused a direct damage to military purposes, caused a number of complaints from the local population and drew attention of the Supreme Commander” (CSHAUK, f. 363, d. 1, c. 67, p. 537). Therefore, in February 1915, a telegram was sent to the Governor-General of Galicia-Bukovyna, forbidding all military units to use horse-drawn carts of the local population without a prior agreement with the civil authorities (heads of counties or township and municipal officials). It was emphasized that payments for the use of horse-drawn carts, taken from the local population, should be made in cash immediately after the end of the work, and only in some cases it was allowed to write out receipts (CSHAUK, f. 363, d. 1, c. 67, pp. 537–537v.). This procedure concerned not only the use of horse-drawn carts, but also the use of a human labour resource.

Therefore, in compliance with the above instructions, military units were forced to apply to the heads of counties with appropriate written requests, indicating the desired number of people and horse-drawn carts, where and what kind of work they should be sent to (Orlyk, 2018, pp. 478–479).

In Lviv, the situation with the use of horse-drawn carts had some signs of sabotage by the magistrate to whom the Russian civil administration entrusted to organize natural duties. Lviv mayor repeatedly complained about the magistrate to the Military Governor-General, informing him that “the magistrate evaded the mayor’s orders in all respects concerning the use of horse-drawn carts by giving excuses for their absence in sufficient numbers, and the mayor’s office had to keep on repeating the orders” (Report on the Lviv city administration, 1916, p. 10).

There were frequent cases when local residents evaded the instructions of the local occupation administration in all possible ways, they did not come to work or left work without permission and hid in fields and forests. Such cases were observed en masse during the defeats of the Russian troops on the fronts. For instance, in June 1917, the Russian chief of the military unit of Army VIII informed the Regional Commissioner of Galicia and Bukovyna about the results of the activities of the “investigatory section on the conflict between soldiers and locals in the village of Chahor of Chernivtsi district”. In the protocol it was stated that the military were unable to return the peasants to road and other work because “one illiterate policeman cannot gather them for carrying out army orders, as a result the interests of the army suffer, and the county commissioner has not yet taken any decisive action to eliminate this disorder”. Therefore, the Army Committee of Army VIII proposed “to take more decisive measures towards the local population to obey the orders of the of

the army, ... to appoint police officers more experienced and literate in the county” (SACHR, f. 283, d. 1, c. 238, pp. 235–235v.).

In order to strengthen labour discipline during the performance of natural duties by the local population, the commanders of the Russian armies, duplicating the mandatory decrees of the Military Governor-General, issued their own threatening decrees. The main emphasis in these regulations was on the types and forms of responsibility, which should have prevented leaving any work without permission, “as well as to prohibit the refusal to go to this work”. The Decree stated that violators of these requirements would be sentenced to “imprisonment for up to 3 months or a fine of up to 3 000 rubles” (SALR, f. 905, d. 1, c. 110, p. 323; SACHR, f. 958, d. 1, c. 17, p. 13). Therefore, the heads of counties, who were authorized to bring such violators to justice, massively issued decrees on the application of administrative sanctions (Orlyk, 2018a, pp. 313–314). At the same time, fines of up to 50 rubles were mostly imposed, and only in some cases the officials resorted to arrests, as it was not profitable for the occupation authorities to detain workers under conditions of a critical absence of labour force.

The Russian authorities were ruthless not only to the population of the occupied territories, but also to their own subjects. It is known that peasants from the Ukrainian provinces (including Podil and Kherson, which were the part of the Russian Empire) were forcibly involved into road work in the occupied territories of Galicia. In the places where the workers stayed, they were taken care of by the heads of the counties. In this regard, the head of Brody County informed Ternopil Governor of the lack of workers on road construction, the critical lack of fodder for horses, emphasizing also that the workers, who arrived, were poorly dressed and did not have any winter footwear (SALR, f. 905, d. 1, c. 110, p. 190).

It should be noted that under conditions of the hostilities (retreat, offensive of troops) the exploitation of the local population in the form of a natural (mostly labour) duties to do some work for the army was practised not only by the Russian occupation forces, but also by the Austrian authorities, who at that time *de jure* and *de facto* were considered the legitimate authority in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna. Most often, natural duties were associated with the construction and strengthening of military fortifications, where there was widely used free labour of the local population with their own tools, draft cattle, horse-drawn carts, etc. (Kondratiuk, 2006–2007, p. 617; Reyent & Pater, 2006, p. 503).

During World War II, as a result of a rapid German offensive to the recently annexed territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna by the Soviet Union, these western Ukrainian lands found themselves in the rear of the German occupation forces for several years. In August 1941, an administrative territorial unit was created in this territory – the district (province) of Galicia with its center in Lviv, which was the part of the General Province, which was formed in October 1939 in the central-eastern part of the Polish state with an administrative center in Krakow. The researches of the Ukrainian historians, who studied the socio-economic situation of the Western Ukrainian population during World War II – A. Bolianovskyi (Bolianovskyi, 1998), O. Klymenko and S. Tkachov (Klymenko & Tkachov, 2013), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2010) P. Korinenko, V. Tereshchenko, V. Starka, A. Kydaniuk (Korinenko, Tereshchenko, Starka & Kydaniuk, 2016, pp. 64–65; Starka, 2019) – testify that the German occupation authorities also made extensive use of the mechanism of collecting natural duties from the local population of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, which remained under occupation for both military and civilian purposes. The most common natural duties levied by the German occupation authorities on the local population were “sharvark duties” and “forshpany”. In particular, “sharvark duties”

included repairing and maintaining roads (for example, clearing snow, draining work, getting rid of roadside weeds, etc.). With this purpose, the occupation authorities initiated “street days”, “road days” and “road weeks” (Korinenko, Tereshchenko, Starka & Kydaniuk, 2016, p. 140). “Forshpany” was a kind of a natural duties of the local population, who owned horse-drawn carts, which they had to use to transport goods at the request of a representative of the occupation administration. The use of horse-drawn carts (forshpany) was paid according to the established rates. In particular, in Prykarpattia, for one day of work the owner of the cart received: for a single-horse cart – 9 – 12 zł., and for a two horse-drawn cart – 15 – 18 zł. (Starka, 2019, p. 266). Those, who evaded natural duties, were the subject to heavy fines or imprisonment with the possibility of being sent to a forced labour camp.

The Conclusions. Thus, the natural duties imposed by the Russian occupation authorities during World War I were a heavy burden to the local population of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, bankrupt and devastated by war. The natural duties were one of the elements of the financial policy of the country-occupant. Extremely difficult, especially for women and adolescents, were the natural duties in the form of trench work, deforestation, restoration of rail and land routes, etc. The natural duties were extremely difficult for livestock owners, as a result of which the local population was forced to get rid of horses, which negatively affected the quality of agricultural work and worsened the level of food supply in the region. At the same time, the Russian occupation authorities practised paying low salary, which was not even always paid. The performance of the natural duties by the local population was coercive, which was exacerbated by the imposition of severe liability in the form of high fines or imprisonment (arrest). At the same time, it was advantageous for the occupation authorities to exploit the local population, because during the war the exploitation allowed them to save significant financial resources.

Having done a comparative analysis of the occupation authorities actions, established in the lands of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, – the Russian occupation authorities (during World War I) and the German occupation authorities (during World War II), we concluded that in both cases the local population was subjected to severe coercion measures and had to work in the interests of the occupation military forces and civilian authorities. According to the author, the whole set of the natural duties should be divided into two groups, taking into account the peculiarities of establishment. The first group included military occupation natural duties, which were performed during active and positional hostilities to build fortifications, to restore damaged bridges, land roads and railways, etc. The military occupation natural duties were usually established by the military authorities (including the military commandant’s office). The second group included civil occupation natural duties, which were introduced in the rear areas, where the civil occupation authorities, who by their decrees and orders determined the list and procedure for collection of natural duties aimed at the needs of rear military units and support the necessary activities of the occupied territories (construction and restoration of land roads and bridges, construction of rear fortifications, road cleaning, deforestation, sawing and transportation of logs of wood, removal of sewage and cleaning in settlements, the use of horse-drawn carts for the transportation of goods and cargo for the needs of the troops and the civilian occupation authorities (as well as the transportation of confiscated products during quartermaster procurement and requisitions), night guard to perform security functions, etc.). The first group of a natural duties was performed free of charge, and the second one – included the payment for the work performed in accordance with established tariffs, which were not adequate because they did not correspond to the cost of resources spent on labour and means.

In general, under conditions of both world wars, the process of introduction of natural duties for the needs of both the army and the civilian occupation authorities by the conquering countries – the Russian Empire and the Nazi Germany – was characterized by many common features.

Therefore, further research requires the establishment and collection of taxes, fees and other non-tax payments from the population of Western Ukraine by various occupation regimes during the First and Second World War I and World War II. In our opinion, a comparative analysis of these problems will be especially important and perspective for scientific consideration.

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

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

BIBLIOGRAFIYA

Baran, I. V. (2009). Vplyv boiovykh dii na stanovyshe mist i sil Skhidnoi Halychyny na pochatku Pershoi svitovoi viiny [The impact of hostilities on the situation of cities and villages in Eastern Galicia at the beginning of World War I]. *Visnyk Natsionalnoho universytetu "Lvivska Politekhnikha"*, (652), 46–55. [in Ukrainian]

Bolianovskiy, A. (1998). Sotsial'nyy aspekt hitlerivs'koho "novoho porjadku" v Halychyni u 1941 – 1944 rokakh [The Social Aspect of Hitler's "New Order" in Galicia during 1941 – 1944]. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriya istorychna*, (33), 186–194. [in Ukrainian].

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Lvivskoi oblasti [SALR – State Archives of Lviv region]

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivetskoj oblasti [SACHR – State Archives of Chernivtsi region]

Changes and additions. (1916). *Zmnenija i dopolnenija statej Polozheniya o polevom upravlenii voysk v voennoe vremya nasledovavshie v period s 20 iyulya 1914 g. po 1-e marta 1916 g.* [Changes and additions to the articles of the Regulation on the field control of troops in during that followed from July 20, 1914 to March 1, 1916]. Petrograd: voennaya tip. Imperatritsy Yekateriny Velikoy, 19 p. [in Russian]

Klymenko, O. O. & Tkachov, S. V. (2013). *Ukrainci v politsii v dystrykti "Halychyna" (Ternopil'skyi okruh): nimeckiy okupatsiyni rezhyv v Ternopoli ta okolitsiakh u 1941 – 1944 rr.* [The Ukrainians in the Police in the Halychyna District (Ternopil District): German Occupation Regime in Ternopil and Vicinity during 1941 – 1944]. Kharkiv: Ranok NP, 600 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kondratiuk, K. (2006 – 2007). Vtraty Skhidnoi Halychyny v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Losses of Eastern Galicia during World War I]. *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist*, (15), 616–622. [in Ukrainian].

Korinenko, P. S., Tereshchenko, V. D., Staraka, V. V. & Kydaniuk, A. V. (2016). *Podatky i povynnosti v halytskomu seli (kinets XVIII – seredyny XX st.)* [Taxes and duties in the village of Galicia (the end of the XVIIIth – the middle of the XXth century)]. Ternopil, 200 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kurylyshyn, K. (2010). *Ukrainske zhyttia v umovakh nimeckoi okupatsii (1939 – 1944 rr.): za materialamy ukrainskoi lehalnoi presy* [Ukrainian Life during German Occupation (1939 – 1944): According to the Ukrainian Legal Press]. Lviv: LNNB im. V. Stefanyka, 328 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lozynska, I. (2017). Orhanizatsiya rosiys'koho tsyvil'noho upravlinnya u Halychyni (serpen'-veresen' 1914 roku) [Organization of Russian civil administration in Galicia (August–September 1914)]. *Skhidnoevropeys'kyi istorychnyy visnyk – East European Historical Bulletin*, 2, 21–30. doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.2.101456> [in Ukrainian]

Mazur, O. Ya. & Pater, I. H. (2007). Halyts'ka "Ruyina": sotsial'no-ekonomichne stanovyshe Skhidnoyi Halychyny (1914–1915 rr.) [Galician Ruin: The socio-economic situation of Eastern Galicia (1914–1915)]. *Visnyk Natsionalnoho universytetu "Lvivska politekhnikha"*. *Derzhava ta armiya*, (584), 44–52. [in Ukrainian].

About the areas. (1895). O mestnostjah, ob'yavlyayemykh sostoyashchimi na voyennomu polozhenii: Zakon Rossiyskoy imperii ot 18 iyunya 1892 g. № 8757 [About the areas declared under martial

law: Law of the Russian Empire of June 18, 1892 No. 8757]. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperi* (collection III, Vol. XII, pp. 479–483). Sankt-Peterburg, 1895. [in Russian]

Orlyk, S. V. (2017). Ekonomichne stanovysche ta podatna zdattnist' selian Halychyny i Bukovyny v period rosijs'koi okupatsii v chasy Pershoi svitovoi viyny [Economic situation and taxable capacity of villagers of Galicia and Bukovyna during the period of the Russian occupation during World War I]. *Ukrainskyi selianyn – Ukrainian Peasant*, 18, 93–100. [in Ukrainian]

Orlyk, S. V. (2018). *Finansova polityka rosiiskoho uriadu na okupovanykh terytoriiakh Halychyny i Bukovyny v period Pershoi svitovoi viyny (1914 – 1917 rr.)* [Financial policy of the Russian government in the occupied territories of Galicia and Bukovyna during World War I (1914 – 1917)]. Bila Tserkva: vydavets Pshonkovsky O. V., 716 p. [in Ukrainian]

Orlyk, S. V. (2018a). *Finansova polityka rosiys'koho okupatsiynoho rezhymu v Halychyni ta Bukovyni v roky Pershoi svitovoi viyny (1914 – 1917 rr.)* [Financial policy of the Russian occupation regime in Galicia and Bukovyna during World War I (1914 – 1917)]. (Doctoral thesis). Kyiv, 806 p. [in Ukrainian]

Orlyk, S. V. (2019). Zakupivli ta rekvizytsiyyi u selian Skhidnoyi Halychyny y Bukovyny pid chas rosiys'koyi okupatsiyyi u roky Pershoi svitovoi viyny [Economic situation and taxable capacity of villagers of Galicia and Bukovyna during the period of the Russian occupation during World War I]. *Ukrayins'kyy selianyn – Ukrainian Peasant*, 21, 34–40. doi: <https://doi.org/10.31651/2413-8142-2019-21-34-40> [in Ukrainian]

Report on the Lviv city administration. (1916). Otchet po Lvovskomu gradonachalstvu (s 21 avgusta po den evakuatsii Lvova 7 iyunya 1915 g.) [Report on the Lviv city administration (from August 21 to the day of the evacuation of Lviv on June 7, 1915)]. *Prilozhenie k otchetu voennogo general-gubernatora Galitsii № 5*. Kiev, 18 p. [in Russian]

Reynt, O. P. & Pater, I. H. (2006). Svitova viyna 1914 – 1918 rr. i ukrayins'ke selianstvo [World War I 1914 – 1918 and the Ukrainian peasantry]. *Istoriya ukrayins'koho selianstva* (Vol. 1, pp. 473–524). Kyiv: Naukova dumka. [in Ukrainian]

Starka, V. V. (2019). *Povsyakdenne zhyttya zakhidnoukrayins'koho sela v umovakh suspil'nykh transformatsiy 1939 – 1953 rr* [Everyday life of the Western Ukrainian village under conditions of social transformations of 1939 – 1953.]. Ternopil: Osadtsa Yu.V., 550 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Kyiv (CSHAUK – Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv)

Temporary regulation. (1916). Vremennoe polozhenie. Ob upravlenii oblastyami Avstro-Vengrii, zanyatymi po pravu voyny: Prikaz Nachalnika Shtaba Verkhovnogo Glavnokomanduyushchego ot 3 iyulya 1916 g. [Temporary regulation on the management of areas of Austria-Hungary occupied by the law of war: Order of the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander of July 3, 1916]. *Rossiya. Shtab Verkhovnogo Glavnokomanduyushchego (1914 – 1917). Prikazy nachalnika Shtaba Verkhovnogo glavnokomanduyushchego za 1916 god, part 1*. [in Russian]

*The article was received on January 30, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 94(477.82)“1919/1921”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210893

Yurii KRAMAR

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the World History Department, Lesia Ukrainka Eastern European National University, 24 Shopen Street, Lutsk, Ukraine, postal code 43005 (yurijkramar9@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5711-3634>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/H-1687-2019>

Anatolii SHVAB

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

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

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

Юрiй КРАМАР

доктор iсторичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри всесвітньої iсторiї Схiдно-європейського нацiонального унiверситету iменi Лесi Украiнки, вул. Шопена, 24, м. Луцьк, Украiна, iндекс 43005 (yurijkramar9@gmail.com)

Анатолiй ШВАБ

доктор iсторичних наук, професор кафедри нової та новiтньої iсторiї Украiни Схiдно-європейського нацiонального унiверситету iменi Лесi Украiнки, вул. Шопена, 24, м. Луцьк, Украiна, iндекс 43005 (anatoliyshvab@gmail.com)

Бiблiографiчний опис статтi: Kramar, Y. & Shvab, A. (2020). The soviet special services' propaganda and sabotage espionage activities in the territory of Western Volyn (1919 – 1921). *Skhidnoieuropeiskiy Istorychnyy Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 163–175. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210893

**THE SOVIET SPECIAL SERVICES' PROPAGANDA
AND SABOTAGE ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES
IN THE TERRITORY OF WESTERN VOLYN (1919 – 1921)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to represent the forms, methods and means of the Soviet special services activity on the territory of Western Volyn during the period of functioning in the region of the Polish Provisional Administration (1919 – 1921). The methodology of the research is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, systematicity, verification. The general scientific methods of the historical cognition have been applied: analysis, synthesis, generalization, comparison. Among the special historical methods the most important for the study were the historical typological, historical comparative, historical chronological, historical systemic, historical geographical methods. The scientific novelty consists in the archival documents' introduction into the scientific circulation, which makes it possible to clarify the role of Western Volyn in the communist revolution export task realization to Europe, conducted by the Bolsheviks. It has been shown that the Soviet special services*

sabotage subversive activity's main purpose in Volyn was to destabilize the region, liquidate the bodies of the temporary Polish administration, establish the Soviet power with the subsequent accession of the region to the USSR during 1919 – 1921. **The Conclusions.** During 1918 – 1921, the western Ukrainian lands became the object of fierce confrontation between three states: Poland, Ukraine (UNR-ZUNR) and the Soviet Russia., The Western Volyn and Eastern Galicia became the part of the Polish state due to the ZUNR's (Western Ukrainian People's Republic) defeat in the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918 – 1919 and the Soviet Russia in the Polish-Soviet War of 1920 – 1921. The Bolsheviks' defeat in an open armed confrontation with Poland did not mean, however, that the Bolsheviks were refused to spread the communist regime ideology and practice to European countries. Volyn became one of the main bridgeheads for the realization of the above-mentioned goals. Hence, the Bolshevik agitators and propagandists were active in Volyn when the temporary Polish administration was taking over the control. There were a number of reasons, why the Bolsheviks agitation was successful. Due to several factors: Volyn international legal status uncertainty, the postwar instability, which was complemented by the difficult economic situation in the region, some miscalculations in the Polish interim administration, the Polish military and police abuse of power, which exacerbated the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation and raised the local sentiment peasant. The Bolshevik agents were not only spreading communist propaganda in Western Volyn. The Soviet Special Services were active in the areas bordering the USSR in order to prepare the local armed demonstrations. The vivid example of such actions was the specially trained sabotage units, which carried out the terrorist acts, attacked the state authorities, police departments, military units, and destroyed means of communication. Even the archival sources confirm that the Bolshevik movement was supported by the local population significantly (especially the Ukrainian peasants, the Jews in Volyn cities, and often the Poles). Furthermore, the Bolshevik movement became a stumbling block for the Polish government's goal to strengthen the Polish statehood in the eastern lands and the fastest possible integration of the region into Poland.

Key words: Polish administration, Western Volyn, anti-Polish movement, propaganda, subversive activity.

ПРОПАГАНДИСТСЬКА ТА ДИВЕРСІЙНО-ШПИГУНСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РАДЯНСЬКИХ СПЕЦСЛУЖБ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ЗАХІДНОЇ ВОЛИНИ (1919 – 1921)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі архівних матеріалів з'ясувати причини, характер та засоби поширення комуністичної пропаганди у прикордонних з УСРР західноволинських землях, показати форми і методи діяльності радянських спецслужб на Волині в період формування тут польської адміністрації. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах науковості, історизму, системності, верифікації. Використано загальнонаукові методи історичного пізнання: аналіз, синтез, узагальнення, порівняння. Серед спеціально-історичних методів найбільш важливими для проведення дослідження стали історико-типологічний, історико-порівняльний, історико-хронологічний, історико-системний, історико-географічний. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у введенні до наукового обігу архівних документів, які дають можливість з'ясувати роль Західної Волині в реалізації більшовиками завдання експорту комуністичної революції до Європи. Показано, що метою диверсійно-підривної діяльності радянських спецслужб на Волині у 1919 – 1921 рр. була дестабілізація регіону, ліквідація органів тимчасової польської адміністрації, встановлення радянської влади з подальшим приєднанням краю до УСРР. **Висновки.** У 1918 – 1921 рр. західноукраїнські землі стали об'єктом запеклого протистояння трьох держав – Польщі, України (УНР-ЗУНР) та Радянської Росії. Внаслідок поразки ЗУНР у польсько-українській війні (1918 – 1919) та Радянської Росії у польсько-радянській війні 1920 – 1921 рр. Західна Волинь та Східна Галичина увійшли до складу Польської держави. Поразка більшовиків у відкритому збройному протистоянні з Польщею не означала, однак, їх відмови від намірів поширення ідеології та практики комуністичного режиму до країн Європи. Одним із головних плацдармів для реалізації цих цілей стала Волинь. У період діяльності тимчасової польської адміністрації активну діяльність тут розгорнули більшовицькі агітатори і пропагандисти. Їх успіху сприяло кілька чинників: невизначеність міжнародно-правового статусу Волині, післявоєнна нестабільність, яка доповнювалася важким економічним становищем краю, прорахунки в діяльності польської тимчасової адміністрації,

зловживання з боку польських військових і поліції, що вели до загострення польсько-українського протистояння і радикалізувало настрої місцевих селян. Роль більшовицьких агентів на території Західної Волині не обмежувалась лише розповсюдженням комуністичної пропаганди. Активну діяльність у прикордонних з УСРР теренах розгорнули радянські спецслужби з метою підготовки локальних збройних виступів. Спеціально вишколені диверсійні загони здійснювали терористичні акти, напади на органи державної влади, відділи поліції, військові частини, руйнували засоби комунікації та зв'язку. Архівними джерелами підтверджено, що більшовицький рух користувався значною підтримкою місцевого населення (особливо українських селян, у волинських містах – євреїв, а нерідко й поляків) і був помітною перешкодою у реалізації мети, яку ставив польський уряд щодо новоприєднаних теренів – зміцнення польської державності на східних землях та якнайшвидша інтеграція краю до складу Польщі.

Ключові слова: польська адміністрація, Західна Волинь, антипольський рух, пропаганда, диверсійна діяльність.

The Problem Statement. The consideration of this topic is vital in the context of the Polish-Soviet and the Ukrainian-Polish relations of the interwar period. The transition from open-armed confrontation in the relations between the Soviet Russia and Poland to the agitation and sabotage-espionage activities of the Soviet and Polish special services had a direct impact on the security situation in Western Volyn. As there is the absence of scientific publications on this topic (in the specified chronological period of time (1919 – 1921), which gives grounds to single it out as a separate historical problem.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Numerous Ukrainian historians devoted their works to some aspects of the researched problem, for instance, L. Aleksiiivets (Aleksiiivets, 2006), L. Zashkilniak (Zashkilniak, 2002), B. Hud (Hud, 2011; Hud, 2018), M. Hetmanchuk (Hetmanchuk, 1998) and others. The Polish state policy peculiarities in Volyn in the interwar period were analyzed in the works, written by the following scientists: S. Makarchuk (Makarchuk, 2008), M. Kucherepa (Kucherepa, 1997), R. Davydiuk (Davydiuk, 2016), Yu. Kramar (Kramar, Yu. 2015). The scientist O. Razyhrazev studied the security aspects of the above-mentioned problem (Razyhrazev, 2019). Another researcher, O. Kupchyk covers the sabotage and intelligence activities of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the KP (b) U (the so-called “Zakordot”) in Volyn at the beginning of the 1920-ies (Kupchyk, 2004). The Soviet special services' activities, which were aimed at spreading the communist ideology in Poland during the above-mentioned period, were the subject of V. Misko's investigation (Misko, 2016). However, the author limits the territorial boundaries of the study, mainly to the territory of Eastern Galicia (Halychyna). Among the Polish historians' works devoted to the Ukrainian-Polish interethnic relations in the West Volyn lands during the 1920-ies and 1930-ies, there are works, written by V. Mędrzecki (Mędrzecki, 1997; Mędrzecki, 1999; Mędrzecki, 2005; Mędrzecki, 2018). The monograph, written by V. Śleszyński should be highlighted as it considers the security components of Poland's state policy in the “Eastern lands” (Śleszyński, 2007). The temporary Polish authorities' activities in Volyn during the transition period (1919 – 1921 pp.) were depicted in the works, written by J. Gierowska-Kallaur (Gierowska-Kallaur, 2003) and V. Kozyra (Kozyra, 2007). The archival materials were basic for the article's preparation. Among the published sources used by us it is necessary to single out the collection “Archive of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Provincial Elders and Commissioners Reports (1918 – 1920)” (Kavunnyk (Comps.), 2017). The unpublished sources were also used and they were archival repositories documents primarily, in particular The Archives of New Documents in Warsaw (Central Archives) and the State Archives of Volyn Region.

The purpose of the article is to represent the forms, methods and means of the Soviet special services activity on the territory of Western Volyn during the period of functioning in the region of the Polish Provisional Administration (1919 – 1921).

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Polish state power apparatus formation in Volyn began in 1919. The international legal status of the western Ukrainian lands at that time was not fully determined yet. The borders issue of the newly created Polish state remained open. In the spring and summer of 1919, the fiercest battles took place on the Polish-Ukrainian front. As a result, the Ukrainian Galician Army was forced to leave Galicia (Halychyna) and withdraw beyond the Zbruch River territories. As a result of the Polish offensive in May, several poviats (counties) of the former Volyn hybernia (province) (Volodymyr, Kovel, and the part of Lutsk) came under their control in 1919. Hence, the Polish temporary and civilian administrations' formation began in the above-mentioned areas.

The first Polish institution, which carried out the general administration in Volyn occupied territories in 1919 was the Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands (hereinafter – CAEL). The above-mentioned structure was to perform the functions of a temporary administration in the eastern lands, and its development took place in parallel with the advance of the Polish army in the eastern direction (Gierowska-Kallaur, 2003, p. 68). Due to the order issued in June of the 1919th by the General Commissioner of the Eastern Lands, a new administrative unit of the Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands in Volyn was created, which was called Volyn Povit (County) Administration, whose powers temporarily extended to Volodymyr, Kovel and Lutsk poviats (counties). On the 9th of September in 1919, in connection with the further transfer of control of the Poles to the eastern counties of Volyn, a separate Volyn district was created within the Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands with a temporary administrative center in Kovel, and from November 1919 in Lutsk. The Volyn district included Volodymyr, Kovel, Lutsk, Dubno, Rivne, Kremenets, Ostroh, Zaslavsk and Zviahel poviats (counties) (Kozyra, 2007, p. 173). As an administrative unit, Volyn district of the Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands existed until the end of 1919. Due to the order issued by the Head of State on the 17th of January in 1920, Volyn and Podil lands Chief Commissioner position was introduced, who headed a new structure – the Civil Department of Volyn Lands and the Podil Front (SAVR, f. 191, d. 3, c. 1, p. 1). After the events of the Polish-Soviet War in 1920, according to the order issued by Józef Piłsudski, the administrative functions in the Ukrainian lands recaptured from the Bolsheviks were transferred to a new institution – the Provisional Administration of Stage and Frontline Territories. Simultaneously with the central ones, the lower levels of the temporary Polish administration were formed – the poviat (county) elderships. Along with the minor changes, such an administrative system lasted until March 1921, when Volyn Voivodeship was established and the Polish state power permanent bodies formation began.

It should be noted that the Polish administration formation in Western Ukraine took place under difficult conditions. The foreign policy factor that would have a significant impact on the domestic political situation in Poland (especially in its eastern territories) throughout the interwar XXth century was the neighborhood with the Soviet Russia, which did not abandon its intention to ignite the “world revolution” in Europe. The weakest link in the export of the Bolshevik revolution to the West, the Soviet leaders considered the newly revived Polish state (Misko, 2016, p. 132). Moreover, the western Ukrainian lands (first of all Volyn and Eastern Galicia) were given the role of a kind of bridgehead from which the revolutionary march of the Red Army by the countries of Europe was preplanned to begin. E. Quiring,

Chairman of the People's Commissar of the USSR during the Ukrainian-Polish War of 1918 – 1919, later on, he became the Soviet delegation member at the negotiations with Poland in Ryga in the memorandum "Tasks of our party in the Polish-occupied Ukrainian areas", dated back to the 30th of November in 1920 noted the following: "The rejection of a large part of Volyn with the Ukrainian population of several million from the USSR and the annexation of Eastern Galicia to Poland – pose a new task for our party and government: to take under its ideological and organizational leadership a revolutionary movement that will inevitably grow in these occupations. areas... The support is needed and we must give it" (Rublov, 2012, pp. 73–74).

However, the Bolsheviks' struggle "for Volyn" did not stop from the beginning of the Ukrainian revolution and lasted during 1917 – 1921. The Bolshevik agitation's success during the years of the Ukrainian People's Republic was facilitated, first of all, due to the unresolved land issue. The Ukrainian Central Rada's policy, which announced its intention to carry out radical land reform in order to eliminate large land holdings in the last weeks of 1917, caused the manors plundering wave in Volyn and Podillia. The process intensified especially at the beginning of the 1918th, when groups of deserters, demobilized soldiers, and the local population, instigated by the Bolshevik agitation, seized land, confiscated cattle, destroyed farm buildings, and destroyed agricultural equipment (Mędrzecki, 2018, pp. 71–72). The Bolshevik's propaganda and open aggression in the border counties of Volyn gubernia (province) in the autumn of 1918 – the spring of 1919 influenced the course of military and political events in Ukraine significantly, complicated the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood in some regions of the UNR, in particular in the eastern counties of Volyn (Dem'ianiuk, 2013, p. 82). Since the part of Western Volyn territory was occupied by the Polish Army, the communist propaganda and sabotage movement intensified noticeably.

There were several factors, which facilitated the above-mentioned intensification: the difficult economic situation caused by the consequences of World War I, the socio-political instability associated with openly discriminatory policies of the Polish authorities towards the ethnic minorities, including the Ukrainians, the mental characteristics of the local population due to the Soviet Ukraine historical factors. The very fact of the USSR existence led to the emergence of a movement among the Ukrainians in Poland, which saw the solution of the national problem by revolutionary restructuring the existing socio-economic system.

Due to the fact that the vast majority of the local population was negative concerning the Polish government, considering it occupation and temporary, the Bolshevik's propaganda success was also facilitated (SAVR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 1082, pp. 15–25). The local administration's personnel, which consisted mainly of the Poles, prompted great criticism. In addition, there were very few candidates for a civil service. According to the calculations of the Polish historian W. Mędrzecki, there were approximately 2,000 people (large landowners, doctors, lawyers, teachers), who made up the Polish intelligentsia (Mędrzecki, 2005, p. 21). This number of people was extremely small in order to form a local government, so almost all willing (the Poles) became civil servants, regardless of their professional qualities. There were often individuals whose reputations weren't flawless.

The mutual distrust between the Poles and the Ukrainians was exacerbated by the sharply negative attitude of the new government to any manifestations of the Ukrainian movement in the occupied lands. In one of the reports of Volyn Gubernia Commissioner written in 1919 the following information: "Political life is completely suppressed. With the arrival of the Poles, all political organizations were dispersed ... All the Ukrainian "Prosvita" centers were

closed [...] the property and the library were confiscated [...] the complete intolerance is expressed towards the Ukrainian life everywhere, the Ukrainian language is despised, every Pole pretends to be ignorant. All-Ukrainian is considered to be the Bolshevik and criminal” (Kavunnyk, 2017, p. 35).

It was not difficult to predict the local population’s reaction to such actions. The interim Polish administration representatives reports testified the growing anti-Polish sentiment in the region. Hence, in June of 1919, an instructor of Lutsk Povit Kresova Guard Society (“Kresova Storozha” organization) reported that many weapons remained in the peasants’ apartments, which were carefully hidden. It was pointed out that there were many Bolshevik agitators in the villages, who created the underground organizations and conducted the anti-state propaganda (ANA, TSK, f. 55, c. 337, p. 62).

It came as no surprise that in some poviats (counties) controlled by the Polish troops an insurgent movement reached the peak. Its coordination was carried out by the so-called The Central Anti-Polish Insurgent Committee, to which, in turn, the poviat (county) “Rebel Committees” were subordinated, whose work was aimed at preparing an armed uprising against the Polish authorities in Volyn (Kavunnyk, 2017, p. 40). The reports written by Kresova Guard Society (“Kresova Storozha” organization) district instructors indicated that the activities of the so-called “Rebel Committees” (the content of the appeals, the proposed methods of the struggle) had a completely Bolshevik character and was obviously sent from the outside (AAN, TSK, f. 55, c. 327, p. 9).

In some places, the insurgent movement became widespread. First of all, it concerned the south-eastern districts of Volyn, in particular Dubenshchyna and Kremenechchyna. In the spring of 1919, the “People’s Bolshevik” organization, headed by V. Rykun, which operated on Dubno Poviat territory and began preparations for an anti-Polish armed uprising. The rebel forces in Kremenets district numbered up to 2 thousand people (AAN, TSK, f. 55, c. 327, p. 12). Some units of the Polish Army were sent in order to suppress the insurgent movement. The Polish Army even used artillery, which, according to Hubernia Commissioner, “burned the entire village of Ludwisce, as well as part of the surrounding villages”. In addition, the above-mentioned information provides evidences concerning the scale of the operation. Hubernia Commissioner also emphasized the “zhovnir” (Polish soldiers’) losses in this operation: “up to 600 people, the Poles, were killed near Shumsk and up to 200 people in Kremenets cities” (Kavunnyk, 2017, p. 40). It is difficult to say how objective these figures were (nothing is not mentioned about the loss of the Ukrainians; their loss was much bigger), but the scale of the events speaks for itself.

In the spring of 1920, the Bolshevik agitators while crossing the border tried to destabilize the situation, especially on Volyn front lines., Zviahel Poviat Elder pointed out in his report, written in March of 1920, the state of constant tension in poviat caused by widespread rumors of a new Bolshevik offensive (SAVR, f. 58, d. 1, c. 1, p. 3). Due to the Red Army offensive, the entire territory of the former Volyn Hubernia was occupied by the Bolshevik troops in July-August of 1920. As a result, the Soviet power re-established in Volyn.

In July-September of 1920, the poviat (county), township, and village revolutionary committees (“revkoms”), as well as the Gmina Committees (Commune Committees) of the poor peasants became the main tools of the Bolshevik regime application in Volyn. Only in the territory of Lutsk poviat at that time there were 16 township and 234 village revolutionary committees (“revkoms”) (SAVR, f. R.-213, d. 1, c. 1, p. 31). In rural areas, the so-called “peasant workers”, who were apparently the Bolshevik agents and agitators and appeared there before

the Red Army arrival, were engaged in the revolutionary committees (“revkoms”) creation. The “peasant workers” took care of the public safety, the army mobilization, and had to prevent any manifestations of the anti-Bolshevik propaganda (Mędrzecki, 1997, pp. 137–170).

In addition to it, the so-called House Committees were set up in the cities, which were aimed at distributing the confiscated property. According to the Order No. 1, issued by Reshetar, Lutsk Povit Military Commissar, on the 6th of August in 1920, the City Council and Police were obliged to register in the Commissariat Supply Department all the warehouses, property, and shops left in the city by the Poles during 24-hours. For non-compliance with the order, the owners of the hotels, restaurants, cafes, shops, etc., were to be on trial in the Revolutionary Tribunal Court (SAVR, f. R-316, d. 1, c. 16, p. 1).

The Bolsheviks introduced the laws of war in Volyn cities and towns. Hence, according to the order, issued by Kovel Military Revolutionary Committee on the 20th of August in 1920, every citizen was obliged to report to the Revolutionary Committees immediately on cases of banditry and looting, as well as on persons suspected of espionage and anti-Soviet agitation (SAVR, f. R-213, d. 1, c. 1, p. 4a).

The orders of the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committees provided for particularly severe penalties for private workshops' owners, technicians, engineers, accountants, and cashiers who did not register in the Revolutionary Committees' offices and did not receive the registration cards. For those, who did not comply with the above-mentioned order, was imposed the highest penalty – the execution (SAVR, f. R-213, d. 1, c. 1, p. 4a). At the same time, the restrictions were introduced in the settlements on the organization of concerts, strikes, performances, etc.

However, this time the Soviet power did not manage to keep everything under control for too long in Volyn. Already in August-September of 1920, the Polish Army launched a counteroffensive, which the Bolsheviks could not stop, and on the 17th of September the Poles re-entered Lutsk. The offensive potential of both sides was exhausted and in October of 1920, they signed an armistice, and later on – the Riga Peace Treaty on the 18th of March in 1921, according to which Poland recognized the USSR, and the part of the western Ukrainian lands was included in II Rzeczpospolita (the Second Commonwealth). Hence, the Polish administration's re-formation in Volyn began.

In the autumn of 1920, the Polish State Security Authorities made numerous arrests in Volyn. The persons, who were suspected of espionage and collaboration with the Bolsheviks during the Polish-Soviet War appeared to be behind the bars. There were many Ukrainians among them. The above-mentioned information can be found in the reports written by the counterintelligence section agents, who were sent to the command of the 6th Army stationed in Volyn (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 18–35). Due to a large number of detentions, some accidental persons were obviously injured. The paramount evidence of this were numerous letters of appeal from Volyn villages residents to the State Security Authorities with a request to release certain illegally accused persons with some positive characteristics (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 18–19). However, among those arrested were those, who did hold high positions in the Bolshevik authorities. For instance, Yevtyhiy Oliferchuk, Mizoch resident, who held the position of local Police Chief in the summer of 1920. He explained his cooperation with the Bolsheviks by the fact that he did not want to be mobilized to the Red Army (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 1, p. 52).

In the cities, the Soviet law enforcement agencies were engaged in the mass recruitment of the Jewish population. Hence, only in the first half of August in 1920 approximately

400 people of the Jewish nationality decided to do military service at the Red Army in Kovel (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 1, p. 10). A resident of the same town, Friedl Kreiselman, who was arrested on the 18th of December in 1920, was accused of being involved in the arrest and torture of many Kovel residents, including Prelate Shuhaevskiy, as a member of the local “Chrezvychaiky” (Emergency) (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 7, p. 51). According to the State Security bodies and District Courts materials, there were many people, who sympathized the Bolshevik power including the Polish population of Volyn (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 3, p. 245).

The Polish Ministry of the Interior issued an order in January in 1921, according to which, the povit elders were the subject to the Provisional Administration of Stage and Frontline Terrains to immediately arrest the Revolutionary Committees former members established during the Bolshevik occupation of the region in the summer of 1920. In the directive the following information was mentioned: “Their presence among the local population is undesirable, both because of possible agitation and because of espionage activities in favor of the Bolsheviks” (SAVR, f. 36, d. 13 a, c. 8, p. 247).

It should be noted that at the turn of 1920 – 1921, the Bolsheviks, not abandoning their intentions to export the “Communist Revolution” to the West, moved from the direct confrontation with the Poles to the active training of specially trained sabotage groups crossing the border to conduct espionage and terrorist activities. activities in the eastern voivodships. One of the bridgeheads for the implementation of these plans was to be Western Volyn, where the socio-political and economic situation remained quite difficult. Kremenets elder noted in his report from December of the 1920th the following information: “the mood of the population in the povit territory remains extremely disturbing. The Bolshevik agitators arrive every day and call for the resistance to the Polish administration and for organizing the armed units” (SAVR, f. 58, d. 1, c. 34, pp. 1–2). At the same time, the District Administration Head noted that the Bolsheviks used the mood of the local population successfully. “Difficult economic conditions created a favorable ground for agitation”, – he said....The disappointment, despair lead to the fact that the population becomes vulnerable young to the various external influences of elements hostile to the state” (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, p. 22).

The elders of the border povits of Western Volyn drew the attention of the Security Services to the fact that the active Bolshevik propaganda, sabotage and espionage activities of the Soviet Secret Services were facilitated by the extremely unsatisfactory staffing of the police. Hence, there were only 54 policemen in the entire Kremenets povit in November in the 1920th (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, p. 22). The elder pointed to the need to immediately replenish the police with at least 300 people per povit.

Another reason for the unhindered Bolshevik agents’ penetration into the territory of the region was the unsatisfactory state of border protection, which was constantly reported by the military themselves. Hence, Brusnytskyi, Sarny Counterintelligence Section Head, told the Command of the General District of the 2nd Division of the Headquarters in Lublin that there were many Soviet spies and agitators among the people, who arrived on the Polish side of the border every day. They often apply for a pass voluntarily and thus legalize their presence. “The situation at the border”, Brusnytskyi summed up, “is simply catastrophic...in the current conditions the border exists only *denomine, defakto* it is absolutely not present” (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 7, p. 26).

The situation in the povits bordering on the territories controlled by the Bolsheviks, in particular, Shumsk and Ostroh, was especially tense in the end of the 1920-ies and at the beginning of 1921. Hence, in February of 1921, the Soviet side demanded that the Polish

Civilian Administration leave Shumsk, the town (according to the Riga agreements, it was on the Polish side of the demarcation line – Authors). The local population was concerned about the rumors, which dealt with the Bolshevik government's mobilization of the population in the neutral zone. The report of the police station in Shumsk, issued on the 2nd of February in 1921, stated that the Bolsheviks in the villages of Blarivka and Stefanivka, Ostroh povit, took people, carts and horses to the army by force. It was noted that the mobilization was violent, accompanied by beatings and arrests, which violated the terms of the ceasefire and the neutral zone regime (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 4, pp. 28–29).

The local population, however, suffered not only from the Bolsheviks, but also from the Polish military and police. The numerous complaints from residents of Volyn villages, dating back from 1920 were the main evidence. (SAVR, f. 58, d. 1, c. 68, pp. 2–19; SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 8, p. 2). The above-mentioned facts caused concern among the local officials – elders, “soltys” and “viyt” (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, pp. 14–15). The report written by Kremenets povit elder, stated that robbery and banditry among the military in the form of requisitions from the peasants for cattle, household utensils, shoes, horses, carts, as well as cash became a *mass phenomenon* (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, p. 12). The Povit Administration was especially outraged by the behavior of the military of the 13th Infantry Regiment, which was housed in Kremenets Lyceum. The latter, according to the elder, “broke down the walls, floor, window frames, sawed off the roof beams. The houses, which somehow withstood the rudeness and vandalism of the Bolsheviks thanks to the Polish soldiers, are turning into a complete ruin” (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, p. 12). The scale of mass abuses of the military is evidenced by the fact that on the 20th of December in 1920, the authorized delegate of the Office of Frontline and Stage Terrains was forced to convene in Rivne a meeting of elders of his subordinate territories to discuss measures to combat requisitions carried out by the Polish army (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, p. 22). According to the civil administration representatives, the actions of the military had an extremely negative effect on the local population, creating a favorable ground for the Bolshevik agitation.

Numerous facts testified to the intensification of the Bolshevik agents and sabotage groups in Volyn in the beginning of 1921. Their activities were coordinated by both Soviet Special Services and Army Intelligence Units. Hence, the head of the Counterintelligence Section in Volyn, which was subordinated to the Command of the 6th Army, in his report on the 3rd of March in 1920, noted that on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine in Berdychiv there is the so-called the Front Emergency Commission (“Chrezvychaika”) headed by Yankel Bronfeld, which sent its people to Poland in order to conduct the Bolshevik propaganda and intelligence (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 3, p. 282). Specially trained groups were formed in Zhytomyr by Volyn Hubernal CheKa. Under the guise of civilians, they moved across the Polish-Soviet border (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 4, p. 36).

Furthermore, the intelligence units also existed in the Red Army military units. On the border with the eastern povits of Volyn, the 41st Special Caucasian Brigade was stationed, which consisted of two cavalry regiments and four squadrons, each with one spy and a liaison. The liaisons were directly inferior to the Intelligence Chief of Bronstein's brigade (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 6, p. 173).

The Polish Army's former soldiers, military invalids living in Volyn were often involved in the anti-government propaganda by the Soviet Secret Services. In 1921 of July, the Ministry of Military Affairs sent a directive to the Command of the General District in Lublin, to which the Volyn Voivodeship was subordinated, according to which: “Recently, in crowded

places (markets, bazaars, in front of churches) you can see a large number of beggars – the military invalids, who gather around crowds of people. At the same time, they sing or recite poetic works of the anti-state content, which depict the terrible consequences of the war and the plight of the demobilized, deprived of work and left by the government without any care and assistance. There is no doubt that this action is directed by *hostile factors*, which are trying to turn public opinion against the government” (SAVR, f. 45, d. 1, c. 52, p. 190).

The refugees from the Soviet Russia, who arrived in Poland, often agitated among the locals as well as among the Polish military soldiers. Apparently, there were a dozen Soviet Secret Services agents among them. Furthermore, there were records in the units of the 26th Infantry Brigade stationed in Rivne concerning the Soviet Secret Services agents' presence. One report reported that the refugees housed temporarily in military barracks were openly making campaign among them, describing the benefits of the Soviet way of life (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 6, p. 100). The command demanded to take immediate measures in order to prevent the agitation among the military. The directives on refugee affairs were sent from the Ministry of Military Affairs and to the Head of the Counterintelligence Section of the 6th Army, which was stationed in Volyn. According to the directives, the surveillance should have been established on individuals, who were the subject to repatriation. It was known that they arrived by trains from the Soviet Russia to the cities of Zdolbunov and Rivne. The information concerning the repatriated persons was sent to Warsaw from a Polish agency located in Moscow (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 6, p. 102).

The reports written by the Polish counterintelligence agents show that the Bolshevik agents used actively the entertainment establishments in order to carry out the intelligence and the counterintelligence tasks. In Rivne at the beginning of 1921 of February, the cabaret “Artistique” came into the sight of the police. According to a report written by the head of one of the police departments in the city, “CafeArtistique”, “this is not an ordinary recreation facility, but a secret communist platform (cell) that carries out military intelligence and demoralizes our officer corps through the sale of alcohol and drugs (cocaine). This institution is funded through the Cooperative of the Disabled, which maintains constant contact with the Lublin Consumer Cooperative, one of the most secretive communist centers in Poland” (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 3, p. 57).

The Soviet Secret Services' task in Volyn was not only the intelligence activities and communist propaganda among the population, but also the sabotage preparation and conduct. In 1921 of April, a sabotage group led by Oleksiy Molchanov left Zaslav in the direction of Dubno. The sabotage group was given the task to blow up the Klukivsky Bridge (across the Ikva River), then go to the village Sapanove, Kremenets povit, where the sabotage group had to blow up another bridge across the Ikva on the road Kremenets-Verba, the railway track between the stations Smyka-Kluka, as well as damage the telegraph (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 6, p. 201).

The armed action organization and preparation on the territory of Western Volyn was carried out by the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine. The Secret Special Unit was established in 1920 of May in order to intensify intelligence activities abroad, in particular in Western Ukraine and Western Belarus (Kozeniuk (Comps.), 2000). One of the paramount tasks of Zakordot in Western Volyn was to organize (with the local population's support) the local armed demonstrations. Their ultimate goal was to eliminate the Polish Administrative Apparatus, eradicate the Soviet power establishment in the region, and include the Western Ukrainian lands in the USSR (more detailed information can be found: Kupchyk, 2004, p. 67). The archival documents

provide information about the armed Bolshevik detachments that operated in Western Volyn at the turn of 1920 – 1921, in particular, there was the sabotage group, which consisted of 59 people, in the vicinity of Shumsk, Kremenets povit (SAVR, f. 58, d. 3, c. 3, p. 35). In addition, the Hrytska Drozda's gang, or the so-called "Black fighters" ("Chornobortsy") consisting of 18 people was present near Mizyn, Dubno povit (SAVR, f. 45, d. 1, c. 52, p. 196). At the head Vasyl Rykun some detachments (which consisted of 80 people) operated in the vicinity of the villages of Narayiv, Balashov and Mizoch, Dubno povit (SAVR, f. 52, d. 1, c. 5, p. 42). The police confidants reported that a Bolshevik "gang", which consisted approximately of 200 people, was crossing the border (near Ostroh) (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9, c. 29, p. 24). The purpose of these sabotage groups was to physically destroy the Polish authorities representatives, police and landowners. Hence, diverse attacks on the state institutions, banks, destruction of roads, means of communication were planned.

Furthermore, the situation did not change for the better even when the Polish power permanent state bodies formation began in Volyn: Voivodship Administration and Povit Elders. Volyn Voivodeship formation dates back to the 1st of March, 1921. The difficult economic and socio-political situation in the eastern lands, the openly discriminatory policy of the authorities towards the Ukrainian population of Volyn led to the growth of the anti-state sentiment among the local population and contributed to the further growth of the anti-Polish guerrilla movement, which was controlled mainly by the Bolsheviks and inspired by the Soviet Ukraine. As a result, the government aimed at stabilizing the situation in the eastern voivodships was forced to the application of the repressive measures, involving the police and troops in order to eliminate the resistance. However, the above-mentioned drastic measures did not change the local population's attitude towards the Polish authorities and soon led to growing tensions between the Poles and the Ukrainians during the interwar period of the XXth century.

The Conclusions. During 1918 – 1921, the western Ukrainian lands became the object of fierce confrontation between three states: Poland, Ukraine (UNR-ZUNR) and the Soviet Russia., The Western Volyn and Eastern Galicia became the part of the Polish state due to the ZUNR's (Western Ukrainian People's Republic) defeat in the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918 – 1919 and the Soviet Russia in the Polish-Soviet War of 1920 – 1921. The Bolsheviks' defeat in an open armed confrontation with Poland did not mean, however, that the Bolsheviks were refused to spread the communist regime ideology and practice to European countries. Volyn became one of the main bridgeheads for the realization of the above-mentioned goals. Hence, the Bolshevik agitators and propagandists were active in Volyn when the temporary Polish administration was taking over the control. There were a number of reasons, why the Bolsheviks agitation was successful. Due to several factors: Volyn international legal status uncertainty, the postwar instability, which was complemented by the difficult economic situation in the region, some miscalculations in the Polish interim administration, the Polish military and police abuse of power, which exacerbated the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation and raised the local sentiment peasant. The Bolshevik agents were not only spreading communist propaganda in Western Volyn. The Soviet Special Services were active in the areas bordering the USSR in order to prepare the local armed demonstrations. The vivid example of such actions was the specially trained sabotage units, which carried out the terrorist acts, attacked the state authorities, police departments, military units, and destroyed means of communication. Even the archival sources confirm that the Bolshevik movement was supported by the local population significantly (especially the Ukrainian peasants, the

Jews in Volyn cities, and often the Poles). Furthermore, the Bolshevik movement became a stumbling block for the Polish government's goal to strengthen the Polish statehood in the eastern lands and the fastest possible integration of the region into Poland.

Acknowledgement. The authors express gratitude to the archival institutions for the provided materials, which were used in the article.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aleksievets, L. (2006). *Polshcha: utverzhennia nezaleznoi derzhavy 1918 – 1926 rr.* [Poland: the statement of independent state in the years 1918 – 1926]. Ternopil: Pidruchnyky i posibnyky, 448 p. [in Ukrainian]

Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie, Towarzystwo straży kresowej (AAN, TSK – Archive of New Akts)

Hud, B. (2011). *Ukrainsko-polski konflikty novitnoi doby: etnosotsialnyi aspekt* [Ukrainian-Polish conflicts in nowadays: ethnically-social aspect]. Kharkiv: Akta, 478 p. [in Ukrainian]

Hud, B. (2018). *Z istorii etnosotsialnykh konfliktiv. Ukraintsi i poliaky na Naddnyprianshchyni, Volyni i u Skhidnii Halychyni v XIX – pershii polovyni XX st.* [From the history of ethnically-social conflicts. Ukrainians and Polish people in Naddnyprianska Ukraine, Volyn and in the Eastern Galicia in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century]. Kharkiv: Akta, 2018. 482 p. [in Ukrainian]

Hetmanchuk, M. (1998). “Ukrainske pyttannia” v radiansko-polskykh vidnosynakh 1920 – 1939 rr. [“Ukrainian questions” in the Soviet-Polish relations in the years 1920 – 1939]. Lviv: Svit, 428 p. [in Ukrainian]

Davydiuk, R. (2016). *Ukrainska politychna emigratsiia v Polshchi: sklad, struktura, hromadsko-politychni praktyky na terytorii Volynskoho voievodstva* [Ukrainian Political Emigration in Oiland: Staff, Composition, Structure, Socio-Political Practices in Volyn Region]. Lviv; Rivne: Diatlyk M., 704 p. [in Ukrainian]

Dem'ianiuk, O. (2013). Volyn v umovakh bilshovytskoia hresii (osin 1918 – vesna 1919 rr. [Volyn in the conditions of Bolshevik's aggression (autumn 1918 – spring 1919)]. *Visnyk natsionalnoho universytetu “Lvivska politekhnikha”, (752)*, 82–87. [in Ukrainian]

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volynskoi oblasti (State Archive of Volyn region – SAVR).

Gierowska-Kallaur, J. (2003). *Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich (19 lutego 1919 – 9 września 1920)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo “Neriton”. Instytut Historii PAN, 447p. [in Polish]

Kavunnyk, V. (Comps.). (2017). *Arkhiv Ukrainkoï Narodnoï Respubliky. Ministerstvo vnutrishnikh sprav. Spravozdannya hubernalnykh starost i komisariv (1918 – 1920)* [The archive of the Ukrainian People's Republic: Ministry of Internal Affairs. The reports of the province head and commissars in the years 1918 – 1920]. Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoï arkhieohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M.S. Hrushevs-koho, 336 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kozeniuk, V. & Vicharyk M. (Comps.). (2000). “Zakordot” vsystemi spetssluzhb radianskoï Ukrainy: zbirnyk dokumentiv [“Zakordot” in the system of Soviet Ukrain's specservices]. Kyiv: Vyd-vo Nats. akad. SB Ukrainy, 212 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kozyra, W. (2007). Ziemia Wołyńska w okresie funkcjonowania administracji Zarządu cywilnego ziem wschodnich i Zarządu cywilnego ziem Wołyńia i Frontu Podolskiego (1919 – 1921). *Ukrainica-polonica, 1*, 169–184. [in Polish]

Kramar, Yu. (2015). *Zakhidna Volyn 1921 – 1939 rr.: natsionalno-kulturne ta relihiine zhyttia* [Western Volyn 1921 – 1939: National, Cultural and Religios Life]. Lutsk: Vezha-Druk, 404 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kucherepa, M. (1997). Natsionalna polityka Druhoi Rechi Pospolytoi shchodo ukraintsiv (1919 – 1939 rr.) [The national policy of the Second Republic of Poland according to Ukrainians]. *Ukraina – Polshcha: vazhkipyttannia: materialy II Mizhnar. Seminaru istorykiv* [“Ukrainsko-polskividnosyny v 1918–1947 rokakh”], (Varshava, 22–24 travnia 1997) (pp. 16–22). [in Ukrainian]

Kupchyk, O. (2004). *Taiemniadiialnist Zakordonnohovidilu TsKKP(b)U naterytorii Volyni (pochatok 1920-kh rokiv* [Central Committee CP(B)U Foreign Department Secret Activities on the territory of Volyn (early 1920 s)]. *Ukrainska polonistyka, (1)*, 66–72. [in Ukrainian]

Makarchuk, S. (2008). Zakhidna Volyn u 20–30-kh rr. XXst. (etnosotsialni ta politychnividnosyny v kraï) [Western Volyn in the 20 – 30 th years of the XX th century (ethnically-social and political relations in the territory)]. *Ukraina: kulturnaspadshchyna, natsionalnasvidomist, derzhavnist. Ukrainsko-polsko-biloruskesusidstvo: XXstolittia*, (17), 226–239. [in Ukrainian]

Misko, V. (2016). Komunistychna ekspansia na tereny Polskoi derzhavy (persha polovyna 1920-kh rr. [Communist expansion in the Polish state (first half of 1920s)]. *Ukraina–Yevropa–Svit. Mizhnarodnyi zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Serii: Istorii, mizhnarodni vidnosyny*, (18), 131–138. [in Ukrainian]

Mędrzecki, W. (2005). *Inteligencja polska na Wołyniu w okresie międzywojennym*. Warszawa: Neriton, 331 p. [in Polish]

Mędrzecki, W. (1999). Polacy na Wołyniu w okresie międzywojennym (1918 – 1939). *Polacy i Kościół rzymskokatolicki na Wołyniu w latach 1918 – 1997*. (pp. 153–189). Lublin. [in Polish]

Mędrzecki, W. (2018). *Kresowy kalejdoskop. Wędrowki przez ziemie wschodnie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918 – 1939*. Kraków, 419 p. [in Polish]

Mędrzecki, W. (1997). Przemiany społeczne i polityczne na Wołyniu w latach 1917 – 1921. *Metamorfozy społeczne: badania nad dziejami społeczeństwa polskiego w XIX i XX wieku*, (Vol. 1, pp. 137–170). Warszawa. [in Polish]

Razyhrazev, O. (2019). *Policja Państwowa w województwie wołyńskim w okresie międzywojennym*. Warszawa, 456 p. [in Polish]

Rublova, N. & Rublov, O. (Comps.). (2012). *Ukraina i Polshcha 1920 – 1939 rr. Z istorii dyplomatychnykh vidnosyn USSR z Druhoiu Richchiu Pospolytoi: Dokumenty i materialy [Ukraine and Poland in the years 1920 – 1939. From the history of diplomatic relations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with the Second Polish Republic: documents and materials]*. Kyiv: Vyd-vo Dukh i litera, 624 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sleszyński, W. (2007). *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne w polityce państwa polskiego na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa: Instytut studiów politycznych PAN; Rytm, 400 p. [in Polish]

Zashkilniak, L. (2002). *Istoriia Polshchi. Vid naidavnishykh chasiv do nashykh dniv [The history of Poland. From the past days to our days]*. Lviv: Lviv. nats. un-tim. I. Franka, 759 p. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received on January 14, 2020.

Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.

UDC 930.1(477)(438)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210905

Vitalii TELVAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor at Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2445-968X>

Researcher ID: X-5320-2018 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/X-5320-2018>)

Iryna LOZYNSKA

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (loz.iryana@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9128-0209>

Researcher ID: AAS-1916-2020 (<https://publons.com/researcher/3737472/lozynska-iryana>)

Roman NOWACKI

Ph.D., hab. (History), Faculty of Physical Education and Physiotherapy, Opole University of Technology, Prószkowska 76 Street, Opole, Poland, postal code 45-758 (r.nowacki@po.edu.pl)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8549-5457>

Віталій ТЕЛЬВАК

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)

Ірина ЛОЗИНСЬКА

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (loz.iryana@gmail.com)

Роман НОВАЦЬКИЙ

габілітований доктор (історія), професор кафедри фізичного виховання та фізіотерапії Політехніки в Ополі, вул. Прушковська 76, Ополь, Польща, індекс 45-758 (r.nowacki@po.edu.pl)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Telvak, V., Lozynska, I. & Nowacki, R. (2020). Ukrainian historical science in the Second Polish Republic: institutional aspect. *Skhidnoievropejskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 176–183. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210905

UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC: INSTITUTIONAL ASPECT

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to reconstruct the institutional structure of the Ukrainian historical science in the Second Polish Republic. The methodological foundation of the study is an interdisciplinary approach. Primarily, it is a structural-functional systemic analysis of historiographical facts and a comparative historical method, based on the principle of objectivity and historicism. We also apply the methods of periodisation, classification and typologisation. The scientific novelty of this article*

is the complex analysis of the institutional history of the Ukrainian Humanities during the times of interwar Poland. **The Conclusions.** The Ukrainian scientists in the interwar Poland sometimes collaborated with the Polish government, however, mostly, they opposed its national cultural policy. Regardless the dynamics of their relationship, they managed to adapt to the existing conditions quite well. They preserved the existing institutional potential of the Ukrainian Humanities, while adequately reacting to social political and cultural challenges. Despite a chronic poverty and lack of financial resources, they initiated the foundation of new organisational structures that were designed to moderate the most dynamic branches of the Ukrainian studies. Another peculiar feature was that the Ukrainian science of those times was divided between Warsaw and Lviv. Unfortunately, despite the presence of an active communication between Galician and Dnipro scholars in emigration, they did not manage to establish a solid interinstitutional collaboration. As a result, some organisational structures just obtained their "twins", which, if we consider scarce financial and human resources, led to unjustified expenses. Moreover, it led to incoherence in scientific projects and thus, to personal conflicts. Nevertheless, those institutions were of a crucial importance, as the emigrants later relocated them to the countries of the "free world". That helped the Ukrainian science to survive the communist regime and preserve the institutional memory.

Key words: Ukrainian historiography, scientific institutions, Second Polish Republic, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian scientific institute.

УКРАЇНСЬКА ІСТОРИЧНА НАУКА В ДРУГІЙ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛІТІЙ: ІНСТИТУЦІЙНИЙ АСПЕКТ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у реконструкції інституційної структури української історичної науки у Другій Речі Посполитій. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу інституційної історії української гуманітаристики в міжвоєнній Польщі. **Висновки.** Українські науковці у міжвоєнній Польщі, подекуди за підтримки і в співпраці з польською владою, але частіше всупереч її національно-культурній політиці, загалом добре адаптувалися до реалій. Реагуючи на суспільно-політичні та культурні виклики, вони успішно намагалися зберегти напрацьований інституційний потенціал української гуманітаристики, а також, незважаючи на хронічне фінансове зубожіння, ініціювали появу нових організаційних структур, що мали б модерувати найбільш динамічні галузі українознавства. Особливістю тогочасної української науки в польській державі була її розділеність між Варшавою та Львовом. І тут, незважаючи на активність особистісної комунікації між галицькими вченими та їхніми наддніпрянськими колегами-емігрантами, так і не вдалося налагодити тісну міжінституційну взаємодію. Це мало наслідком дублювання організаційних структур, невиправдане з огляду на обмеженість матеріальних і людських ресурсів, неузгодженість наукових проєктів, а подекуди й особистісну конфліктність. Втім, саме наявні у міжвоєнній Польщі наукові установи були перенесені у повоєнному часі емігрантами до країн вільного світу, що дозволило українській науці перетривати часи комуністичного панування та зберегти інституційну пам'ять.

Ключові слова: українська історіографія, наукові інституції, Друга Річ Посполита, Наукове товариство імені Шевченка, Український науковий інститут.

The Statement of the Problem. Historiographical studies of the last thirty years have been particularly interested in different aspects of the development of the Ukrainian science in the Second Polish Republic. Among these studies, we often come across the works of Western Ukrainian scientists, who demonstrated special interest in the subject, unlike their colleagues from Dnipro Ukraine. However, those are the works on Personality studies that still dominate in the field. The articles on institutional problematics are not that frequent. One plausible explanation to this fact might be a widespread stereotype about the general

decline of the Western Ukrainian Humanities of those times compared to the previous era or thriving Dnipro Ukraine science in the second half of the 1920-ies. We do not try to deny the difficulties the Zbruch Ukrainians faced in their cultural life, however, we attempt to make a more profound analysis using an organisational structure of the Ukrainian science in the interwar Poland as an example.

The Analysis of Previous Researches. Only a few researchers investigated the aspects of the institutional Humanities in the interwar Poland. Among them we can name Volodymyr Potulnytskyi (Potulnytskyi, 1999), Leonid Zashkilnyak (Zashkilnyak, 2014) and Vitaliy Masnenko (Masnenko, 2001, p. 354–360). Scientific organisational activity of Dnipro emigrants in the Second Polish Republic was a subject of Andrii Portnov's monograph (Portnov, 2009). However, the abovementioned scientists were not fully consistent in highlighting the institutional problematics. Their works lack the holistic analysis of institutional history of the Ukrainian science in interwar Poland. All this determines the topicality of our research.

The purpose of the article is to reconstruct institutional organizations of the Ukrainian historical science in the Second Polish Republic.

The Statement of the Basic Material. For a start, let us review the activity of institutions that were founded in the XIXth – the beginning XXth century. The most authoritative institution of that time was Shevchenko Scientific Society (hereinafter – SSS). It entered a new period of its existence in a rather weak state of affairs. Material funds were robbed by occupants of different political beliefs, the majority of most prominent activists were outside Lviv and the afterwar communication was disrupted. Another challenge the “uncrowned Western Ukrainian Academy of Science” faced was a severe lack of a financial support for project realisation. One reason for this was the refusal of the newly created Polish state to support SSS. Thus, the Ukrainians, divided by borders and exhausted after war, could not fully carry the burden of supporting their intellectuals. To make matters worse, the Polish officials did their best to slow down the activity of SSS by authorizing police searches in its buildings, enforcing the tax burden and prohibiting the publication of school textbooks in 1923 (this was the only stable income source at that time) (Kubijovych, 1991, pp. 32–41). All these measures led to slowing down or cancelling of many expensive scientific projects, first and foremost, of archeographical editions, launched at the end of XIXth century.

Despite these unfavourable conditions, the Society continued its development. It underwent structural transformations, caused by the complications of the disciplinary field of the Ukrainian studies. For instance, it founded different committees: juridical in 1926, statistical in 1927, Shevchenko and Eastern studies in 1929, committee of ancient history of Ukraine, Source studies and Music studies in 1936. In general, almost 100 scientists worked in SSS during the period under study. The majority of them were historians, linguists, law scholars and philosophers (Naida, 1998). Among them the most active were historians, former students of Hrushevsky Lviv historical school. Those were Ivan Krypyjakevych (the head of the historical section and an editor of “Notes of SSS”), Myron Korduba (the head of Archeographical committee), Vasyl Harasymchuk, Bogdan Barvinsky, Ivan Krevetsky as well as a younger generation represented by Mykola Andrusiak, Roman Zubyk, Illia Vytanovych and the others.

In overall, during the interwar period SSS managed to publish 28 different issues of periodicals and serial publications, from fundamental “Notes of SSS” and collections of sections and committees to the scientific-popular journals “The Modern and the Past”, “Old Ukraine” and “Historical notes”. A real jewel of the Society was the fullest, at that time, the

Ukrainian studies scientific library, the funds of which increased to 300 thousand volumes (Kubijovych, 1991, p. 39). Let us note, that apart from scientific work, SSS was supporting a vast range of important cultural educational programmes. The most important was, of course, the programme of “university courses” that became the basis of Lviv (Underground) Ukrainian University.

We should also mention that SSS collaborated with and often curated a scientific research of Country studies museums in provincial towns. Among the most active ones, those who issued their own scientific editions, were the museums “Boikivshchyna” in Sambir, “Stryvigor” in Pszemysl, “Verkhovyna” in Stryi and “Hutsulshchyna” in Kolomyia.

Stauropigion Institute, an ideological antagonist of SSS, also continued its scientific activity in Lviv. Peculiarly, the Polish officials fully supported the activity of this Moscophile institution, keeping it as a leverage against the Ukrainian cultural institutions in Galicia. Government officials launched the change of Ukrainophile directors, who were the head of the institute since World War I (Orlevych, 2009). In 1922, the institute was taken over by a conservative group of Moscophiles, loyal to Poland. It also obtained the right to publish textbooks that was taken away from SSS (Kyrychuk, 2000). The institute had its own periodical – “The Periodical of Stauropigion institute” (issued from 1923 to 1939). The publications included the history of this institution, ecclesiastical issues, the history of the past of Russophile movement and countless memoirs and literary works. Anti-Ukrainian rhetoric dominated in majority of periodical’s publications.

One more Ukrainian institution from pre-war times continued its work during interwar period. It was “Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum” founded in February 1905. At the beginning of the 1930-ies its collection included over 80 thousand items (Sventsitskyi, 1930). For the following years (1905 – 1952), a museum’s keeper and director was Ilarion Svetsitskyi. He was the one, who started the scientific work in this institution (Kots-Grugorchuk, 1998). The museum had its own non-periodical edition, the journal “The Chronical of Andrei Sheptytskyi national museum in Lviv” that published five issues during 1934 – 1938. The edition published the works on historical, art and museum studies topics and it included remarkable works of Ilarion Svetsitskyi, Vera Svetsitska, Yaroslav Pasternak and the others.

The interwar period was marked by a rapid institutionalisation of the Ukrainian historical ecclesiastical research that, by obvious reasons, could not be conducted under the Soviet rule. In 1923, the Ukrainian Theological Scientific Institute was founded at Lviv Theological Scholarly Society. It aimed at the development of the Ukrainian theological science by organising lectures, conferences, publishing scientific works (Glynka and Chekhovych, 1934). The heads of the theological society were rectors of Lviv Theological seminary Theodosiy Halushchynski (until 1926) and Josyf Slipyi. The members of the society worked in four sections – biblical, philosophical dogmatic, historical juridical and theological juridical. At the end of the 1930-ies the society had 52 active members (Yaniv, 1970). The society published the journal “Theology”, that was issued once in three months (20 editions from 1923 – 1942), the monographical series “The Works of Theological Society” and founded a popular library “Theological Editions”. Apart from scientific editions, the society published the articles on the popular discussions on ecclesiastical and social issues, some of them were also presented in a historical spotlight. They were published in a monthly edition “Nyva” edited by Petro Khomyň from 1933 – 1939.

The Ukrainian scientific life in the interwar Poland was marked by an active participation of Dnipro intellectuals. Together with S. Petliura, they were forced to leave the Ukrainian

territories (Portnov, 2009). Despite countless promises of the Polish officials to remove representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic government that they provided in agreements with the USSR, the Ukrainian emigrants stayed and worked in the Second Polish Republic. Since 1926 they participated in creation and realisation of ideas of "Prometheus Movement", which was organised by supporters of Pilsudski. They aimed at weakening of the USSR international positions by supporting the anti-Soviet aspirations among emigrants (Komar, 2001, pp. 250–255). In this way, Ukrainian Dnipro emigrants managed to reunite in Poland, and, having benefited from government support, they implemented an intellectual potential in several scientific institutional projects. All of them deployed their activity across the border of Galicia, mainly in Warsaw, since Dnipro emigrants were not allowed to live on the Ukrainian ethnic territories.

Following the chronological order, let us begin with the Ukrainian military historical society (UMHS). Members of this society collaborated with Galician colleagues during 1920 – 1939 to research versatile military historical issues. According to Zoryana Kysil, the founders of the society aimed at transforming the society into the organisational centre of military historians (Kysil, 2001). Among the members we can list the generals M. Yunakiv, V. Zmijenko, M. Vovk, a colonel M. Sadovskyi and a lieutenant-colonel V. Yevtymovych. As the regulation of the society claimed, the society had to collect the material and investigate modern history of War for Independence as well as to research centuries lasting history of Ukraine's fight for freedom and independence. Another prominent centre of development of military historical science was military scientific publishing centre "Chornomor" in Kalish that published a fundamental research and works of the Ukrainian military officials. A few examples to list: "Winter campaign" by a general M. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, "Sich Riflemen in their fight for statehood" by a general M. Bezruchko, "Short history of the 3rd Sich Riflemen division" by a colonel Chyzhevskyi and the others. During the long-lasting period of their existence the society published scientific and scientific popular chronicles "Military Herald", "Zaporozhets", "For Statehood", "Tabor", "Son of Ukraine", "Zaporozhska Dumka", "Get Weapons Ready", "At Ruins".

In February 1925 Studium of the Orthodox Theology started its long-lasting activity at Warsaw university (Portnov, 2006). Such famous Ukrainian historians as I. Ohienko, V. Bidnov, O. Lototskyi, V. Zaikin and D. Doroshenko collaborated with the institution. A lot of them became later the heads of historical ecclesiastical departments: I. Ohienko became the chair of Church Slavonic language and palaeography department, O. Lototskyi was the chair of the Orthodox countries in Slav countries and Romania department, V. Bidnov (and later D. Doroshenko) became the chair of General history of the Orthodox church and liturgy department. The abovementioned scholars, as well as their students, who were writing master's theses at that time, worked on versatile issues of historical ecclesiastical agenda. They published the results of their research in separate books as well as articles in the journal "ELPIS". This journal published its material in Ukrainian, Russian and Polish.

However, the most intensive scientific work was deployed by those Dnipro emigrants, who became the members of the Ukrainian scientific institute in Warsaw (USI). V. Potulnytski and A. Portnov concluded: the organization was created in 1930 in order to implement the tasks of the abovementioned "Prometheus Movement" (Potulnytskyi, 1999, Portnov, 2004). Institutional predecessor of USI was "Higher Ukrainian courses" organised by the Ukrainian Central Committee. They established collaboration with O. Lototskyi, R. Smal-Stotskyi, M. Korduba and the others. Despite the initial plans, the Polish officials did not let USI become an educational institution and transformed it into a research centre.

O. Lototskyi, who was from Dnipro Ukraine, became the first head of the organisation, followed by R. Smal-Stotskyi from Bukovina and V. Sadovskyi from Volyn. The Galicians M. Korduba and B. Lepkyi also supported the implementation of USI's scientific programme. The Ukrainian researchers worked together with their Polish colleagues: historians Oskar Galetskyi, Martselii Gandelsman and Ya. Volinskyi.

USI's scholars mainly researched the Ukrainian political history, the history of culture, besides, they held a range of committees and seminars. For almost a decade of the functioning of the institutions, they managed to publish numerous works on the Ukrainian history and culture in 13 series of "Works". The biggest achievement of USI is, doubtlessly, 16 volumes of an impeccable academic edition of Taras Shevchenko's works (Ukrainian Scientific Institute, 1935).

A final chord of the process of creating scientific institutes was the foundation of the Ukrainian Mohyla-Mazepa Academy of Science (UM-MAS) – a little-known institution in modern Science studies (Rudnytskyi, 1999). This scientific institution was founded by the order of UPR's exile government in May 1938 in Warsaw. It was founded to continue the work of All-Ukrainian Academy of Science (AUAS), which was brutally terminated by Bolsheviks in Kyiv. It aimed at restoration of eliminated scientific publishing houses and informing foreign scientific institutions about Ukraine and the Ukrainian science. Supposedly, in order to highlight the heredity of the new Academy from AUAS, the founders chose 12 members as its first staff, just as it happened during founding of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv. Besides, three valid members of Kyiv academy became academics – S. Smal-Stotskyi, F. Kolessa and M. Voznyak. In the Soviet state they were accused of being "bourgeois nationalists" and "fascists" and therefore, were excluded from AUAS (Hyrych, 1999). S. Smal-Stotskyi also happened to be one of the founders of AUAS. Among other founders of Mogyla-Mazepa Academy of Science there was only one historian *sensu stricto* – Myron Korduba. The others were the experts on the history of culture, law, art and literature. The new academy was meant to be a state institution and therefore, the order about its foundation was signed by the president of UPR in exile Andrii Livytskyi. Academy had only one department of the Ukrainian studies that had 24 chairs, each divided into research groups. The first president was Stepan Smal-Stotskyi (after August 1938 – Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivskyi), the first secretary was Andrii Yakovliv. Two years before the World War II the organisation published three volumes of "Works of the Ukrainian Studies Department" with monographs of Ya. Gordynskyi, F. Kolessa and M. Voznyak. After the beginning of the German occupation of Poland UM-MAS ceased to exist and resurrected after the war in American diaspora.

We should also mention unfinished institutional projects of the Zbruch Ukrainians, though this issue requires a more detailed research. L. Zashkilnyak found out that in autumn 1923 the Ukrainian historians decided to create the Ukrainian Historical Society, following the model of existing Polish historical society. They compiled the regulations of the society that in its core resembled the documents of other scientific and public organisations. In July 1924 the regulations of UHS, supported with all necessary documents, were filed at Lviv voivode department to obtain the permission for its registration and activity. However, the very next day the historians received a letter stating that permission was denied. The reason was appallingly absurd: the department claimed that the regulations did not correspond to the requirements of the law on the public organisations ...dated 15 November 1867 (!) (Zashkilnyak, 2014, p. 129). In such a way the Polish officials blatantly demonstrated that

they would not allow the creation of another centre of the Ukrainian cultural life. Other institutional initiatives fell short their realisation as well.

The Conclusions. In conclusion we would like to note that the Ukrainian scientists in the interwar Poland sometimes collaborated with the Polish government, however, they mostly opposed its national cultural policy. Regardless the dynamics of their relationship, they managed to adapt to the existing conditions quite well. They preserved the institutional potential of the Ukrainian Humanities, while adequately reacting to social political and cultural challenges. Despite a chronic poverty and lack of financial resources, they initiated the foundation of new organisational structures, that were designed to moderate the most dynamic branches of the Ukrainian studies. The Ukrainian science of those times was divided between Warsaw and Lviv. Unfortunately, despite the active communication between Galician and Dnipro scholars in emigration, they did not manage to establish a solid interinstitutional collaboration. As a result, some organisational structures just obtained their “twins”, which, if we consider scarce financial and human resources, led to unjustified expenses. Moreover, it led to incoherence in scientific projects and thus, to personal conflicts. Nevertheless, those institutions were of a crucial importance, as the emigrants later relocated them to the countries of the “free world”. That helped the Ukrainian science to survive the communist regime and preserve the institutional memory.

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hyrych, I. (1999). Do istorii UMMAN. Komentar [On the history of UMMAS. Commentary]. *Pam'iatky Ukrainy [Sights of Ukraine]*, 1, 139–140. [in Ukrainian]

Hlynka, L. & Chekhovych, K. (1934). *Bohoslovske Naukove Tovarystvo u Lvovi v pershim desiatylittii svoho isnuvannia (1923 – 33) [Theological Scientific Society in Lviv in the first decade of its existence (1923 – 33)]*. Lviv, 92 p. [in Ukrainian]

Zashkilniak, L. (2014). Ukrainska istoriografia u mizhvoienii Polshchi: shliakhy lehitymatsii natsionalnoi istorii [Ukrainian historiography in interwar Poland: ways of legitimizing national history]. *Ukraine on the Historiographic Map of Interwar Europe: Materials of international scientific conference: Ukraina na istoriografichnii mapi mizhvoiennoi Yevropy: Materialy mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii. Miunkhen, Nimechchyna, 1–3 lypnia 2012 r.* (pp. 149–166). Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Kyrychuk, O. (2000). Stavropihiiskyi instytut u Lvovi (1914 – 1924 rr.) [Stauropigion Institute in Lviv (1914 – 1924)]. *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist [Ukraine: Cultural Heritage, National Identity, Statehood]*, 6, 335–340. [in Ukrainian]

Kysil, Z. (2001). Ukrainske voienno-istorychne tovarystvo (1920 – 1939) [Ukrainian Military Historical Society (1920 – 1939)]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal [Ukrainian Historical Journal]*, 2, 100–112. [in Ukrainian]

Komar, V. (2011). *Kontsepsiia prometeizmu v politytsi Polshchi (1921 – 1939 rr.) [The Concept of Prometheus in the Politics of Poland (1921 – 1939)]*. Ivano-Frankivsk, 360 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kots-Hryhorchuk, L. (1998). Ilarion Svientsitskyi – muzeinyi diiach [Ilarion Svientsitskyi as a museum activist]. *Pamiatky Ukrainy [Sights of Ukraine]*, 1, 18–27. [in Ukrainian]

Kubiiovych, V. (1991). *Narys istorii Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka (1873 – 1949) [An outline of the history of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1873 – 1949)]*. Lviv, 53 p. [in Ukrainian]

Masnenko, V. (2001). *Istorychna dumka ta natsiotvorennia v Ukraini (kinets XIX – persha tretyna XX st.) [Historical thought and national creation in Ukraine (end of XIX – first third of XX century)]*. Kyiv-Cherkasy, 440 p. [in Ukrainian]

Naida, O. (1998). Okremi aspekty diialnosti Istorychno-filosofichnoi sekti Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka. 1913 – 1940 roky [Some aspects of the activity of the Historical and Philosophical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society 1913 – 1940]. *From the history of SSS: Collection of reports and scientific notes of SSS sections and conferences in Lviv: Z istorii Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka: Zbirnyk dopovidei i povidomlen naukovykh sekti i konferentsii NTSh u Lvovi*, (pp. 24–31). Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

Orlevych, I. (2009). Lvivskiy stavropihiiskiy instytut (1914 – 1925) [Lviv Stauropolegion Institute (1914–1925)]. *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist [Ukraine: Cultural Heritage, National Identity, Statehood]*. 18, 153–169. [in Ukrainian]

Pokazhchyk. (1999). Pokazhchyk publikatsii Ukrainskoi Mohyliansko-Mazepynskoi Akademii Nauk [Index of Publications of the Ukrainian Mohyla-Mazepa Academy of Science]. *Pam'iatky Ukrainy [Sights of Ukraine]*, 1, 141–144. [in Ukrainian]

Portnov, A. (2009). *Nauka u vyhnanni. Naukova i osvittnia diialnist ukrainiskoi emihratsii u mizhvoiennii Polshchi (1919 – 1939) [Science in exile. Scientific and educational activities of Ukrainian emigration in interwar Poland (1919 – 1939)]*. Kharkiv, 256 p. [in Ukrainian]

Portnov, A. (2006). Studium pravoslavnoho bohoslovia Varshavskoho universytetu (1925 – 1939) [Studies of Orthodox Theology, Warsaw University (1925 – 1939)]. *Ukrainskyi arkhheografichnyi shchorichnyk [Ukrainian Archeographic Year Book]*, 10–11, 386–397. [in Ukrainian]

Portnov, A. (2004). Ukrainskyi Naukovyi Instytut u Varshavi (1930 – 1939) [Ukrainian Science Institute in Warsaw (1930 – 1939)]. *Ucrainica-Polonica [Ucrainica-Polonica]*, 1, 257–263. [in Ukrainian]

Potulnytskyi, V. A. (1999). Ukrainskyi naukovyi instytut u Varshavi (1930 – 1939) [Ukrainian Science Institute in Warsaw (1930 – 1939)]. *Ukrainskyi arkhheografichnyi shchorichnyk [Ukrainian Archeographic Year Book]*, 3–4, 356–369. [in Ukrainian]

Rudnytskyi, Yar. (1999). Ukrainska Mohyliansko-Mazepynska Akademiia Nauk [Ukrainian Mohyla-Mazepa Academy of Sciences]. *Pam'iamku Ukraïnu [Sights of Ukraine]*, 1, 132–138. [in Ukrainian]

Svientsitskyi, I. (1930). XXV lit diialnosti Natsionalnoho muzeiu. Dvatisiatpiatlittia Natsionalnoho muzeiu u Lvovi: Zbirnyk [XXV years of activity of the National Museum. Twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Museum in Lviv: Collection]. Lviv, 59 p. [in Ukrainian]

Ukrainskyi Naukovyi Instytut (1935). *Ukrainskyi Naukovyi Instytut za p'iat lit yoho isnuvannia 13.III.1930 – 13.III.1935 [Ukrainian Scientific Institute during five years of its existence 13.III.1930 – 13.III.1935]*. Varshava, 19 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yaniv, V. (1970). Narys istorii Ukrainskoho Bohoslovskoho Naukovoho Tovarystva (UBNT) [Essay on the History of Ukrainian Theological Scientific Society (UBNT)]. *Studies and materials of new Ukrainian history: Studii ta materialy do novoi ukrainiskoi istorii*, (pp. 3–64). Miunkhen. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on January 11, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 614(091)(477-21)“18”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210889

Nadiia KOTSUR

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of Department of Medical and Biological Disciplines and Valeology Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi Hryhorii Skovoroda State Pedagogical University, 30 Sukhomlynsky Street, Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi, Kyiv region, Ukraine, postal code 08401 (n.kozur@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4720-2227>

ResearcherID: W-4065-2018

Svetlana HORDENKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Department of Medical and Biological Disciplines and Valeology Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi Hryhorii Skovoroda State Pedagogical University, 30 Sukhomlynsky Street, Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi, Kyiv region, Ukraine, postal code 08401 (svetagordenko@ukr.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3581-8630>

ResearcherID: W-5199-2018

Надія КОЦУР

докторка історичних наук, професорка, завідувачка кафедри медико-біологічних дисциплін і валеології Державного вищого навчального закладу “Переяслав-Хмельницький державний педагогічний університет імені Григорія Сковороди”, вул. Сухомлинського, 30, м. Переяслав-Хмельницький, Київська область, Україна, індекс 08401 (n.kozur@ukr.net)

Світлана ГОРДЕНКО

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри медико-біологічних дисциплін і валеології Державного вищого навчального закладу “Переяслав-Хмельницький державний педагогічний університет імені Григорія Сковороди”, вул. Сухомлинського, 30, м. Переяслав-Хмельницький, Київська область, Україна, індекс 08401 (svetagordenko@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Kotsur, N. & Hordenko, S. (2020). Formation and development of health care of the urban population of the UkSSR during the 20-ies of the XXth century. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 184–194. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210889

**FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH CARE
OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF THE UKSSR DURING
THE 20-ies OF THE XXth CENTURY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to try to reveal the most important components of health care formation and development of the urban population of the UkSSR during the 20-ies and their impact on the level and quality of an urban society life. The research methodology is based on the*

principles of historicism, objectivity, systematization, scientificity, the unity of historical and logical, a moderate narrative constructivism, an anthropological approach, as well as special historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the consideration of the health care system formation in the cities of the UkSSR against the background of the time challenges and work effectiveness in overcoming epidemics and social diseases. The author's periodization of the health care development in accordance with the social needs of urban residents has been presented. Modern conceptual approaches reveal the scale of the negative consequences of the ruling regime's policy, which led to famine and social cataclysms that tragically affected the health of the urban population. **The Conclusions.** An important indicator of the social standard of living of the urban population during the 1920-ies was their access to the health care service. After overcoming the effects of famine and outbreaks of epidemics during 1921 – 1923, the city health service during 1924 – 1929 focused on the fight against social diseases – tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases. As the epidemiological situation in the cities improved, social illnesses were overcome, and funding for the establishment of medical research institutes increased, and contacts were established with foreign specialists in this sphere. The prospects for a further scientific research consist in the preparation of a historiographical study on the history of social medicine during the 20-ies and 30-ies of the XXth century, which would reveal the main stages of the historical knowledge accumulation, showed the evolution of conceptual views on this issue, revealed to researchers a modern arsenal of methods and techniques for studying historical processes.

Key words: health care, urban population, epidemics, famine, social diseases, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, research institutes.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І РОЗВИТОК ОХОРОНИ ЗДОРОВ'Я МІСЬКОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ УСРР У 20-х рр. ХХ ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у спробі розкрити найважливіші складники становлення і розвитку охорони здоров'я міського населення УСРР у 20-ті рр. ХХ ст. та її вплив на рівень і якість життя міського соціуму. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи історизму, об'єктивності, системності, науковості, єдності історичного та логічного, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, антропологічного підходу, а також спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у розгляді становлення системи охорони здоров'я в містах УСРР на тлі викликів часу і результативності роботи в подоланні епідемій та соціальних захворювань. Подається авторська періодизація розвитку охорони здоров'я відповідно до задоволення соціальних потреб міських жителів. На основі сучасних концептуальних підходів розкриваються масштаби негативних наслідків політики панівного режиму, які зумовили голодомор та соціальні катаклізми, що трагічно позначилися на охороні здоров'я міського населення. **Висновки.** Важливим показником рівня соціального життя міського населення 20-х рр. ХХ ст. є його стан охорони здоров'я. Залежно від конкретної соціально-економічної обстановки система охорони здоров'я, яка ще сама перебувала у стані становлення і розвитку, концентрувала зусилля на розв'язанні першочергових завдань. 1921 – 1923 рр. – період боротьби з тяжкими наслідками голоду, спалахами епіdemії. У 1924 – 1929 рр. міська служба охорони здоров'я зосереджує зусилля на боротьбі з соціальними хворобами – туберкульозом та венеричними захворюваннями. Поліпшення епідеміологічної обстановки в містах, подолання соціальних недугів дали змогу збільшити кошти на створення науково-дослідних інститутів медичного профілю, налагодити контакти з іноземними спеціалістами в цій галузі.

Ключові слова: охорона здоров'я, міське населення, епідемії, голодомор, соціальні хвороби, туберкульоз, венеричні хвороби, науково-дослідні інститути.

The Problem Statement. The study of the social situation of the urban population of the UkSSR during the 20-ies of the XXth century, in the issue of meeting population's health care needs, is conditioned by a modern approach to assessing the social phenomena of the past through their humanistic, human dimension, when the most important factor in historical

processes is not the class, not the party, but a human being and his life and health as the greatest value. The leading link in the social life of society is health care, which ensures both the physical health of the nation and its intelligence. Underestimation of these factors leads to the degradation of the nation and deprives it to enter the civilized world as an equal partner in the future.

During the 20-ies of the XXth century the health care system achieved some results in overcoming mass epidemics, in the fight against social diseases, opened dozens of research institutes and higher medical schools. The Ukrainian scientists and doctors accumulated experience that was recognized at that time in the world. At the same time, the class policy of the ruling regime was reflected in the health care system. Contrary to the humanistic values of medicine, the authorities introduced the priority access to treatment for the working class, restricting this right to the non-proletarian strata of the society. Free of charge services for workers and the Soviet employees and the paid services – for the rest of the social groups – all these factors increased a social tension, caused dissatisfaction with the Soviet authorities in the cities.

The experience of the past shows that during the transitional periods in the history the heaviest burden of unresolved problems fell on the shoulders of the poorest social groups. Therefore, under conditions of transformation of the modern national health care system, the emergence of the pandemic of the XXIst century it is necessary to return to the systematic work in health care and revive medical institutions, which are responsible for preventive, anti-epidemiological work among the population. Organizational principles of preventive work in the context of an internal and external migration of the 1920-ies will be useful at the present stage of mobilization of financial and medical resources to overcome the challenges of the XXIst century in the field of human health.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. In the Ukrainian historiography very publications deal with the health care issue of the urban population of Ukraine during the 20-ies of the XXth century. The analysis of the available publications illustrates the study of certain aspects of a health care development in the Soviet Ukraine. F. Ya. Stupak's scientific researches reveal the organizational principles of the Soviet health care system formation under conditions of new socio-economic transformations of the 1920-ies; as well as issues of the sanitary consequences of the civil war – epidemics and famine, the search of new organizational forms of a medical care, the creation of the State Sanitary Inspectorate and sanitary-epidemiological stations (Stupak, 1998; Stupak, 2009). The social aspects of health care in Ukraine during the 1920-ies and 1930-ies are revealed in O. Movchan's publications (Movchan, 2006, pp. 19–65) and O. Melnychuk's publications (Melnychuk, 2009). The scientific researches of Yu. Barabash and I. Dovzhuk on the problem of health care in Donbass during the first decade of the Soviet power illustrate the process of a medical care formation and development for workers in this industrial region (Dovzhuk, Barabash, 2009).

A socio-historical aspect of health care development in Ukraine during the years of a new economic policy is considered in the dissertation research of I. V. Tkachenko (Tkachenko, 2009), the monographs of O. M. Tsiborovskiyi (Tsiborovskiyi, 2010, pp. 215–238), A. Hrynzovskiyi (Hrynzovskiyi, 2005, pp. 91–108), N. I. Kotsur (Kotsur, 2011, pp. 515–560) and V. F. Moskalenko (Moskalenko, 2011, pp. 86–97).

Among modern studies on the global burden of disease, overcoming infectious diseases, the effectiveness of preventive technologies in public health in the USSR the publication of the authors: O. M. Dzyuba, L. M. Pazynych, O. R. Sytenko and E. M. Kryvenko should be singled out (Dziuba, Pazynych, Sytenko, Kryvenko, 2017, pp. 8–14).

V. M. Lekhan and L. V. Kryachkova substantiated the system of measures to improve health of the USSR population on the basis of the analysis of the diseases spread and the risk factors (Lekhan, Kriachkova, 2019, pp. 113–122). The researchers noted a significant contribution to achieving positive results of the impact of the health care system on the health and well-being of both individuals and the society as a whole, subsystems of a primary health care and public health. Characteristic trends can also be traced in the health care of the urban population during the 1920-ies, when the sanitary and epidemiological service achieved some progress in the fight against infectious and social diseases.

It should be noted that the publications of V. Kryshtopa, Yu. Voronenko, O. M. Holyachenko, A. M. Serdyuk, Ya. Hanitkevych illustrate a certain interest in the study of the peculiarities of the health care development in the UkSSR during the 20-ies of the XXth century. In general, the outlined topic has a number of unexplored aspects that are relevant in the context of reforming the modern health care system of Ukraine and mass epidemiological outbreaks in the cities.

The purpose of the article is to try to reveal the most important components of health care formation and development of the urban population of the UkSSR during the 20-ies and their impact on the level and quality of an urban society life.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Analyzing the sources and literature on the research problem, we singled out two periods of health care formation and development in the UkSSR. The first period: during 1920 – 1923 – one of the most difficult periods in the history of health care in the UkSSR, when the main focus of the city service was on overcoming the severe effects of famine, the elimination of outbreaks of mass epidemics. During this period, the state health care system in Ukraine was created, the People's Commissariat of health care and the sanitary and epidemiological service were organized. The second period: during 1924 – 1929 – the period of the health care system strengthening, preventive work strengthening among the urban population, combating social diseases and creating new research and medical institutes for the introduction of scientific developments and training of a medical personnel.

At the beginning of the 20-ies of the XXth century the entire health care budget was divided into state and local. The rural health network and part of the county network were included into the local budget. At that time there were not enough hospital beds, and in Kyiv the amount of beds was even decreased from 2,600 to 1,600 (Kahan, 1928, p. 57). During 1922, the provincial health departments shortened their staff for almost 50%. The catastrophic deterioration of health care in cities and provinces made the heads of provincial health departments meet on December 2–5, 1922 in Kharkov for an All-Ukrainian meeting, where it was decided to delimit the activities of health care in the UkSSR regarding their funding for 4 categories: a) health care facilities maintained at the expense of the state budget; b) at the expense of the local budget; c) at the expense of the state budget and insurance fund; d) at the expense of economic calculation. At the meeting it was decided to finance from the state budget the entire sanitary organization with auxiliary institutions, maintenance of a certain number of beds for infectious patients for the next 4 months, to finance exemplary institutions and the health care apparatus and a free provision with medicines (Kahan, 1928, p. 58).

The famine of 1921 – 1922 became a serious obstacle to the health care formation and development for the urban population and the establishment of its organizational structures. The famine made the government, the health care system, which was in the process of formation, focus all its efforts on eliminating this phenomenon, which slowed down the revival of the national economy of the UkSSR, and most importantly led to mass deaths in

urban and rural areas. According to the People's Commissariat of Health, in August 1922 the number of starving people in the five provinces of Ukraine was 4 272 584, of whom only 2 318 400 (54,2%) received food aid. Since the beginning of the year, 279 352 people fell ill because of famine and 47 525 people died (Ulyanov, 1922, p. 142).

Simultaneously with the famine, infectious diseases began to spread. Thus, in five provinces of Ukraine 350 787 cases were registered of only different types of typhus (rash, abdominal, unexplained) for 7 months of 1922. According to registries, in January – March, 1922 199 persons were born, and 7 323 died in the towns of Mykolayiv province, in Odessa accordingly – 1495 and 10 679 (Ulyanov, 1922, p. 143).

The scale of the famine was so great that all central, provincial and county newspapers introduced special sections “Help to Starving People”, “Week of Helping the Starving” and the others. According to our estimates, under these headings, for example, the newspaper “The Communist” published 814 materials, the newspaper “Visti VUTSVK” – 359, the newspaper “Volyn Proletarian” – 206. On the pages of the periodicals it was reported on the organization of provincial and county committees to help the starving, organizing weeks and months of help to victims and etc.

For some time the scale of the famine in the UkSSR was concealed, but in December 1921 it was impossible to do so. Therefore, the representatives of the mass media of the republic received the right to inform the citizens about the famine, as evidenced by the above examples from the newspapers.

In the UkSSR during 1921 – 1923 the mass famine undermined the republic's productive forces, led to the mass extinction of the rural and urban population and caused the outbreaks of epidemics. Many researchers, including B. Dramaretsky, believe that the famine was the result of “a conscious and purposeful line of the Bilshovyk regime aimed at subduing the multimillion masses of the Ukrainian peasantry, the entire Ukrainian people” (Dramaretskyi, 1997, p. 24). In our opinion, the famine of 1921 – 1923 was also caused by Bilshovyk experimentation, the devaluation of human values, when political and ideological projections prevailed over a common sense.

Thus, the famine of 1921 – 1923 increased the mortality of the urban population both as a result of a chronic malnutrition and due to the spread of infectious diseases. The spread of infectious diseases among the urban population was facilitated by its mass movements in search of food during the famine of 1921 – 1923. The mass movements led to the spread of cholera and typhus throughout the UkSSR. Thus, during 11 months of 1922, 322 850 cases of rash typhus and 426 642 typhus were registered in Ukraine (Marzeev, 1922, p. 90). The sanitary epidemiological service, which itself was in a state of formation, could not prevent mass diseases. However, even a small number of doctors waged a resolute fight against infectious diseases, organizing “weeks of cleanliness”, “months of water supply”, “bath weeks”, etc. (Solovev, 1928, p. 25). As a result, in 1923 there was a significant reduction in diseases with various types of typhus. For instance, in Volyn province from 5 568 in 1922 to 1 207 in 1923, in Poltava province from 61 538 to 7 696 (Marzeev, 1922, p. 90). According to our calculations, the tendency to diseases decline was 4,6 – 7,9 times.

At the same time, with the general decrease in infectious diseases in 1923, the number of malaria patients increased. In July – August 1923, there were 254 346 infected people (Ulyanov, 1923, p. 97), and in provinces: in Donetsk – 115 949, Katerynoslav – 57 308, Odessa – 33 162, Kharkiv – 13 031 and Poltava – 8 301 (Ulyanov, 1923, p. 98). To get rid of malaria in 1923 in Kharkiv there was established Protozoynyi Institute for the scientific study

of malaria and training specialists. Ukraine was covered with a network of malaria stations and detachments, of which there were 47 at the beginning of 1926 (Nikolaev, 1927, p. 5). The costs of the state and local budgets for the production of quinine, which was used in the fight against malaria, increased. Reclamation works, preventive chemicalization and other preventive measures, etc., were carried out in a number of the largest foci of malaria.

In April 1922, the sanitary and epidemiological service was established at the First All-Ukrainian sanitary meeting. Its founder was the head of the sanitary and anti-epidemic department of the People's Commissariat of Health, Academician O. M. Marzeev. It was he, who came up with the idea of creating sanitary stations, which was expressed at the III All-Ukrainian Congress of bacteriologists and epidemiologists (Yefimov, 1927, p. 104).

Beginning in 1923, the allocations for the development of the sanitary epidemiological service grew. In particular, in 1923 – 1924, 360 588 rubles were allocated from the state budget for the sanitary epidemiological service development, and 636 681 rubles from the local budget, which contributed to its organizational and financial strengthening (Marzeev, 1922, p. 88).

An important role in the fight against epidemics, the implementation of preventive measures among urban residents was given to the sanitary technical councils, the formation of which was proposed at the 11th All-Ukrainian Sanitary Council on May 14 – 19, 1923. Subsequently, the People's Commissariat of Health drafted the Bill on "Sanitary and Technical Councils", which was adopted by the People's Commissar of the UkSSR on September 13, 1923. This document became one of the most important acts in the sanitary legislation of Ukraine. Sanitary and technical councils performed sanitary and technical measures for the protection of water, air, soil; food products; sanitary improvement of settlements, labour protection, etc. Sanitary and technical councils had great powers – all practical measures of a sanitary nature, by whomever they were carried out, were preliminarily agreed and approved by the sanitary councils (Marzeev, 1924, p. 132).

Thus, in 1921 – 1923 the process of the health care structure formation, the network formation of sanitary epidemiological institutions continued and the primary efforts of doctors were aimed at eliminating epidemics and the severe consequences of famine.

The next period of formation and development of the health care of the urban population covers 1924 – 1929, when the famine vanished and a number of epidemics were eliminated. Health care centers focused on strengthening the entire health care system, strengthening prevention work among the urban population, creating new research and medical institutes for research and development, and overcoming social diseases. During this period, allocations to the health care system increase significantly. In particular, investments in medical institutions increased in the cities of Kyiv region by 360%, and in health care centers for workers – by 908% (Kagan, 1928, p. 86).

The cities of Ukraine needed to improve a sanitary and epidemiological control (Yefimov, 1927, p. 103), which led to an increase of various specialists: epidemiologists, sanitary industrial doctors, communal sanitary inspectors, sanitary food doctors in 1928 (Marzeev, 1925, p. 56). Specialists of these profiles appeared not only in cities, but also in some industrial areas. During this period, the sanitary system of Ukraine included 4 bacteriological institutes: in Kharkiv, Kyiv, Odesa, Katerynoslav, and later joined the fifth one – in Chernihiv. A certain achievement of medicine in the field of sanitation was the growth of the number of sanitary bacteriological laboratories: 1925 – 77, 1926 – 96, 1927 – 113 (Marzeev, 1922, p. 88).

Despite some shifts in the development of the sanitary service during the second half of the 1920-ies, the situation concerning disinfection work remained difficult, as it required a sufficient number of disinfection cameras, disinfection stations, disinfection devices. Domestic production of these disinfection devices began only to be established at the enterprises of the UkSSR, which had a negative impact on the fight against infectious diseases.

The formation of the sanitary epidemiological service of the USSR was facilitated by the legislative framework, which was actively created during 1922 – 1928. The laws were passed on the sanitary bodies of the Republic, sanitary technical councils, sanitary protection of water, foodstuffs, on obligatory vaccination against smallpox, typhoid fever, on the fight against malaria, on sanitary stations for newly arrived workers, etc.

Despite the huge difficulties associated with funding, logistics, lack of qualified personnel, there should be noted the positive changes in the organizational strengthening of the sanitary epidemiological service, its achievement of concrete results. For instance, if the incidence of typhoid fever per 10 000 population was 13,2% in 1912, then in 1928 – 2,7%; the incidence of typhoid fever in 1913 was 4,3%, and in 1926 it was 0,5%; typhoid fever affected 38,6% of people in 1913, and 8,3% in 1926, dysentery affected 41,5% in 1913, and 9,1% in 1926. However, the best results were found in the elimination of smallpox. In 1913, smallpox affected 4,8% people, and in 1926 – 0,09% (Yefimov, 1927, p. 104). The authors' analysis of epidemics outbreaks illustrated a steady and significant reduction of smallpox, typhoid, intestinal infections and malaria. At the same time, child infectious diseases (scarlet fever and the measles) were still quite common.

Thus, mass vaccinations, sanitary and anti-epidemic measures, sanitary education, growth of sanitary culture, activities of a number of sanitary and anti-epidemiological institutions – all these measures led to a significant reduction in infectious diseases of the urban population, which generally had a positive effect on the revival of industry.

Industry reconstruction required only skilled but also physically healthy workers. The introduction of a social insurance and the law on providing workers with qualified medical care in the UkSSR accelerated the development of health care, the construction of a medical network, and brought to the forefront the solution of new urgent tasks. Among them – the deployment of medical institutions network to serve the urban population. This issue was especially acute in industrial areas, where the network of medical institutions was extremely neglected during the Civil War. Moreover, the old network of medical institutions was created based on the needs of employees at individual enterprises, without taking into account the needs of residents of the entire industrial area. There was a lack of qualified specialists – doctors. At the reception there were 20 or more patients per doctor instead of the established 6 patients per hour (Somov, 1926, p. 135). That is why, it was necessary to create a new network of medical institutions in the cities of the USSR.

By 1924, the city network already consisted of: 77 outpatient clinics, 44 polyclinics, 142 hospitals with 12 991 beds. The health care system for workers had 61 polyclinics, 290 outpatient clinics, and 179 hospitals with 5 848 beds. For workers and officials, who worked on transport and their family members, there were opened 18 polyclinics, 130 hospital wards, 32 hospitals with 1 501 beds (Deychman, 1927, p. 91).

Four medical faculties were opened in Ukraine to train doctors: 1 987 medical students studied in Kharkiv, 1 270 – in Kyiv, 1 239 – in Katerynoslav and 1 164 – in Odesa. To improve doctors' skills, the People's Commissariat of Health created courses, where 600 doctors were trained annually (Kagan, 1927, p. 188).

Important for the development of health care in the UkSSR, the improvement of medical care for the urban population, were research institutes, which were established during the 1920-ies. By 1927, there were already 25 in the UkSSR (Kagan, 1927, p. 180). In addition to scientific work, in the institutes the skills of district doctors were improved.

At the same time, on the basis of the first polyclinic in Kharkiv, the Institute of Working Class Medicine was established in 1923. Its main tasks, in addition to research work on occupational pathology and hygiene, were to improve the skills of working class medicine and pathology.

In 1923, Kharkiv Institute of Mother and Child Protection and Kyiv State Children's Orthopedic Institute were established. In 1925, Kharkiv Institute for the Improvement of Physicians began its work, where during three years there were retrained 250 district physicians (Nikolaev, 1927, p. 173).

Thus, in the first half of the 20-ies of the XXth century new research institutes of a medical profile were founded, which significantly improved the quality of treatment of the urban population, which had a positive effect on the industrial sector.

The elimination of mass epidemics during the beginning of the 1920-ies, the strengthening of the material and technical base of medical institutions, the establishment of medical research institutes allowed the entire health care system to move to new urgent tasks, namely, the systematic treatment of social diseases.

One of the work direction to overcome social diseases in cities was the treatment of tuberculosis. Tuberculosis dispensaries and dispensaries stations were opened in the cities of the UkSSR. If in 1923, according to the People's Commissariat of Health of the UkSSR, there were only 53 dispensaries and 14 sanatoriums of various types with 866 beds, during the mid-1920-ies there were already 113 tuberculosis dispensaries and 46 dispensaries stations. In fact, at this time there was no single district without TB dispensaries. In a number of cities, dispensaries almost completed their main work – the initial check up of the districts population. If the best dispensaries in Western Europe were 80% informed about tuberculosis, and in the UkSSR in 1923 this percentage was only 35, then in 1926 it was equated to the percentage in Western Europe.

Taking into account the difficult social situation in the country, local authorities, together with tuberculosis dispensaries, involved the city community into conducting “tuberculosis three days” to raise funds. In four years, 4 million rubles were collected (Trakhtman, 1927, p. 101). At the same time, sanitary and educational work was carried out among the population, which included the publication of various posters, brochures, leaflets on tuberculosis prevention. Thousands of lectures were conducted, sanitary and other anti-tuberculosis education activities were held.

Specialized research institutes played an important role in overcoming tuberculosis and other social diseases. There were three tuberculosis institutes in Ukraine: in Kharkiv, Odesa, and Kyiv. The departments of social pathology and tuberculosis prevention of these institutes focused on the study of the ways of tuberculosis spread among the rural population and national minorities, and conducted special expeditions to check up the population of certain districts and localities. The institutes did not restrict their activity in purely scientific work, but became scientific advisory centers, where meetings were held with general practitioners of cities, towns, urban-type settlements, short-term training courses for TB doctors were organized, and etc.

Along with the work on the elimination of mass tuberculosis diseases in cities, medical institutions paid much attention to the eradication of socially dangerous sexually transmitted

diseases. As early as January 1920, a venereology section was established at the People's Commissariat of Health, and later such sections appeared at the provincial departments. The work of the venereology section of NCHC (National Committee of Health Care), as well as local sections was carried out in two directions – disease prevention and treatment. As of October 1, 1921, there were 2,600 beds for venereal patients in Ukraine. But the poor harvest of 1921, the food crisis and famine had a negative impact on the state of both medical care for the urban population, in general, and anti-venereological work, in particular, the number of hospital beds in Ukraine decreased to 1 100 beds on April 1, 1922. Only from the second half of 1922 the planned work on the struggle against venereal diseases was adjusted.

The work on the treatment of patients with sexually transmitted diseases in the cities went through several stages: from its organization and laboratory examination during 1922 – 1923 to treatment, and most importantly – the implementation of preventive measures, mass checks up of the population, including family members (Fedorovskiy, 1927, p. 104).

On January 1, 1923, there were 7 venereological dispensaries in Ukraine, and in 1924 – 27, of which 18 were located in the district towns. In 1923, 54 450 patients were treated in 9 venereological dispensaries of provincial cities (Fedorovskiy, 1924, p. 128).

The statistics data of the People's Commissariat of Health illustrate a high percentage of syphilis infection in the UkSSR. Per 10 thousand population in 1912 there was 41, 3% of infected people, during 1923 – 1924 – 44,9%, during 1924 – 1925 – 46,2%, during 1925 – 1926 – 39,3% (Fedorovskiy, 1924, p. 130). There was a tendency of venereological diseases decrease during 1925 – 1926 not only in comparison with the period of 1923 – 1924 but also during the prewar period. Some positive changes in the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases were observed against the background of increasing training of qualified doctors and the creation of new scientific venereology centers.

Scientific contacts of doctors with foreign colleagues were of a great practical importance to the development of health care in the UkSSR. After the signing on March 1, 1921 of the Soviet-German protocol on the exchange of experience in the field of practical and scientific medicine, medical scientists from the UkSSR were trained in medical institutions of the Weimar Republic.

The development of medical science in the UkSSR required the use of foreign experience, as domestic medical science during the beginning of the 1920-ies was in the process of its formation. At that time, oncology, radiology, ophthalmology, social hygiene were just emerging as independent branches in the field of medical science and practice.

At the same time, the German doctors visited the UkSSR, in particular, in 1924, Professor Rezle became acquainted with the work of the Ukrainian medical institutions, and after returning to Germany he noted a high level of professional training of the Ukrainian doctors (Kalinicheva, 1996, p. 125). In July 1924, an international commission on malaria, headed by German Professor Nocht, visited Ukraine to find out the spread of malaria and to get acquainted with the organization of antimalarial care in the UkSSR.

Professors Jodason and Pinkus, who took part in the work of the All-Union Congress on the Control of Sexually Transmitted Diseases, which took place in May 1925 in Kharkiv, noted the success of medical science in the UkSSR.

During 1922 – 1923 in the Weimar Republic the Ukrainian doctors got acquainted with new methods of treatment and cooperated with German colleagues, in particular: S. I. Zlatohorov, L. A. Sobolev, N. K. Pidkomynsky, A. G. Fischer, K. H. Platonov,

V. M. Shaler, V. I. Konotantynov, P. Kh. Khazhynsky and other representatives of various branches and directions of a medical science of the UkSSR. During 10 years, more than 200 physicians were on work trip abroad (mostly in Germany) (Kalinicheva, 1996, p. 128).

The Conclusions. An important indicator of the social standard of living of the urban population during the 1920-ies was their access to the health care service. After overcoming the effects of famine and outbreaks of epidemics during 1921 – 1923, the city health service during 1924 – 1929 focused on the fight against social diseases – tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases. As the epidemiological situation in the cities improved, social illnesses were overcome, and funding for the establishment of medical research institutes increased, and contacts were established with foreign specialists in this sphere.

The prospects for a further scientific research consist in the preparation of a historiographical study on the history of social medicine during the 20-ies and 30-ies of the XXth century, which would reveal the main stages of the historical knowledge accumulation, showed the evolution of conceptual views on this issue, revealed to researchers a modern arsenal of methods and techniques for studying historical processes.

Acknowledgement. The authors are grateful to the staff of the National Scientific Medical Library and V. I. Vernadsky National Library for valuable pieces of advice and assistance in providing original documents and manuscripts of doctors and scientists-hygienists.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Deychman, E. I. (1927). Zdravookhranenie na Ukraine [Social hygiene]. *Sotsialnaya gigiena*, 1, 89–99. [in Russian]

Dovzhuk, I. V. & Barabash, Yu. V. (2009). *Okhorona zdorov'ia v Donbasi u 20-kh rr. XX st.* [Health care in the Donbass in the 20s. XX century]. Luhansk, 198 p. [in Ukrainian]

Dramaretskyi, B. (1997). *Holod 1921 – 1923 rokiv v Ukraini (Malovidomi storinky trahichnoi smerti)* [The famine of 1921 – 1923 in Ukraine (Little-known pages of the tragic death)]. Kyiv, 29 p. [in Ukrainian]

Dziuba, O. M., Pazynych, L. M., Sytenko, O. R. & Kryvenko, Ye. M. (2017). Shchodo pytannia hlobalnoho tiaharia khvorob v Ukraini [On the global burden of disease in Ukraine]. *Visnyk sotsialnoi hihiieny ta orhanizatsii okhorony zdorov'ia Ukrainy*, 72 (2), 8–14. doi: <https://doi.org/10.11603/1681-2786.2017.2.8101> [in Ukrainian]

Fedorovskiy, A. N. (1924). Venerologicheskie dispansery Ukrainy v 1923 g. i blizhayshie zadachi ikh raboty [Venereological dispensaries of Ukraine in 1923 and the immediate tasks of their work]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina*, 5–6, 130–137. [in Ukrainian]

Fedorovskiy, A. N. (1927). Borba o venerizmom na Ukraine do i posle Oktyabrskoy revolyutsii [The fight for venereism in Ukraine before and after the October Revolution]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina*, 10, 103–107. [in Ukrainian]

Hrynzovskyi, A. M. (2005). *Systemnyi analiz stanovlennia i formuvannia medyko-profilaktychno-ho fakultetu ta hihiienichnoi nauky Natsionalnoho medychnoho universytetu imeni O. O. Bohomoltsia* [System analysis of the formation and formation of the medical and preventive faculty and hygienic science of the A. A. Bogomolets National Medical University] (*Candidate's thesis*). Kyiv, 243 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kagan, D. S. (1927). O povyshenii kvalifikatsii vrachev [On the advanced training of doctors]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina*, 10, 180–188. [in Ukrainian]

Kahan, D. S. (1928). *Desiat rokiv kerivnytstva. 1917 – 1927. Materialy do kharakterystyky medychno-sanitarnoi opravy na Kyivshchyni* [Ten years of leadership. 1917 – 1927. Materials on the characterization of the medical frame of the Kiev region]. Kyiv, 102 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kalinicheva, H. I. (1996). *Ukrainsko-nimetski osvritni i na ukovi zv'iazky u 20-ti – na pochatku 30-kh rokiv* [Ukrainian-German educational and scientific ties in the 20-ies – early 30-ies] (*Candidate's thesis*). Dnipropetrovsk, 214 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kotsur, N. I. (2011). *Stanovlennia i rozvytok hihienichnoi nauky v Ukraini: shliakh kriz epokhy i sotsialni potriasinnia (druha polovyna XIX – 20-ti rr. XX stolittia)* [The formation and development of hygienic science in Ukraine: a path through eras and social upheavals (second half of the 19th – 20th years of the 20th century)]. (monohrafiia). Korsun-Shevchenkivskiy, 726 p. [in Ukrainian]

Lekhan, V. M. & Kriachkova, L. V. (2019). Systema zakhodiv polipshennia zdorov'ia naselennia Ukrainy na osnovi analizu hlobalnogo tiaharia khvorob ta faktoriv yoho ryzyku [The system of measures to improve the health of the population of Ukraine based on the analysis of the global burden of disease and its risk factors] *Sotsialna medytsyna, XXIV* (3), 113–122. doi: <https://doi.org/10.26641/2307-0404.2019.3.181893> [in Ukrainian]

Marzeev, A. N. (1922). Epidemicheskoe sostoyanie Ukrainy k kontsu 1922 g. [The epidemic state of Ukraine by the end of 1922]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 4–5*, 85–91. [in Ukrainian]

Marzeev, A. N. (1924). Sanitarno-Tekhnicheskije Sovety na Ukraine [Sanitary Tips in Ukraine]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 11–12*, 130–137. [in Ukrainian]

Marzeev, A. N. (1925). Zhilishchnyy vopros v gorodskikh i promyshlennykh rayonakh Ukrainy [Housing issue in urban and industrial areas of Ukraine]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 3*, 55–61. [in Ukrainian]

Melnichuk, O. (2009). *Sotsialne strakhuvannia v radianskii Ukraini (20 – 30-ti rr. XX st.)* [Social insurance in Soviet Ukraine (20 – 30-ies of the XX century)]. Vinnytsia, 186 p. [in Ukrainian]

Moskalenko, V. F. (2011). *Kontseptualnye podkhody k formirovaniyu sovremennoy profilakticheskoy strategii v zdravookhraneni: ot profilaktiki meditsinskoy k profilaktike sotsialnoy* [Conceptual approaches to the formation of a modern preventive strategy in healthcare: from medical prevention to social prevention]. (Monografiya). Moskva: GEOTAR – Media, 240 p. [in Russian]

Movchan, O. (2006). Medychne obsluhovuvannia robitnykiv USSR. 1920-ti rr. Problemy istorii Ukrainy: fakty, sudzhennia, poshuky [Interdepartmental collection of scientific papers]. *Mizhvidomchyi zbirnyk naukovykh prats, (15)*, 19–65. [in Ukrainian]

Nikolaev, I. I. (1927). Nauchnye instituty, ikh rol i znachenie v dele zdravookhraneniya [Scientific institutes, their role and importance in healthcare]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 10*, 169–179. [in Ukrainian]

Solovev, M. N. (1928). Iz proshlogo po borbe o epidemiyami na Ukraine [From the past on the fight against epidemics in Ukraine]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 12*, 35–49. [in Ukrainian]

Somov, O. (1926). Rabochaya meditsina na Ukraine i ee blizhayshe zadachi [Working medicine in Ukraine and its immediate tasks]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 6*, 133–136. [in Ukrainian]

Stupak, F. Ya. (1998). *Blahodiini tovarystva Kyieva* [Charity Societies of Kiev]. Kyiv: Khreshchatyk, 208 p. [in Ukrainian]

Stupak, F. Ya. (2009). *Blahodiinist ta suspilna opika v Ukraini* [Charity and public guardianship in Ukraine]. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 272. [in Ukrainian]

Tkachenko, I. V. (2009). *Okhorona zdorov'ia v Ukraini v roky novoi ekonomichnoi polityky: sotsialno-istorychnyi aspekt* [Health care in Ukraine during the years of the new economic policy: socio-historical aspect] (*Extended abstract of Candidate's thesis*). Cherkasy, 20 p. [in Ukrainian]

Trakhtman, L. B. (1927). Borba s tuberkulozom do i posle revolyutsii [The fight against tuberculosis before and after the revolution]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 10*, 103–107. [in Ukrainian]

Tsiborovskiy, O. M. (2010). *Na varti zdorov'ia: istoriia stanovlennia sotsialnoi medytsyny i okhorony hromadskoho zdorov'ia v Ukraini* [On health warts: the history of the formation of social medicine and the protection of health problems in Ukraine]. (Monografiia). Kyiv: Fakt, 430 p. [in Ukrainian]

Ulyanov, L. D. (1922). K voprosu o zaboлеваemosti i smertnosti na pochve goloda [On the issue of hunger morbidity and mortality]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 2–3*, 141–143. [in Ukrainian]

Ulyanov, L. D. (1923). Obzor epidemicheskoy zaboлеваemosti na Ukraine za pervuyu polovinu 1923 goda [Overview of the epidemic incidence in Ukraine for the first half of 1923]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 7–8*, 97–102. [in Ukrainian]

Yefimov, D. I. (1927). Oktyabr i zdravookhranenie [October and Health]. *Profilakticheskaya meditsina, 12*, 101–110. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on January 17, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 304.3(=161.2)“192/193”

DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210899

Valeriya MOTUZ

PhD (History), Lecturer in the Department of Archeology and special branches of historical science Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, 81 T. Shevchenko's boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18000 (v.k.motuz@ukr.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9974-7205>

Валерія МОТУЗ

кандидатка історичних наук, старша викладачка кафедри археології та спеціальних галузей історичної науки Черкаського національного університету імені Богдана Хмельницького, бульвар Т. Шевченка, 81, Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18000 (v.k.motuz@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Motuz, V. (2020). Destruction of the Fundamental Foundations of the Traditional Way of Life of the Ukrainian Countryside during the Years of its Total Governmentalization (the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 195–207. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210899

**DESTRUCTION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL FOUNDATIONS
OF THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE OF THE UKRAINIAN
COUNTRYSIDE DURING THE YEARS OF ITS TOTAL
GOVERNMENTALIZATION
(the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century)**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Article. Taking into account the growing practical and scientific interest in the current situation in the agricultural sector of Ukraine's economic activity, especially the state agrarian policy and its history, the author of this publication outlines the purpose of its writing, which arises from the need to form conceptual ideas about radical and tragic break in the first the five years of the Stalinist dictatorship of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian peasantry with its cultural and economic outlook, and is defined by a new approach to the assessment of the theoretical and political foundations of the social development of the Ukrainian countryside at the turn of the 1920s – 1930s. **The Research Methodology.** Principles of science, objectivity, historicism, determinism and a systematic approach. **The Research Novelty.** This article is the first in the Ukrainian historiography that examines a set of basic problems of the history of the total governmentalization of the Ukrainian village during 1929 – 1934 and its results. **The Conclusions.** Completely studying the theoretical aspects of the issue “Destruction of the fundamental foundations of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian countryside during the years of its total governmentalization (the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century)” the author of this publication concluded that socio-political development (socio-economic, socio-political, class, socio-psychological and domestic processes and phenomena) of the Ukrainian countryside under the conditions of a severe command-repressive regime led to the destruction of the natural conditions of a rural life, a break in thoughts and views of a relatively conservative peasantry foundations of a social justice and the formation of entirely new trends in the socio-psychological image of the peasant. As for the mechanisms and principles of the destruction of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian peasantry during the historical period, they included an extremely wide range of methods, means of influence and pressure that combined both cultural, educational and purely violent approaches.

Key words: totalitarianism, the Soviet totalitarianism, administrative-command system, early Stalinism, the second “communist assault”, “top-down revolution”, the first and second five-year plan, governmentailization of countryside, complete collectivization, destruction of traditional way of life of the Ukrainian peasantry.

РУЙНУВАННЯ ФУНДАМЕНТАЛЬНИХ ОСНОВ ТРАДИЦІЙНОГО УКЛАДУ ЖИТТЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛА У РОКИ ЙОГО ТОТАЛЬНОГО ОДЕРЖАВЛЕННЯ (кінець 20 – перша половина 30-х рр. ХХ ст.)

Анотація. Мета статті. Виходячи зі всезростаючого практичного та наукового інтересу як до сучасного становища в аграрному секторі господарської діяльності України, передусім державної аграрної політики, так і його історії, авторкою публікації окреслена мета її написання, що випливає з необхідності формування концептуальних уявлень про радикально-трагічний злам у перше п'ятиріччя сталінської диктатури традиційного для середовища українського селянства укладу життя з його культурними та господарськими світоглядними цінностями, а також визначається новим підходом до оцінки теоретичних і політичних основ соціального розвитку українського села на межі 20 – 30-х рр. ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження.** Принципи науковості, об'єктивності, історизму детермінізму та системності. **Наукова новизна.** У цій статті уперше у вітчизняній історіографії розглядається комплекс основних проблем історії тотального одержавлення українського села в 1929 – 1934 рр. та його результати. **Висновки.** Комплексно вивчивши теоретичні аспекти проблеми “Руйнування фундаментальних основ традиційного укладу життя українського села у роки його тотального одержавлення (кінець 20 – перша половина 30-х рр. ХХ ст.)” авторка публікації дійшла висновків, що соціально-політичний розвиток (соціально-економічні, суспільно-політичні, класові, соціально-психологічні та побутові процеси і явища) українського села в умовах жорсткого командно-репресивного режиму призвів до руйнування природних умов сільського буття, зламу в думках і поглядах консервативного селянства про підвалини соціальної справедливості та формування абсолютно нових тенденцій у соціально-психологічному образі селянина. Стосовно ж механізмів та принципів руйнування традиційного укладу життя українського селянства у зазначений історичний період, то вони включали надзвичайно широкий спектр методів, засобів впливу та тиску, які поєднали в собі як культурно-просвітницькі, так і суто насильницькі підходи.

Ключові слова: тоталітаризм, радянський тоталітаризм, адміністративно-командна система, ранній сталінізм, другий “комуністичний штурм”, «революція згори», перша та друга п'ятирічки, одержавлення села, суцільна колективізація, руйнація традиційного способу життя українського селянства.

The Problem Statement. From the historical sources of the early Stalinist period in Ukraine and the scientific researches, which are related to the issue presented in the relevant article, it can be learned that at the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century there was a tragic stage in the life of the Ukrainian society, especially the peasantry, for at this time the destruction of its traditional way of life and activity continued.

At the heart of the modernization of the Ukrainian countryside according to Stalin's patterns there was a radical model of a social adjustment, which was formed on the basis of appropriate conceptual foundations and mechanisms for the implementation of the state policy. First of all, there are three main points:

- strengthening the grassroots of the political system and the creation of an advanced grain procurement machine;
- governmentalization of a peasant society and forced socialization of its means of production;
- a repressive policy on dissenters and aggressive implementation of the communist ideology in the minds of the peasantry.

For their implementation, brutal methods were applied, including an endless oppression, first of all, a direct economic robbery, which, in turn, led to the huge tragedy of the Ukrainian people – the loss of millions of people, radical changes in the way of life for the Ukrainian peasantry, the destruction of a labour potential of rural areas, the formation of the psychology of the vanquished, broken and obedient executor of orders. The establishment during the mid-1930-ies of a new (kolkhoz) countryside, already unable to withstand the strong resistance to the Soviet power, was the result of the destruction of the personal space of the Ukrainian peasantry.

The Analysis of Resent Researches and Publications. The expediency of such research is also explained by the state of its historiography. The logic of the historiographic process is such that at some stage the accumulated factual and conceptual material requires new verified generalizations in certain directions of the historical process. Accordingly, the issue of a radical change in the traditional way of life of the multi-million Ukrainian peasantry during the end of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies, above all its social status, culture and worldview, was no exception.

In the domestic historiography of the first years of independence, it is necessary to highlight the fundamental scientific publication of such historians as V. Danylenko, G. Kasyanov, and S. Kulchytsky “Stalinism in Ukraine: 1920-ies –1930-ies” (Danylenko, 1991), in which scientists formulated the main directions of development of this problems in the historical science.

In this context, it is necessary to emphasize the development of the problem of obtaining the Ukrainian countryside in the scientific work of S. Kulchytsky, who laid down the basic conceptual foundations for studying the interwar history of Ukraine, including peasant problems and the specifics of agrarian relations during the period of a continuous collectivization (Kulchytsky, 2013; Kulchytsky, 2013).

The researchers quite rightly emphasize that the political terror and repression have significantly deformed the moral and psychological state of the Ukrainian peasantry. A considerable number of special publications, monographs, and scientific collections are devoted to the analysis of the tragic page of the recent history of Ukraine – the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933. First of all, these are the works of O. Veselova, V. Marochko, O. Movchan (Veselova, Marochko, Movchan, 2000), S. Kulchytsky, E. Shatalina (Kulchytsky, Shatalina, 1990) and other authors. Their scientific works are distinguished by a thorough analysis of the nature of the 1932 – 1933 Holodomor-Genocide. These authors are united by the conclusion that the 1932 – 1933 Holodomor-Genocide was a pre-planned and implemented Stalinist nomenclature a state action aimed not only at subjugating the Ukrainian peasantry but also at achieving a more global goal – to change its mentality.

Contemporary Ukrainian researchers continue to study actively the various aspects of the destruction by Stalin’s ruling system of the Ukraine’s traditional model of a rural organization and the planting of the Soviet one. For example, the Ukrainian scientist V. Prylutsky concluded that, since the vast majority of youth lived in rural areas, the ruling party made considerable efforts to Sovietize the younger generation of the countryside (Prylutsky, 2001). The conditions for the cultural development of the Ukrainian countryside during the first five years of the Stalinist totalitarian regime are reflected in O. Rabenchuk’s monograph (Rabenchuk, 2002). He also drew attention to the issue of radio control in Ukraine during the end of the 20-ies – the beginning of the 30-ies of the XXth century. In particular, the scientist revealed various aspects of the development of this field, again, through the lens of the activities of the labour-peasant inspection (Rabenchuk, 2006). Features of anti-

religious politics in the countryside at the end of the 20-ies – the beginning of the 30-ies of the XXth century and resistance to it by the Ukrainian peasantry was discussed in detail in A. Kyrydon's monograph (Kyrydon, 2010). The researcher of the religious situation in Ukraine during the 1930-ies V. Dyakov introduced into the scientific circulation the material concerning the issue of a popular religiosity and its specific manifestations, including in the peasant environment, in particular, during the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 (Dyakiv, 2014). The scientist R. Roslyak conducted a detailed scientific study of the issue of filming of the Ukrainian countryside during the early Stalinist period. In his article "Planning and Implementation of the Cinematification of the Ukrainian Countryside during the 1930-ies", he discloses the specifics of its organization and holding in rural settlements of Ukraine during the first and the beginning of the second five-year plans (Rybak, 2006). The researcher O. Tkachenko (Tarapon, 2016) provided a general assessment of the effectiveness level of media companies of the Soviet media system in carrying out a complete collectivization. The issue of transformation of life of the Ukrainian peasantry during a complete collectivization is interestingly revealed in S. Bilan's monograph. In the monograph, the author comprehensively explored the issues of changes in the social structure, production activity, a cultural life and social consciousness of the Ukrainian peasantry, which suffered from the last days of early Stalinism (Bilan, 2014). In the scientific article of O. Leniuk the attention is paid to the issue of folk rites and women's issues in it during the total governmentalization of the countryside. Thus, in her scientific work, the researcher revealed the essence and highlighted the cardinal transformations in the festive and ceremonial sphere of the Ukrainian countryside, pointing at the minimization of the functional role of women in family rituals (Lynyuk, 2016).

The contemporary view of the issue of a radical restructuring of the traditional way of the Ukrainian rural society during the early Stalinism through the prism of a gender approach is demonstrated by O. Sapytska in her scientific exploration on the cultural level of the Ukrainian female peasants of the first five-year plan period (Sapytska, 2007). In general, scientific developments of modern domestic researchers in these areas created a sound theoretical and methodological base, which, in turn, contributes to the comprehensive study and objective coverage of the issue of the traditional rural way of life in Ukraine, which, through the company of a complete collectivization, changed the system of social-economic and cultural-ideological paradigms.

A significant contribution to the development of a national historiography of peasant studies was made by the authors of the two-volume scientific publication "History of the Ukrainian Peasantry" (Sobol, 2010). The emergence of this monographic study testified to the definitive departure of modern Ukrainian scholars from the use of outdated scientific approaches, methods, and stamps in the Soviet historiography.

Many interesting researches devoted to the diverse aspects of life of the Ukrainian peasantry during the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century were created during the last decades by the representatives of Western historiography: N. Vert (Vert, 2001), A. Graciosi (Graciosi, 2001), and S. Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, 2008). V. Noll's research project was marked by a competent approach to clarifying the real significance of these factors, their ubiquity and the degree of influence on changes in the traditional way of life in the Ukrainian countryside during the time of a complete collectivization (Noll, 1999).

Therefore, the historiographic search showed that the complex issue of the destruction of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian countryside during years of its total governmentalization within the specified chronological limits has not been studied, and

it requires, based on a systematic and classified historiographic base, a further scientific research, rethinking, re-evaluation, that will be covered in this publication.

The Purpose of the Article. Taking into account the growing practical and scientific interest in the current situation in the agricultural sector of economic activity of Ukraine, especially the state agrarian policy and its history, the author of this publication outlines the purpose of its writing, which arises from the need to form conceptual ideas about a radical and tragic break during the first the five years of the Stalinist dictatorship of the Ukrainian peasantry's traditional way of life with its cultural and economic outlook, and a new approach is defined to the assessment of the theoretical and political foundations of the social development of the Ukrainian countryside at the turn of the 1920-ies – 1930-ies.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The second attempt to accelerate the transition to the communist system in Ukraine, initiated by the Stalinist team during the end of the 1920-ies, required its population to be committed to communist ideals and to steadily implement the line of the Communist Party, in particular, the resolutions of the highest party-state apparatus.

It was impossible to accomplish this rather difficult task without imposing on the Ukrainian society, and especially on its social group, such as the peasantry, which at that time constituted the absolute majority of the population of Ukraine, largely artificial, sometimes overtly contrived the Soviet ideals and orientations that did not meet the traditions for its moral and ethical principles, norms, perceptions and ideals.

The process of a political and ideological re-education was a complex phenomenon, inextricably linked to the full-scale reforms launched during the years of the first five-year plan in all areas of the Ukrainian countryside's life.

The effect of such a combination was as follows: during the first years of Stalin's modernization of agriculture, the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian peasantry was destroyed and, in 1934, most of the rural settlements of Ukraine had a kolkhoz management system (Smoliy, 2006, p. 200).

The price paid by the rural community for "experiments on it" was extremely high – the lion's share of the Soviet transformations during the first and the beginning of the second five-year plans had a detrimental effect on the comprehensive development of rural territories of Ukraine (Kulchytsky, 1988, p. 26), and the demographic situation was particularly catastrophic (Bilan, 2012, p. 291).

The necessity of withdrawing the Ukrainian rural society from the traditional way of life was conditioned not only by the restructuring of the Ukrainian countryside into a communist system, but also by the accelerated growth of the country's industrial potential and the development of the Soviet statehood as a whole.

The agricultural production in Ukraine, being one of the key drivers of the economy, automatically became an important factor in the development of its industrial sector. Thus, the possibility of implementing the plan of a major industrialization measures in the USSR during the end of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies, arises as a result of attracting domestic financial resources, primarily, a foreign currency received by the state from grain exports (Naboka, 2013, p. 43).

The party-Soviet leadership could not take this obvious fact into account, so in order to guarantee the uninterrupted pumping of agricultural products from the countryside, a state program of transition from individual to collective forms of land management was launched (Vert, 2001, p. 142).

The construction of the Soviet state by the early Stalinist model took place within the framework of the “socialist reconstruction” of the national economy with planned management. The accelerated pace and radical methods of transition from a semi-capitalist to a purely socialist path of state development were applied by the Stalinist leadership to the final victory of “socialism in a particular country” (Danylenko, 1991, p. 238). This process, by its nature, could not be selective, encompassing all sectors of Ukraine’s economy and instilling the Soviet outlook on the society, and aimed at achieving a full control over productive forces and industrial relations.

The destruction strategy of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian peasantry was carried out by the Stalinist leadership through the implementation of a set of interdependent measures with clear elements of harsh punitive practices.

The first measure is related to the passport reform introduced in the USSR in 1933, which became a kind of “a social cleansing” of the population of the country, dividing it into “credible” and “unreliable”. According to it, passports were not issued at all to rural residents unless they were workers of the Soviet farms (Kulchytsky, 2013, p. 124). It meant that the majority of the population of the Ukrainian SSR was deprived of the opportunity to move freely around the country and to travel abroad.

Such restrictions were the matter of more than one day. During the first five years of Stalin’s socio-economic restructuring of the Ukrainian countryside, there was a practical restriction on the fundamental rights and freedoms of the peasant in Ukraine as a person and citizen. Launched in the year of the “great turning point” (November plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) (1929) (Stoychev, 2008, p. 164), its subsequent consolidation at the state level was already received during the Stalinist “crushing blow” (1932 – 1933), in particular, the resolution of the RNA of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of 09.04.1933 regarding the so-called “kolkhoz withdrawal” (Smoliy, 2006, p. 203). In such a simple way, the multi-million Ukrainian peasantry quickly and effectively was refused in the opportunity to obtain a passport. In doing so, the Communist-Soviet system of the government created a favourable basis for a radical change in its social status (Smoliy, 2006, p. 201).

The implementation of an administrative-repressive system of a rural management and the refusal of a full administrative and political registration of citizenship of its inhabitants, fixed their stay of the latter in a semi-serf status, as evidenced by their compulsory holding in a kind of “reservation”– collective farm (Smoliy, 2006, pp. 201, 209, 211). Under such difficult conditions, the rural population of Ukraine became the actual hostage and victim of the totalitarian regime of the Soviet-Stalinist model.

The second measure concerned the process of establishing a reliable pillar to the current regime in the countryside. During the period under study, manipulating the land issue and a certain diversity of basic aspirations and preferences of the rural society, the Communist-Soviet nomenclature, as in the previous decade, continued to focus on rural poverty stubbornly (Kapustyan, 2005, p. 204), despite the fact that the very poor were regarded by the vast majority of the peasantry as idle (CSAPOU, 1930, p. 27). Therefore, this choice automatically made the Soviet power not very popular with the Ukrainian peasantry.

Due to this, the implementation in the rural areas of Ukraine of an unnatural collective-farm system of economy for them took place in the context of their institutional development. In particular, from the end of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies, the grassroots Soviet institutions managed to cover all spheres of life of the Ukrainian countryside with a total state control (Kulchytsky, 1988, p. 12).

It was difficult to accomplish all these tasks without properly introducing into the public consciousness sufficiently broad layers of the relevant positions of the communist doctrine (Bilan, 2014, p. 216). The solution to this set of challenges was further complicated by the fact that virtually all power or simply pro-governmental structures existed alienated from the population, and the opposition or loyalty of the peasantry to power depended largely on the nature of a campaign organized by it within the Soviet state planning economy (Sobol, 2010, pp. 154–155).

The third measure concerned the economic measures in the Ukrainian countryside. Having secured the function of a total control over the state of affairs in agriculture, the ruling party and its power structures sought to achieve a full control of all aspects of its life.

The cruelty and cynicism of the Soviet leadership became the method of “education by starving” (Kulchytsky, 1990, p. 40). From 1931 to 1934, the Ukrainian population, primarily the peasantry, suffered from the terror by famine, which peaked in 1932 – 1933 (Veselova, 2000, p. 71). The Holodomor, as an artificially created phenomenon, became one of the effective methods in changing the traditional way of life of the rural society in the direction required for the Soviet power.

The reason for this strategy of the party-Soviet leadership was due to the nature and needs of the Stalinist totalitarian regime, in particular, to put on the knees of those unwilling to lose their economic, and therefore political freedom. The rebellious peasantry was curtailed by a direct physical slaughter (Kulchytsky, 2013, p. 367).

Doubtful achievements of the campaign from 1932 to 1933 were: practically destroyed ancient Ukrainian countryside with its rich, well-established mental field, generous and colorful folk traditions, well-proven rational methods of management, a true cult of careful work on land (Kulchytsky, 1990, p. 42); largely eradicating the original of the landlord feelings, which was fundamental to the identity of the Ukrainian peasant (Bilan, 2014, p. 319); for several generations, social fear, apathy and political passivity were implanted into the consciousness of the Soviet peasantry (Samardak, 2003, pp. 168–167).

The fourth measure was aimed at transforming the religious consciousness of the Ukrainian peasantry. One of the well-established historical features of the peasant’s traditional outlook was their sincere religiosity, which was understood not only as a purely theological category, but also as a moral and ethical one. In the traditional Ukrainian rural environment, Christianity and the Orthodox Church played the same social and consolidating role, historically acting as an expression of national interests, the bearer of the Ukrainian language and culture (Kyrydon, 2010, p. 43). It is very telling that even the age-old agricultural calendar corresponded to the religious one, the whole system of holidays was in one way or another connected with the Orthodox faith (Dyakiv, 2014, p. 237).

The combination of reverential inclination and respect for the higher divine forces always determined the behaviour of the Ukrainian peasantry. Instead, the future communist society was declared by the Soviet authorities as atheist, and therefore the traditional religious mentality of the peasant society was a major obstacle to the formation and adoption of a new ideology (Kulchytsky, 2013, p. 381).

Competing with the deep-rooted, millennial-established moral principles of Christianity and the authority of the Church and its clergy required a considerable concentration of effort on the part of the Soviet authorities.

Realizing that using purely violent administrative methods would be quite dangerous to deal with religion, as it could lead to a massive fierce resistance by the peasantry, especially

by the older generation, the Communist Party carefully designed a very large-scale, anti-church and anti-faith propaganda campaign. Thus, numerous aggressive clubs of unbelievers, mass circulation of special anti-religious newspapers and magazines, leaflets, posters, “butterflies”, slogans, spreading rumors, etc., should have discredited the Church and clergy in the eyes of the Ukrainian peasantry and convinced it of regressivity and righteousness of religion worldview (Evseyeva, 2004, pp. 317–318).

These actions were, however, only a prelude to the next transition from agitation-propaganda to purely repressive methods of fighting in issues of conscience, which were manifested in the direct prohibition of worship, the forcible closure of religious buildings, and often even their intentional and demonstrable destruction, criminal prosecutions, at first glance, provided the desired result for the Soviet authorities (Shapoval, 1997, p. 359). Outwardly, a religious life seems to have died down. However, it was a superficial “visual” atheization of the population, in particular, a rural one.

The fifth measure was directly related to gender policy in Ukraine during the first five-year plan. More specifically the gender policy aimed at involving women to build a kolkhoz system for an agricultural production.

Females were highly regarded in the traditions of the Ukrainian people, which is confirmed by their place and role in the ritual system. A female-mother, female-wife, sister, daughter had a significant impact on the course of events both in the family and in society at large. The conquest and consolidation of power by the communists on the ground was impossible without the appropriation of such a large demographic group of the population as womanhood properly (Sapytska, 2007, p. 25).

Exactly the Soviet activism, commitment, and interest of the Ukrainian peasant mothers and educators of the younger generation needed to stimulate and in every possible way to facilitate the process of implantation of Bolshevik attitudes into the social consciousness. On this basis, active daily work of the ruling party aimed at involving women in the cause of building the Soviet society was a prerequisite for the establishment of a new power in the Ukrainian countryside. In particular, it manifested itself in the organization of various women’s groups (a mother and child, literacy campaign, tailoring and sewing, cooking, etc.), women’s departments, delegate meetings, as well as the nomination of peasant women to power structures (Lynyuk, 2016, p. 63).

It should be noted that to some extent the Soviet authorities did their part, because the rural woman did become more emancipated and independent, and could express her opinion actively (Samardak, 2003, p. 26). This, however, was not always to the benefit of the Soviet authorities, because the numerous shortcomings in its activities, often bordering on direct crimes, at the time of collectivization caused a wave of popular actions all over Ukraine, with an active participation of women (Khmelnitska, 2013, p. 239).

The Soviet human, as the creator of the “bright future”, simply had no right to discredit himself by manifesting any attachment to the pre-Soviet system, which was most fully reflected in the system of popular consciousness with numerous traditions, customs, ceremonies and holidays. Non-communist rites and household commonality for party ideologues were a clear brake on the construction of the Soviet way of life. In their belief, centuries-old traditions should necessarily yield to party decrees and new revolutionary holidays (Tarapon, 2016, p. 98). Therefore, the sixth measure of the destruction of the traditional way of life of the rural population of Ukraine in the first five years of the early Stalinism era concerned planting of the Soviet rites in the appropriate area.

The negation of the old could not have been effective without the simultaneous implementation of the new. A characteristic feature of all Soviet holidays was the intrinsically programmed connection with the political, economic, cultural and international challenges of the time. The content of the festive slogans and appeals, evidenced in the opinion of the Soviet officials and party functionaries, is convincingly evidenced by the public's attention to them (Sadovenko, 2017, p. 77). The proof of the inability of the Soviet propaganda to overcome most of the outward manifestations of the traditional rite of the Ukrainian peasantry is its survivability. After all, the overwhelming array of rituals, only in a slight modification, nowadays, like many centuries ago, fulfills its established mental function in the Ukrainian countryside (Tarapon, 2016, p. 101).

As the main bearer of the further intellectual and physical potential of the people, the most suitable for changing the world outlook group of population – the youth – become one of the main objects targeted by the active efforts of the Soviet education system and ideological pressure (Prylutsky, 2001, p. 83). The younger generation, having yet unformed worldviews, lacked life experience, as a rule, was much easier to break with established customary norms, life style, and even sought and was not afraid of radical changes in their lives.

Stalinist nomenclature could not fail to take into account this circumstance, therefore introduced a state youth policy among the urgent measures in the matter of destroying the traditional way of life of a rural population in Ukraine.

Realizing that the youth will have to build a new socialist state, and therefore, it should become the pillar of the ruling party, its leadership directs all efforts to overcome the connection of generations, to break the youth with national traditions – and in this way achieve its full Sovietization. Established by the Communist party, a subsidiary youth organization, the Komsomol, in the Soviet system of a social order, became the party's foremost detachment in everything: the automatic implementation of all the directives launched to it; an active participation in every campaign of every direction, fight against the opposition, dekulakization, closing of temples or preventive vaccinations against diseases; ensuring the popularization of the Soviet system, the “leaders” of the party and the state, education and formation of youth devoted to the totalitarian state, etc. (Markova, 2014, pp. 36–37).

The main task of the Bolshevik party during the first five-year plan of the Stalinist “revolution from above” was the widespread imposition of the communist ideology and the replacement of a traditional spiritual culture by a new “socialist”, based exclusively on Lenin-Stalin canons (Bilan, 2014, p. 273). In fighting mercilessly for “building of the future beautiful society” (in fact, for strengthening its domination in the country), the party made an extensive use of all the available cultural arsenal for this purpose, especially for work in the Ukrainian countryside, where it never had strong roots and therefore needed support.

The policy of the Soviet state in the cultural sector of the Ukrainian countryside was ambivalent. The modernization of the economy required skilled staff, the propaganda apparatus was ineffective under conditions of illiteracy of the vast majority of the population, so the party proclaimed the “cultural revolution” which was, first and foremost, a step towards its approval in the countryside (Avtushenko, 2000, p. 121). Positive phenomena of educational processes were elimination of a mass illiteracy, provision in the villages of a real possibility of the compulsory primary education, introduction of a clear system of a further school education (Bilan, 2012, p. 292).

But at the same time, the mechanical unitarization of the educational process led to a decline in the unique educational traditions of Ukraine, since from that moment all education

became completely under the control of the totalitarian regime, first of all, it had to fill the hearts and souls of all knowledge-applicants with political and ideological postulates, and more obligatory to teach all pupils the principles of the irreconcilable morality of class struggle (Bilan, 2014, p. 276). This was to determine the main directions of a spiritual formation of the young generation, and therefore of the society as a whole.

In this general context, the pressure on the minds of the peasants was exerted especially persistently, literally on a daily basis, through all the institutions, centers, public associations that were traditionally existing and specially created for this purpose, and especially through the formation of a cultural and educational character. If rural education directly affected only children, adolescents, and part of adults, then cultural and educational organizations had to reach the entire population (Rybak, 2006, p. 165). Clubs, village buildings, reading houses, red corners, libraries, circles of different directions all had a clearly defined and carefully controlled the programme by the Soviet leadership (Avtushenko, 2000, p. 122). It should be emphasized that they all played a dual role as active leaders of the party politics, agitators in the service of the Soviet state, and at the same time as a controller of everything that happened in a particular locality, in any particular village or even a farm. The functions performed by all these structures were far from purely enlightening (Sobol, 2010, p. 182). The complete ideologization and politicization of the activities of the cultural and educational centers of the Ukrainian countryside should not only contribute to the strengthening of the totalitarian system, but also be fully focused on it. The village cultural and educational centers were to become the generators of a new worldview, which would ensure the complete transformation of the traditional consciousness of the Ukrainian peasantry into the mass Soviet (Bilan, 2014, p. 278).

An important role in the destruction of the traditional way of life of the rural population through the spread in its environment of the proletarian ideology was played by information technologies of that time.

This measure was characterized by the latest methods of manipulation of a public opinion, which in some cases provided a rather effective influence on the consciousness of the Ukrainian peasantry. The complete monopoly on the media allowed the Communist Party to concentrate in its hands a powerful arsenal of agitation media (Tkachenko, 2014, p. 130). Full of ideological implications, newspapers, magazines, books, radio and film programmes created, in much of the peasantry, the illusion that there was no alternative to the Soviet power politics and the futility of any resistance to it (Vert, 2001, p. 386).

The Soviet press became an integral part of life, from the central editions to the kolkhoz small print runs. It was sometimes distributed by the will of the subscribers, but for the most part by forced discharging (Sobol, 2010, p. 194). The Communist Party made full use of the press to produce the materials that would prove all the benefits of each step, decision, slogan, and provide coverage of the work of the Soviet authorities in exceptionally positive colors. For the same purpose, the press promoted all government decisions concerning economic, political, cultural, educational and spiritual life (Tkachenko, 2014, p. 130). Having established the absolute control over the work of the press, the Communist-Soviet personnel nomenclature persistently squeezed out old, traditional views based on the spiritual values of the Ukrainian peasantry that had been tested for centuries, and introduced new ideas and beliefs into its consciousness and being (Bilan, 2014, p. 315).

One of the most important means of the communist “melting down” of people is radio broadcasting. The invention became extremely convenient to instill totalitarianism, because it made it possible to spread information very quickly and universally. Therefore, unlike other achievements of civilization, kolkhoz wired radio receivers, primitive, but mass, loudspeakers quickly became an attribute of a rural house (Rabenchuk, 2002, pp. 126–127). It is clear that, like the press, radio also became completely under the control of the Communist Party.

The cinema was equally actively used in the Ukrainian SSR for propaganda, it became another powerful tool in the communist upbringing of the peasantry. In the language of motion pictures, the dry ideological precepts were perceived by them much easier and deeper, because here the viewer was persuaded by the attractive image of the positive hero, and on the contrary caused at least subconsciously at once a clearly depicted enemy of the Soviet system, and therefore firmly penetrated into the minds of people (Roslyak, 2011, p. 227).

However, the issue of making full use of the possibilities of cinema was the lack or unsatisfactory condition of the necessary material and technical base. Over time, the expansion of the use of technical innovations in the Ukrainian countryside allowed the Soviet authorities the opportunity unforcefully, unobtrusively, even outwardly (comedy), in the form of recreation, to actively promote a new system, outlook, life (Parahina, 2016, p. 98).

The Conclusions. Completely studying the theoretical aspects of the issue “Destruction of the fundamental foundations of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian countryside during the years of its total governmentalization (the end of the 20-ies – the first half of the 30-ies of the XXth century)”, the author of this publication concluded that a socio-political development (socio-economic, socio-political, class, socio-psychological and domestic processes and phenomena) of the Ukrainian countryside under the conditions of a severe command-repressive regime led to the destruction of the natural conditions of a rural life, a break in thoughts and views of relatively conservative peasantry foundations of a social justice and the formation of entirely new trends in the socio-psychological image of the peasant. As for the mechanisms and principles of the destruction of the traditional way of life of the Ukrainian peasantry during the historical period, they included an extremely wide range of methods, means of influence and pressure that combined both cultural, educational and purely violent approaches.

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

Funding. The author has not received any financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Avtushenko, I. B. (2000). Vplyv komunistychnoho totalitarnoho rezhymu na kulturnyi rozvytok Ukrainy (1920-i – persha polovyna 30-kh rr.) [The Influence of the Communist Totalitarian Regime on the Cultural Development of Ukraine (1920s – the first half of the 1930s)]. *Etnichna istoriia narodiv Yevropy – Ethnic History of the Peoples of Europe*, (5), 118–122. [in Ukrainian]

Bilan, S. O. (2012). Perepys naselennia 1937 r. yak dzherelo vvychennia istorii ukrainskoho selianstva u peredvoiennu dobu [Census of 1937 as a Source for Studying the History of the Ukrainian Peasantry in the Pre-war Era]. *Naukovi zapysky z ukrainskoi istorii Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskoho derzhavnogo pedahohichnogo universytetu imeni Hryhoriia Skovorody – Scientific Notes on Ukrainian History of Gregory Skovoroda State Pedagogical University of Pereiaslav-Khmelnytsky*, 32, 289–294. [in Ukrainian]

Bilan, S. O. (2014). *Transformatsiia zhyttia ukrainskoho selianstva (1929 – 1939 rr.)*. [Transformation of the Life of the Ukrainian Peasantry (1929 – 1939)]. Nizhyn: PB Lysenko, 456 p. [in Ukrainian]

Danylenko, V. M., Kasianov, H. V. & Kulchytskyi, S. V. (1991). *Stalinizm na Ukraini: 1920 – 1930-ti rr.* [Stalinism in Ukraine: 1920 – 1930s]. Kyiv, 342 p. [in Ukrainian]

Dyakiv, V. M. (2014). Suspilno-politychni peredumovy osoblyvykh form narodnoi relihiinosti v pidradianskii Ukraini 1930-i rr. [Socio-political Prerequisites for Special Forms of Popular Religiosity in Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s]. *Hurzhivski istorychni chytannia – Gurzhiy Historical Readings*, (7), 232–238. [in Ukrainian]

Evseyeva, T. (2004). Diialnist spilky “voiovnychkh bezvirnykiv” Ukrainy pid chas sutsilnoi kolektyvizatsii 1929 – 1933 rr. [Activities of the Union of “Militant Disbelievers” of Ukraine during the Complete Collectivization of 1929 – 1933]. *Problemy istorii Ukrainy: fakty, sudzhennia, poshuky – Issues of the History of Ukraine: Facts, Judgments, Search*, 11, 303–331. [in Ukrainian]

- Fitzpatrick, S.** (2008). *Stalinskie krestiane: sotsialnaia istoriia Sovetskoi Rossii v 1930-e hody: derevnia* [Stalin's Peasants: the Social History of Soviet Russia in the 1930s: Countryside] (2nd ed.). Moscow: ROSSPEN: Foundation of the First President of Russia B. N. Yeltsin, 422 p. [in Russian]
- Gracioso, A.** (2001). *Velikaia krestianskaia voina v SSSR. Bolsheviki i krestiane. 1917 – 1933* [Great Peasant War in the USSR. Bolsheviks and Peasants. 1917 – 1933]. Authorized. trans. from English. (L. Yu. Pantina, ed.). Moscow: ROSSPEN, 96 p. [in Russian]
- Kapustyan, G. T.** (2005). Komitety nezamozhnykh selian u systemi radiansko-bilshovytskoi polityky [Committees of Poor Peasants in the System of Soviet-Bolshevik Politics]. *Ukrainskyi selianyn – Ukrainian Peasant*, 9, 203–208. [in Ukrainian]
- Khmelytska, L. V.** (2013). Rol ta mistse ukrainskykh selianok u roky kolektyvizatsii ta pid chas holodomoru 1932 – 1933 rr. [The Role and Place of Ukrainian Peasants in the Years of Collectivization and During the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933]. *Naukovi zapysky. Pedahohichni ta istorychni nauky – Scientific Notes: Pedagogical and Historical Sciences*, 113, 237–242. [in Ukrainian]
- Kulchytsky, S. V. & Shatalina, Y. P.** (1990). Dzherela pro kolektyvizatsiiu i holod na Ukraini: (Za materialamy TsDA Zhr URSSR 1929 – 1933 pp.) [Sources on Collectivization and Famine in Ukraine: (Based on the materials of the Central State Archive JR of the Ukrainian SSR 1929 – 1933)]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy – Archives of Ukraine*, 6, 38 – 49. [in Ukrainian]
- Kulchytsky, S. V.** (2013). *Chervonyi vyklyk. Istoriia komunizmu v Ukraini vid yoho narodzhennia do zahybeli* [Red Challenge. History of Communism in Ukraine From Its Birth to Death]. Book 2. Kyiv: Tempora, 628 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Kulchytsky, S. V.** (2013). Stalinska “revoliutsiia zghory” [Stalin’s “Revolution From Above”]. *Problemy istorii Ukrainy: fakty, sudzhennia poshuky – Issues of the History of Ukraine: Facts, Judgments, Search*, 22, 103–135 [in Ukrainian].
- Kulchytsky, S. V.** (1988). Do otsinky stanovyscha v silskomu hospodarstvi USRR u 1931 – 1933 rr. [Towards an Assessment of the Situation in Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR in 1931 – 1933]. *Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 3, 5–27. [in Ukrainian]
- Kyrydon, A.** (2010). *Derzhavno-tserkovni vidnosyny v radianskii Ukraini 1917 – 1930-kh rr.: istoriohrafichnyi diskurs* [State-Church Relations in Soviet Ukraine in the 1917 – 1930's: Historiographical Discourse]. Monograph. Rivne, 127 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Lynyuk, O. M.** (2016). Zhinka u systemi “novoi sotsialistychnoi obriadovosti” [A Woman in the System of the “New Socialist Rite”]. *Kultura i mystetstvo u suchasnomu sviti – Culture and Art in the Modern World*, (17), 60–69. [in Ukrainian]
- Markova, S. V.** (2014). Unifikatsiia svidomosti silskykh ditei zasobamy vplyvu ideolohichnoi ta osvitho-vykhovnoi system SRSR, USRR u 1920-kh – na pochatku 193-kh rr. [Unification of the Minds of Rural Children by the Means of Influence of the Ideological and Educational Systems of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR in the 1920s – early 1930s]. *Hileia: naukovyi visnyk – Gileya: The Scientific Bulletin*, 82, 34–40. [in Ukrainian]
- Naboka, S.** (2013). Zakonomirnosti ta osoblyvosti sotsialno-ekonomichnoi modernizatsii URSSR na rubezhi 1920-kh – 1930-kh rr. [Patterns and Features of Socio-economic Modernization of the Ukrainian SSR at the Turn of the 1920s – 1930s]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni T. Shevchenka. Istoriia – Bulletin of the T. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. History*, 2, 42–44. [in Ukrainian]
- Noll, B.** (1999). *Transformatsiia hromadianskoho suspilstva. Usna istoriia ukrainskoi selianskoi kultury 1920 – 1930 rokiv* [Transformation of Civil society. Oral History of Ukrainian Peasant Culture 1920 – 1930]. Kyiv, 559 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Parahina, M.** (2016). “Sotsialistychnyi realizm” radianskoho kinomystetstva 1930-ies – 1940-ies: u poshukakh ideolohichnoi paradyhmy [“Socialist Realism” of Soviet Cinema in the 1930s – 1940s: In Search of an Ideological Paradigm]. *Naukovi zapysky Ternopilskoho natsionalnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. Hnatiuka. Serii: Istoriia – Scientific notes of V. Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University of Ternopil. Series: History*, 2(3), 94–100. [in Ukrainian]
- Prylutsky, V. I.** (2001). *Molod Ukrainy v umovakh formuvannia totalitarnoho ladu (1920 – 1939)* [The Youth of Ukraine in the Conditions of Formation of a Totalitarian System (1920 – 1939)]. Kyiv, 249 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Rabenchuk, O. P.** (2006). *Robotnycho-selianska inspektsiia ta kulturne zhyttia v radianskii Ukraini (1920 – 1934 rr.)* [Labor-Peasant Inspection and Cultural Life in Soviet Ukraine (1920 – 1934)]. Kyiv, 248 p. [in Ukrainian]

Rabenchuk, O. P. (2002). Robselinspektsiia yak zasibvplyvu na rozvytokkultury USRR. Sfera radiomovlennia (kinets 20-kh – pochatok 30-kh rr. XX st.) [Labor-Peasant Inspection as a Means of Influencing the Development of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR. Sector of Radio Broadcasting (late 20's – early 30's of XX century)] *Naukovi zapysky Vinnytskoho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni M. Kotsiubynskoho – Scientific Notes of M. Kotsiubynsky State Pedagogical University of Vinnytsia*, 4, 125–129. [in Ukrainian]

Roslyak, R. W. (2011). Planuvannia ta zdiisnennia kinofikatsii ukrainskoho sela v 30-ti roky XX stolittia [Planning and Implementation of the Cinema of the Ukrainian Countryside in the 1930s]. *Visnyk Derzhavnoi akademii kerivnykh kadrov kultury i mystetstv – Bulletin of the State Academy of Management Personnel of Art and Culture*, 4, 226–231. [in Ukrainian]

Rybak, I. V. (2006). Kulturno-osvitni zaklady u sotsialno-pobutovii infrastrukturi ukrainskoho sela (1929 – 1940 rr.) [Cultural and Educational Institutions in the Social and Infrastructure of the Ukrainian Countryside (1929 – 1940)]. *Ukrainskyi selianyn – Ukrainian Peasant*, 10, 164–167. [in Ukrainian]

Sadovenko, S. M. (2017). Obriadovist u khronotopi radianskoï kultury: vid tradytsiinykh do novitnykh utvoren [Ritualism in the Chronotype of Soviet Culture: From Traditional to Modern Formations]. *Visnyk Natsionalnoi akademii kerivnykh kadrov kultury i mystetstv – Bulletin of the National Academy of Management Personnel of Culture and Arts*, 4, 76–83. [in Ukrainian]

Samardak, M. (2003). Nepodolana spadshchyna (stalinschchyna) [Inherited Heritage (Stalinism)]. *Praktychna filosofii – Practical Philosophy*, 4, 165–173. [in Ukrainian]

Sapytska, O. M. (2007). Transformatsiia kulturnoho rivnia selianok Ukrainy (1928 – seredyna 1933 rr.) [Transformation of the Cultural Level of Women-peasants of Ukraine (1928 – mid 1933)]. *Materialy V Mizhrehionalnoi naukovoï konferentsii “Aktualni pytannia istorii Ukrainy, vsesvitnoi istorii, istorii osvity, nauky i tekhniki” – Proceedings of the 5th Interregional Scientific Conference “Topical Issues of Ukrainian History, World History, History of Education, Science and Technology”* (pp. 25–26). Lugansk. [in Ukrainian]

Shapoval, Y., et al. (1997). *ChK-HPU-NKVD v Ukraini: osoby, fakty, dokumenty [ChK-GPU-NKVD in Ukraine: Persons, Facts, Documents]*. Kyiv: Abrykos, 608 p. [in Ukrainian]

Smoliy, V. (ed.). (2006). *Istoriia ukrainskoho selianstva: Narysy [History of the Ukrainian Peasantry: Essays]* (in 2 vols. Vol. 2). Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 653 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sobol, P. I. (2010). *Radianskyi totalitaryzm v Ukraini: roky kolektyvizatsii ta holodu (1929 – 1933): monohrafiia [Soviet Totalitarianism in Ukraine: Years of Collectivization and Famine (1929 – 1933): Monograph]*. Sumy: Mriya-1, 366 p. [in Ukrainian]

Stoychev, M. I. (2008). Osoblyvosti kolektyvizatsii u stepovykh raionakh Ukrainy (1929 – 1932 rr.) [Features of Collectivization in the Steppe Regions of Ukraine (1929 – 1932)]. *Storinky istorii – Pages of History*, (27), 163–166. [in Ukrainian]

Tarapon, O. (2016). Derzhavni sviata v Ukraini 1920 – 1930-kh rr. yak zasib formuvannia radianskykh politychnykh tsinnosti [State Holidays in Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s as a Means of Forming Soviet Political Values]. *Aktualni pytannia humanitarnykh nauk – Topical issues in the humanities*, (15), 96–102. [in Ukrainian]

Tkachenko, O. (2014). Sotsiokomunikatyvni pryntsyipy ta osoblyvosti provedennia mediakampanii “Kolektyvizatsiia” [Socio-communicative Principles and Peculiarities of Holding “The Collectivization” Media Campaign]. *Obraz – Image*, 15, 130. [in Ukrainian]

Vert, N. (2001). *Istoriia sovetskogo gosudarstva [History of the Soviet state]*. (2nd ed.). Moscow: “Wes Mir” Publishing House, 542 p. [in Russian].

Veselova, O. M., Marochko, V. I. & Movchan, O. M. (2000). *Holodomory v Ukraini, 1921 – 1923, 1932 – 1933 1946 – 1947: Zlochyny proty narodu [Holodomors in Ukraine, 1921 – 1923, 1932 – 1933, 1946 – 1947: Crimes Against the People]* (2nd ed.), Suppl. Kyiv. New York: M. P. Kots, 174 p. [in Ukrainian]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh orhanizatsii Ukrainy (CSAPOU – The Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine)

*The article was received on January 26, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 930.25(498):94(47+57):33.025.26
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210885

Marusia CÎRSTEA

PhD (History), Associate Professor of Department of History, Political Sciences and International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Craiova, 13 A. I. Cuza Street, Romania, postal code 200585 (cirsteamara@yahoo.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6613-8665>
SCOPUS ID: 56022551000

Маруся КИРСТЯ

докторка історії, доцентка кафедри історії, політичних наук і міжнародних відносин, факультет соціальних наук, Університет міста Крайова, вул. А. І. Куза, Румунія, індекс 200585 (cirsteamara@yahoo.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Cîrstea, M. (2020). The First Soviet Five-year Plan – as Reflected in the Romanian Archival Sources. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 208–217. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210885

**THE FIRST SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLAN – AS REFLECTED
IN THE ROMANIAN ARCHIVAL SOURCES**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. The article refers to the economic policy enforced by I. V. Stalin during the first five-year plan (lasting from 1 October 1928 until 31 December 1932); a policy whose goal was – according to the CPSU documents – “the modernisation of the Soviet Union by employing two fundamental mechanisms: collectivisation and industrialisation”. **The Scientific Novelty.** In the present article – based on the Romanian archival sources as well as specialised literature – it has been emphasised that, in order to put into practice the plan to centralise and control the entire national economy, the Soviet state forced villagers “by using the toughest means” to enter collective farms or mobilised them forcefully to ensure the industry development. **The research methodology** – the principles of scientificity, objectivity, historicism, the methods of an external and internal critique of sources. **The Conclusions.** The Romanian archive documents contemporary to the researched events mention the abuses committed by the Soviet authorities in enforcing the country’s collectivisation and industrialisation. Thus, the Soviet authorities accomplished their goals by enforcing great difficulties upon the population as well as a military-type mobilisation of the country in a supreme effort. Even the lexical choices of the collectivisation and industrialisation period – such as “the battlegrounds of iron and coal” “the shock brigades”, “deportation of the kulaks”, “permanent briefings” and the others – made the impression of the society at war. The aim of this collectivisation and industrialisation programme was in reality the development of a war economy, the “destruction of the hostile classes and factions within the Soviet Union”, and preparation for war “against the capitalist enemies abroad”. Thus, the industry was to contribute to the technical modernisation of the army by building a strong maritime and airborne fleet. The endpoint of the development programme was the transformation of the Soviet Union from an agricultural into industrial country “with the aim of leading the rest of Europe to communism”.

Key words: the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Bucharest, first five-year plan, forced labour, kolkhoz, industrialisation.

ПЕРШИЙ РАДЯНСЬКИЙ П'ЯТИРІЧНИЙ ПЛАН: ВІДОБРАЖЕННЯ У РУМУНСЬКИХ АРХІВНИХ ДЖЕРЕЛАХ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати відображення в румунських архівних джерелах аспектів проведення “економічної політики”, запровадженої Й. Сталіним у рамках п'ятирічного плану (тривав від 1 жовтня 1928 р. до 31 грудня 1932 р) політики, яка, відповідно до документів ВКП(б) трактувалася як “модернізація Радянського Союзу двома основними методами: колективізація та індустріалізація”. **Наукова новизна.** У цій статті, яка базується на румунських архівних джерелах і спеціальних дослідженнях, підкреслюється той факт, що Радянська держава задля реалізації на практиці плану централізації і контролю всієї національної економіки найжорсткішими засобами змусила селян до увійти до колгоспів, тобто бути насильно мобілізованими для розвитку сільськогосподарської галузі. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, об'єктивності, історизму, методи зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики джерел. **Висновки.** У румунських архівних документах відзначені зловживання радянською владою у здійсненні колективізації та індустріалізації країни. З аналізованих документів випливає, що радянська влада досягала своїх цілей тільки шляхом нав'язання великих труднощів населенню та здійснення мобілізації трудових ресурсів для побудови країни військового типу. До румунських документів потрапили характерні для радянського політичного словника періоду колективізації та індустріалізації терміни: “залізни і вугільні фронти”, “ударні бригади”, “депортація куркулів”, “постійні комунікації”. Це складало враження суспільства, що перебуває у повномасштабній війні. Документи показують, що програму колективізації та індустріалізації насправді було спрямовано на розвиток військової економіки, щоб “знищити ворожі класи і групи всередині Радянського Союзу”, а також здійснити підготовку до війни “проти зовнішніх капіталістичних ворогів”. Тож усі галузі економіки мали внести свій вклад у технічну модернізацію армії, побудову сильних морського і повітряного флотів. У румунських джерелах стверджується, що “кінцевою метою програми розвитку є перетворення Радянського Союзу з сільськогосподарської країни в промислову з метою привести до комунізму решту Європи”.

Ключові слова: Архів Міністерства Закордонних Справ – Бухарест, перший п'ятирічний план, примусова праця, колгосп, індустріалізація.

The Problem Statement. In the article there have been described a number of scenes illustrative of the manner in which industrialisation in the Soviet Union occurred during the first five-year plan. Evidently, the official Soviet statements included – in time – great exaggerations, which are difficult to assess due to the limited and often obscure nature of the Soviet statistics, but also due to the Western observers' subjectivity and self-interest. The article focuses on the analysis of the USSR's position in the context of international relations; the evolution of the Soviet economy during the first five-year plan; the extremely harsh measures adopted by Stalin in order to impose the accomplishment of the five-year plan; the Soviet state's endeavours to develop the navy and commercial aviation – in the interpretation given by the Romanian archival documents.

The purpose of the research is to highlight the way in which the USSR became an industrial state and the phenomena accompanying this ‘industrial enthusiasm’: forced labour, shortage of consumer goods, political imprisonment, quasi-military mobilisation, etc. All these phenomena were enforced in Eastern Europe after 1945, in the Soviet Union's client states.

The source of the research is based on unpublished documents (found in the archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest – fund 71/Anglia, dossier no. 16, fund Londra, dossier no. 260, fund 71/România, dossier no. 361) and published documents, corroborated with specialised bibliography.

The Statement of the Basic Material.

Introduction. The Soviet State's Duality of Behaviour in International Relations

At the threshold between the third and the fourth decades of the last century, the evolutions and the relations between the great powers were unfolding under the convulsion created within the international system by the economic crisis of 1929 – 1933, with its effects on the social and political stage through the escalation of both left-wing movements (including the communist left), and the right-wing ones (represented by Fascism and Nazism).

In this international context, Stalin (through his enforcer in matters of a foreign policy between 1930 and 1939, Maksim Litvinov) sought a new approach in international relations, one that sought closer alliances with the powers that were in favour of preserving the *status-quo* (Riasanovsky, 2001, p. 526). However, history has proved that the main characteristic of the Soviet foreign policy was the duality of their behaviour in foreign relations: on the one hand, their concern with having normal diplomatic and commercial relations with other states, and on the other hand the endeavours of the Comintern, meant to destabilise governments (Ciorbea, 2006, p. 163).

Referring to the politics of the Soviet Union, Winston Churchill drew attention – in his article entitled “*The Bolshevik Threat*” in August 1931 – that: “The focal point of all perils is the Soviet government in Russia. Outside the community of the other nations, a gigantic centralised state of 160 million inhabitants came into being here and lives in the utmost enmity with the other nations, is knowingly armed to the teeth, is full of abjectness and unfulfilled desires. Along the Russian border, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, there is a string of newly born or reborn states (Turkey, Romania, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland), which owe their existence or their rise to the Russian disaster in the World War. They form Europe’s outpost against the notions of Asian communism. For these countries, bolshevism is more than a simple ‘matter of opinion’. It is the enemy, the foremost enemy, which – after a savage battle – was brought to its knees and is being brought to its knees every month. The border between Russia and all these new states is not only a frontier between opposing interests, but also between opposing ideas. From its waves of protection in the East, the gigantic Russian state, a communist one at heart, preaches the world revolution as a political means, at the same time embodying the old tsarist imperialism, which lingers in its blood [...] Although nowadays Russia commands the army, which is by far the biggest in the world, it continues to arm itself. It specialises in the newest, the most terrifying and disturbing means of a deliberate war and that is: the terrible aviation, capable to bombard great cities like a football goal, tanks and combat vehicles. It is the duty of Western democracies to hope for the best. However, there is enough time to indicate that in a year or so Russia will be better prepared for war than ever before. The extent of its armour will be so great, that Russia will become invincible to its neighbouring states” (AMAE, f. 71/Anglia, d. 16, pp. 170–171).

Winston Churchill’s vision of the Soviet Union was not shared by all western politicians and diplomats. Even as early as in 1922, in the Treaty of Rapallo, Russia and Germany agreed on diplomatic relations, they each renounced all war debt and compensation claims against the other and granted the most favoured nation status to each other on the basis of their economic relations (Duroselle, 2006, pp. 52–53); during 1924 – 1925 the states such as Great Britain, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Greece, Denmark, Mexico, China, Japan officially recognised the Soviet Union and re-established diplomatic and economic relations (Riasanovsky, 2001, p. 525; Duroselle, 2006, p. 64; Cîrstea & Buzatu, 2007, p. 187); in 1928 the Soviet Union adhered to the Briand-Kellogg Pact (after initially declaring that “the pact

was aimed against it”), while in 1929, in Moscow Protocol, proposed an extension of the Pact at the regional level (to include Poland, Romania, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Turkey, Persia and the Free City of Danzig) (Vlad, 2014, p. 102; Cîrstea, 2017, pp. 16–18). Gradually, during the fourth decade of the last century, using all levers of power, Stalin managed to dominate both the domestic and the international political scene – making use of occasional alliances as well as former adversaries to achieve his goals, which were mainly “*imposing the USSR as a global force*” and “*attaining universal revolution.*”

The Collectivisation and the Industrialisation of the Soviet Union – in the Romanian Archival Documents

At the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth decades, the Soviet Union, under Stalin’s direct coordination, embarked on a massive programme of collectivisation and industrialisation. Thus, in *The Principles of Socialist Industrialisation*, Stalin emphasised the following: “The Essence of industrialisation does not consist in a mere industrial growth, but in the development of heavy industry and primarily in the development of its foundation, the motor vehicle manufacturing, since it is only the creation of heavy industry and our own motor vehicle manufacture that can guarantee the material basis of socialism, rendering the country of socialism independent from the capitalist world” (Buzatu & Chirițoiu, 1999, p. 120). The apparent success of the Soviet planning contrasted with the great crisis traversed by Western states, which seemed to predict the collapse of capitalism and could be interpreted as evidence of the superiority of the Soviet system.

The construction of the new socialist system started with the “forced collectivisation, which was an authentic war unleashed against an entire people of peasants and farmers” (Courtois, 1998, p. 139). Stalin defined collectivisation as the constitution of *kolkhozes* (collective farms) and *sovkhozes* (state farms) to “banish all the capitalist elements from agriculture” (Cîrstea & Buzatu, 2007, p. 182). In order to organise the renowned *kolkhozes* (the purpose being the construction of socialism in rural areas), tens of thousands of trusted communists and proletarians – the infamous ‘twenty-five-thousanders’ – were sent simultaneously from cities to villages (Riasanovsky, 2001, p. 512). At the time, Stalin decided “to finish irreversibly with the un-socialised peasantry and embark on a policy of a massive collectivisation [...] The entire Russian peasantry is at the mercy of the sadism and the arbitrariness of the proletarian government and, in their turn, the population of the cities begin to suffer [...] An inevitable corollary of peasant movements, famine sprawls in villages and cities equally. The Kremlin panics [...] Stalin must resort to a new compromise. On the 2nd of March 1930, he publishes in Moscow press the famous article entitled *Dizzy with Success*, in which, applauding the triumph of collectivisation [...], accuses provincial communists of being too zealous, of forcing peasants to enter *kolkhozes* against their wish and of thus betraying the cause of the revolution” (Buzatu & Chirițoiu, 1999, p. 138; Souvarine, 1999, p. 426). It is worth emphasising that one of the main goals of the first five-year plan (a model transferred to East European countries after 1945) and thus of collectivisation, finding a solution to the problem of the chronic scarcity of grains, was never fulfilled; on the contrary, nationalisation, planning and collectivisation had immediate noxious consequences (Guzun, 2011, p. 37). Collectivisation, as Stalin designed it and the thousand of party activists and state functionaries put into practice brought “nothing else than destitution and brutality”, as N. S. Khrushchev noted in his memoirs (Ciorbea, 2006, pp. 151–152). At the same time, the First Secretary of the party organisation in Ukraine, Stanislav V. Koșior, also admitted that in many villages collectivisation was “compromised and created artificially, the population did not participate and has no idea about it – but, he added cautiously – its numerous dark aspects

cannot obscure the overall image of collectivisation” (Țărău, 2006, p. 216). The main ‘mistakes’ made during that period of a total collectivisation were: forcing the peasants to enter kolkhozes; the dekulakization of large circles of a rural population – in a proportion of up to 15% in certain areas, including here even poor peasants; the establishment of kolkhozes without any consultation with the peasants; the excessive ‘socialisation’ during confiscations, for instance, of all the peasants’ cattle (Conquest, 2003, p. 172). Exceedingly harsh measures were inflicted upon the collectivised peasants in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Kuban (together with the Don and Volga regions) through ‘excessive requisitions’, which led to ‘a serious food crisis’ (Conquest, 2003, pp. 331–338), which will result, in the following years, “in millions of people dying of hunger in Ukraine and Northern Caucasus” (Souvarine, 1999, p. 531).

The collectivisation of agriculture – which substituted an individual peasant property by the state property of the land – was a means of achieving a well-defined purpose, that of meeting the needs of the industrialisation process, which commenced with the introduction of the first five-year plan for the period between 1928 and 1932. “*The Industrial Revolution*” – devised by Stalin – was founded on “the class struggle” fought against a numerous and completely disarmed minority of their own population; the liquidation of the “class of kulaks”; the starvation of the entire population of the country; the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the Orthodox Church; the requisition of properties belonging to the relatively wealthy peasants; “the military feudal style exploitation of the peasantry” (Nolte, 2005, pp. 215–217). In relation to the need to fulfil the five-year plan, Stalin maintained in a famous speech of the 5th of February 1931 in Moscow: “Lessening the work, which we embarked on means agreeing to drop backward. But the ones, who drop backward will be vanquished. We do not want to be vanquished. The entire history of old Russia only shows that Russia was always defeated because it was the most backward. The Mongol khans, the Turkish beys, the Swedish feudal lords, the Polish-Lithuanian lords, the Anglo-French capitalists, the Japanese barons, they all defeated Russia because it was backward in the military, culture, industry, agriculture and especially government regime. They defeated it because no one was able to oppose all this. Once we didn’t and couldn’t have a country. But now, when we have established the power of labourers, when we have a country, we will know how to defend her independence. We are fifty to a hundred years behind advanced countries; we must cross this distance in ten years. We will do it or be crushed” (Dukes, 2009, pp. 255–256; Lynch, 2002, pp. 36–37; AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

Stalin’s programme for the industrialisation of the USSR may be taken as an attempt at forging a war economy (Lynch, 2002, p. 43). Thus, “industrially – a document entitled *News about the social and political situation in the USSR* (1931) shows – nowadays Soviet Russia is the most completely militarised state the world has ever known. All men and many of the women are completely at the state’s disposal. They are regimented and brigaded and receive orders just like the military forces do” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

The costs of industrialisation were enormous. The Soviet authorities accomplished their goals by imposing great challenges on the population and through a military-style mobilisation of the country in a supreme effort. Even the vocabulary of five-year plans, with their battlegrounds of iron and coal, their shock brigades and permanent briefings, gave the impression of a society at war. The same archival document – regarding Soviet Russia (1931) – mentioned the following: “Forced labour will be carried out to excess and the Central Labour Committee gave orders for another 100 000 peasants to be placed at the disposal of the industry, so that work can be continued ceaselessly both day and night – the expectation being that production will double” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

During this period the Soviet Union insisted greatly on the development of heavy industry, the extractive industry, the petroleum industry and transports. Referring to the likelihood of fulfilling the national production plan in 1931, Stalin stated: “We possess an enormous natural wealth; we have iron, coal, ore, grains and cotton in bigger quantities than any other country in the world. The Ural alone represents a combination of riches, which cannot be found elsewhere, in a year or two we shall have rubber as well” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged). Thus – continued the communist leader – “the Soviet Union is the most focused industrial country and this proves we can build our industry on the most perfectionist technical basis and can ensure an unprecedented level of production, due to this technical basis. In the past, our weakness originated from the fact that this industry was exploited by peasants, but today the situation is completely different. Tomorrow or maybe in one year, we will become the biggest agricultural country in the world, the ‘Kolkhozy’, and this year we have procured half of the wheat destined to be sold. This means the Soviet regime allows for such a rapid development, that no bourgeois country can compete with us. To ensure our results are increasingly better, the communist party has to be cohesive enough to lead the efforts of our best representatives in the labourers’ class towards a single objective; skilful enough to never capitulate when faced with difficulties, so that it systematically enforces the Bolshevik revolutionary national politics. Our party’s government is fair, for it grants great success; it is not only our friends, but also our enemies that acknowledge it” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged).

The main objectives of the first five-year plan were represented by the modernisation of the industry and the transformation of the Soviet Union from an agrarian into a heavily industrialised country, which needed to be economically independent from capitalist countries, and also the strengthening of its defensive potential. 1500 great factories were built during the first five-year plan and the basis was laid for certain industrial branches, such as: the construction of machine tools and electrical machines, automobiles, tractors, chemical industry, aeronautical industry, and the others; great industrial platforms were also created in Asia Minor and Transcaucasia, Kazakhstan and Tartary, Buryatia-Mongolia, in the Urals or Serbia (Medvedev, 1991, p. 104; Riasanovsky, 2001, p. 511).

The basis of the industrialisation was, among the others, coal extraction which, between 1929 and 1930, reached the figure of 54,000,000 tons, a great amount of it being exported. At this time coal export was permanently increasing; therefore: 1st October 1927 – 1st October 1928: 500 000 tons; 1st October 1928 – 1st October 1929: 1 500 000 tons; 1st October 1929 – 1st August 1930 (10 months): 1 400 000 tons (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged).

The total imports of coal made by England from Soviet Russia reached the following figures: in 1928 – 500 000 tons; in 1929 – 600 000 tons; in 1930 – 554 000 tons (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged). It is interesting to mention that in 1913 tsarist Russia bought 6 000 000 tons of coal from England, while in 1930 Soviet Russia purchased less than 40 000 tons (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged).

Country allocation of Russian coal exports for a period of 6 months, from 1st October 1929 to 1st April 1930, was the following: Italy – 180 000 tons; the United States – 118 000 tons; Greece – 108 000 tons; Turkey – 83 000 tons; France – 68 000 tons; China – 23 000 tons; Japan – 26 000 tons (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged). On the other hand, during January – October of 1930 Canada imported 260 000 tons of Russian anthracite while during the same period in 1929 there were only 95 000 tons (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagged).

An essential target of the great transformations was the development of rail transportation. The most substantial achievement of the first five-year plan was the completion of the almost

1500-kilometre Turksib railway, which brought Central Asia in the Union's rail transport system. Extremely harsh measures were taken to ensure the fulfilment of the planned targets in the construction of the railway infrastructure. Thus, the 25th January 1931 issue of the Pravda newspaper published a decree by which the Council of People's Commissars allowed unrestricted powers to the heads of the state railway carrier: "Any breach of labour discipline by transport workers (breach of regulations regarding traction, poor rehabilitation of the rolling stock, or the railroads, etc.) is punished with imprisonment up to ten years, if the breach has led or might have led to either the degradation or the destruction of the rolling stock, the railroads or the buildings, or a delay in the departure of trains and ships or the accumulation in the landing site of the empty material, or the immobilisation of wagons and ships, or any other act liable to obstruct the fulfilment of the transportation programmes established by the government or able to compromise traffic regularity and safety. If these criminal acts are premeditated, the maximum measure of a social protection will be applied (the death punishment) with asset confiscation" (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagéd).

In order to meet the requirements of the first five-year plan, Stalin imposed extreme measures, deeming 'national sabotage' any failure to fulfil or resistance in reaching the planned objectives. He made use of a series of public trials of industrial 'saboteurs' to warn the party and the masses against the futility of their protest against the stringency of the industrialisation process. Thus, "the Soviet authorities – was underlined in a document – gave orders to the central engineers' organisation to gather the necessary material for two new trials against engineers, one in Moscow and another in Leningrad, with a view to combating the specialists' refusal to go to Siberia, to the Kuznetsk coal basin [...] The industrial conference of the Soviets convened at the beginning of February to discuss the obstacles to the 5-year plan created by a great number of engineers and workers not going where they were sent or deserting immediately upon arrival" (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagéd).

The Soviet Interest in Developing the Navy and Commercial Aviation

To achieve the economic policy enforced through the first five-year plan, the Soviet Union also needed a powerful commercial fleet. Consequently, the Work and Defence Commissariat gave an order that on 1st of April 1930 all the trust ships (which navigated on the sea or the rivers) should be put under the management of the Commissariat for railways and the River Transport Society. At the same time, the five-year plan envisaged an increase by 25% in the number of commercial ships "that is, 492 ships with a total tonnage of 873 000 for the European side of the USSR and 374 ships for its Oriental side. It greatly surpasses the production capacity of national shipyards during the allotted time. They are distributed in Leningrad, Odesa, Mykolaiv and Sevastopol. Simultaneously, the 'Sovtorgflot' designed the plan for a shipyard for big and medium-sized vessels in Mariupol [...] and it is anticipated that they will build 116 ships for maritime service (173 million roubles), passenger ships, river freight ships, barges, tanks (total value 103 million roubles)" (AMAE, f. 71/România, d. 361, p. 409).

Referring to the Soviet policies that provided for the modernisation and development of the commercial fleet, the following comment was made in the British newspaper 'The Times': "On the 17th of April the Soviet Council of Labour and Defence decided to inaugurate a new ship building programme immediately, since the Soviet commercial fleet proved insufficient for the government's export plans. Therefore six shipbuilding sites will be established at the Black Sea, the Baltic Sea, the Azov Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Pacific and the Arctic Ocean. The programme provisions the construction of 44 ships with a total capacity of 175 000 during 1931. Before

the end of June, the appointed authorities will have to gather all sailors and officers, formerly employed by the commercial navy, who found other employment and force them to resume their service for the new commercial fleet” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

While the commercial fleet was developed, the Soviet state also attempted to assemble a modern air fleet. Thus, the 30th March 1931 issue of ‘The Daily Telegraph’ published the following: “The Soviets are making an extraordinary effort to build an enormous air fleet, which is expected in 1933 to comprise more planes than the United States itself. During the aviation conference held on the 18th of February, the commander of a civil aviation made it known that 15 000 people will be enlisted as pilots and 50 new airfields and 250 other landing sites will also be established. During 1931 75% of the existing planes will be replaced by new ones, each endowed with more engines, so that the total number of planes will increase by 70%. The Soviet government issued a number of decrees, which give special privileges to the domain of aircraft construction [...] The role of the Soviet aviation during peacetime is to contribute to an economic prosperity, while during the wartime it is an excellent weapon. This year the sum of 150 000 000 roubles was allocated for the construction of new planes, a sum, which few capitalist countries can afford the luxury of spending for this particular purpose” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued). At the same time, the February issue of the ‘Journal R.U.S. Institution’ magazine showed that “The Soviets have recently built a great dirigible of 2 500 cubic meters named Komsomolskaia Pravda, which at present performs successful flights. It is the flexible type and can transport six passengers. This machine is said to be only one in a series which is to be constructed for the transport of passengers and to meet various other needs in northern Siberia” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

The Conclusion. At the end of the third decade and the beginning of the fourth one, during the last century, Stalin imposed a ‘*revolution from above*’ (Conquest, 2003, p. 156) to change the economic structure of the state, which, in its turn, was meant to determine a new political supra-structure and institutional organisation; at the same time pursuing the “final liquidation of nationalist and autonomist manifestations cultivated by the majority of the inhabitants of Ukraine, satiated with the suzerainty of Moscow” (Țărău, 2006, p. 222).

Collectivisation – Industrialisation – Planning, represented the signal words for the state, which was constructing the soviet socialism (a variant of socialism so altered, that some historians consider it would be more appropriate to call it “the state capitalism”). In fact, at the 16th Party Congress (26th June – 13th July 1930) Stalin was going to maintain that the Soviet Union “*entered socialist times.*” Starting with the first five-year plan (1928 – 1932), a new strategy of development was asserted, based on a forced industrialisation and achieving gigantic goals. Valerian Volodymyrovych Kuybyshev, who chaired the Supreme Council of the National Economy, emphasised that “The five-year plan will be followed by another economic plan for a period of 7 – 10 years, which will allow a radical reconstruction of all the industrial and agricultural branches” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

The first five-year plan emphasised the need for heavy industry, approximately 85% of all the investment in industry going in this direction so that a big number of factories were built and new cities were constructed. Thus, the Kuzbass area (the Kuznetsk Basin) represented – according to the five-year plan – “a vital element of the development” so that in 1933 “this area, together with the metal industries in the Urals, must be sufficiently developed to prevent the industry from plummeting during the war, in case the enemy took control of the Donets Basin and destroyed it” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued). To meet this objective,

335 000 labourers were brought in 1931 and 48,000 hectares were made available to them “to transform in a few months into poultry gardens and special farms with 107 000 cattle” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

To stimulate production, “the Soviet government divided the labourers into two categories: *the good* and *the bad*. The work of a good labourer has to surpass the standardised plan by 20% and that entitles him to a special food card for a period of one month” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

The Russian labourer and agriculturalist were completely under control of the state “since the forced labour decreed by the government sent them wherever the stated deems it necessary,” the ones, who do not submit “being sentenced for political or criminal reasons as counter-revolutionaries or kulaks” and sent to labour camps – as it emerges from an archival document from 1931, which offers relative data regarding the number of people sentenced to labour camps in the northern R.S.F.S.R.: Vishesky on the Dvina – 30,000; Ussoisk – 10,000; Arhangelsk– 18,000; Penujsky – 25 000; Kotlas – 30 000; Murmansk – 20 000; Sovetsky – 20 000); Kema – 20 000 (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued). Faced with back-breaking labour, awful food and a terrible winter, over 73,000 are said to have died during the last months and several thousands were shot because they were unable to do the work they were asked to do (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

The financial effort made by the Soviet state with a view to industrialisation was huge; enormous amounts of the gold reserve were sold. “Selling off the gold is explained by the Soviets’ need to pay 11 000 000 pounds to Europe and America,” at the same time “the gold which is now being sold to Germany is said to represent what was left from the Romanian treasure sent to Moscow during the war” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

Important financial efforts were also being made to modernise the army, the Soviet state gathering annually “over 1 200 000 people to receive military training. 450,000 of them are chosen for the regular and the territorial army, 350,000 receive instructions in factories and other organisations while the rest are sent back, because they do not meet the regime’s requirements” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

The Soviet youth was educated in the spirit of a ‘universal revolution,’ and the fulfilment of the five-year plan was considered “a prelude to the great war for world revolution” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued).

“The 5-year plan – another document states – aims at transforming Russia from an agrarian country into an industrialised one and this is not an internal matter, as some wrongly believe, but an international issue, designed to lead the rest of Europe to communism” (AMAE, f. Londra, d. 260, unpagued). However, at the end of 1932, despite numerous resolutions and proclamations of increasing “*historical importance*” and “*global interest*” and the enormous various sacrifices, the economic programmes (devised during the first five-year plan) remained unaccomplished in all their indicators; the USSR did not catch up with and did not overcome any industrialised country in Europe or North America.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al României, București (The Archives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, Bucharest – AMAE).

Buzatu, Gh. & Chirițoiu, M. (1999). *Stalin cenzurat/necenzurat [Stalin censored / uncensored]*. București, 333 p. [in Romanian]

- Ciorbea, V.** (2006). *Din istoria secolului XX (1918 – 1939)* [From 20th Century History (1918 – 1939)]. Vol. 1. Constanța: Editura Ex Ponto, 443 p. [in Romanian]
- Cîrstea, M.** (2017). *Romania and Great Britain (1919 – 1939). Interests. Projects. Achievements.* Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 314 p. [in English]
- Cîrstea, M. & Buzatu, Gh.** (2007). *Europa în balanța forțelor [Europe in the Balance of Forces].* Vol. I (1919 – 1939). București: Editura Mica Valahie, 600 p. [in Romanian]
- Conquest, R.** (2003). *Recolta durerii. Colectivizarea sovietică și teroarea prin foamete [The Harvest of Sorrow. Social Collectivization and the Terror Famine].* București: Humanitas, 411 p. [in Romanian]
- Courtois, S.** ș.a. (ed.) (1998). *Cartea neagră a comunismului. Crime, teroare, represiune [The Black Book of Communism. Crimes, Terror, Repression].* București: Humanitas/Fundația Alianța Civică, 798 p. [in Romanian]
- Dukes, P.** (2009). *Istoria Rusiei 882 – 1996 [A History of Russia].* București: Editura All, 451 p. [in Romanian]
- Duroselle, J.-B.** (2006). *Istoria relațiilor internaționale. 1919 – 1947 [A History of International Relations. 1919 – 1947].* Vol. I. București: Editura Științelor Sociale și Politice, 395 p. [in Romanian]
- Guzun, V.** (2011). *Marea foamete sovietică, 1926 – 1936 [The Great Soviet Famine 1926 – 1936].* Baia Mare: Editura Universității de Nord, 380 p. [in Romanian]
- Lynch, M.** (2002). *Stalin și Hrușciiov: URSS, 1924 – 1964. [Stalin and Khrushchev: USSR, 1924 – 1964].* București: Editura All, 176 p. [in Romanian]
- Medvedev, R.** (1991). *Despre Stalin și stalinism. Consemnări istorice [On Stalin and Stalinism. Historic Notes].* București: Humanitas, 351 p. [in Romanian]
- Nolte, E.** (2005). *Războiul civil European 1917 – 1945. National-socialism și bolșevism [The European Civil War 1917 – 1945. National Socialism and Bolshevism].* București: Runa, 520 p. [in Romanian]
- Riasanovsky, N. V.** (2001). *O istorie a Rusiei [A History of Russia].* Iași: Institutul European, 701 p. [in Romanian]
- Souvarine, B.** (1999). *Stalin. Studiu istoric al bolșevismului [Stalin. A Historic Study of Bolshevism].* București: Humanitas, 617 p. [in Romanian]
- Țărău, A.** (2006). *Procesul de transformare socialistă a agriculturii în Uniunea Sovietică [Socialist Transformation of Agriculture Process in the Soviet Union].* *Crisia, XXXVI*, 213–228. [in Romanian]
- Vlad, C.** (2014). *Istoria diplomației. Secolul XX [History of Diplomacy. The 20th Century].* Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 781 p. [in Romanian]

*The article was received on January 12, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 94(477.82):32.019.5(47+57)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210891

Mariia MANDRYK-MELNYCHUK

PhD hab. (History), Professor of Department of Social Medicine and Public Health, Bukovinian State Medical University, 2 Theatralna Square, Chernivtsi, Ukraine, postal code 58002 (mandricescu@yahoo.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5995-9003>
Researcher ID: B-7790-2017

Halyna KOTSUR

PhD (History), Associate Professor of Department of Archive Science and Specialized Branches of Historical Science, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 60 Volodymyrs'ka Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01033 (panihalenka@meta.ua)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7777-4248>
Researcher ID: AAD-1389-2020

Марія МАНДРИК-МЕЛЬНИЧУК

докторка історичних наук, професорка кафедри соціальної медицини та організації охорони здоров'я Буковинського державного медичного університету, Театральна площа, 2, м. Чернівці, Україна, індекс 58002 (mandricescu@yahoo.com)

Галина КОЦУР

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри архівознавства та спеціальних галузей історичної науки Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, вул. Володимирська 60, Київ, Україна, індекс 01033 (panihalenka@meta.ua)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Mandryk-Melnychuk, M. & Kotsur, H. (2020). Propaganda as a component of the processes of sovietization of the territories of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia (1944 – 1947). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 218–228. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210891

**PROPAGANDA AS A COMPONENT
OF THE PROCESSES OF SOVIETIZATION OF THE TERRITORIES
OF NORTHERN BUKOVYNA AND BESSARABIA (1944 – 1947)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to investigate the role of propaganda in the denationalization of the territories annexed to the USSR, which were previously part of Romania, the unification of all spheres of life, the new type of mindset planting and the Ukrainians everyday life. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, which allowed us to consider the problem in the context of general processes that took place in the territories annexed to the USSR, on the basis of the analysis of sources to identify specific features and specific historical conditions, to refute some false statements. The retrospective and analytical methods, the method of historiographic analysis and synthesis, the method of periodization and social psychology have been applied while presenting the material. The scientific novelty is an attempt to highlight the role of propaganda as a preventive means of a large-scale nature objectively, which allowed to establish control in the*

annexed territories. It has been proved that in the history of the Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia Sovietization it is necessary to distinguish two different periods due to the consequences of the rule of two different Romanian regimes, the conditions of the war, and the struggle against the Ukrainian underground. It is shown that these processes took place in the context of the general unification of life. **The Conclusions.** Taking everything into consideration, the main goal of the Sovietization processes in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, which joined the USSR, was to achieve the most profound changes in mentality, perception of self-identity, distorted understanding of their own ethnogenesis. The propaganda campaigns were developed in accordance with the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) decisions, which went down to the party leadership of the republic. Diverse tools were used in order to keep everything under control at the annexed territories and prepare the masses for the state of being captured, for instance, the whole arsenal on means of influence was applied, party control over the periodicals and radio broadcasting, censorship of the repertoire of theaters, philharmonics, the historical science transformation into the instrument of consciousness manipulation, coverage of lecture groups by a large part of the population. At the same time, an information war was launched in order to discredit the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists". In addition, the authorities, aimed at strengthening its authority, speculated on the "national issue", inciting hatred against the Romanians.

Keys words: Sovietization, ambivalence, propaganda, reoccupation.

ПРОПАГАНДА ЯК СКЛАДОВА ПРОЦЕСІВ РАДЯНІЗАЦІЇ ТЕРЕНІВ ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ ТА БЕССАРАБІЇ (1944 – 1947 рр.)

Анотація. Метою дослідження є висвітлення ролі ідеолого-пропагандистського механізму у творенні радянської дійсності, насадженні нового світобачення та стилю життя на територіях Північної Буковини та Бессарабії, які ввійшли до складу СРСР. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму та об'єктивності, що дали змогу розглянути проблему у контексті загальних процесів, які відбувалися на приєднаних до СРСР територіях, на основі аналізу джерел визначити специфічні риси та конкретно-історичні умови, спростувати окремі хибні твердження. При викладенні матеріалу використано ретроспективний і аналітичний методи, метод історіографічного аналізу та синтезу, метод періодизації та соціальної психології. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі об'єктивного висвітлення ролі пропаганди як превентивних засобів масового характеру, які дозволили встановити контроль на приєднаних територіях. Доведено, що в історії радянзації Північної Буковини та Бессарабії потрібно виділяти два децю відмінні періоди через наслідки правління двох різних румунських режимів, умови війни, боротьбу з українським підпіллям. Показано, що ці процеси відбувалися у контексті загальної уніфікації життя. **Висновки.** Отже, головною метою радянських процесів на теренах Північної Буковини та Бессарабії, які ввійшли до СРСР, було досягнення найглибших змін у ментальності, сприйнятті самоідентичності, перекрученому розумінні власного етногенезу. Пропагандистські кампанії розроблялися відповідно до рішень ЦК ВКП (б), які спускалися до партійного керівництва республіки. Застосування всього арсеналу засобів впливу, партійний контроль за періодичними виданнями та радіомовленням, цензурування репертуару театрів, філармоній, перетворення історичної науки на інструмент маніпуляції свідомістю, охоплення діяльністю лекторських груп значної частини населення – все це не лише підготувало підґрунтя до захоплення, але й сприяло утриманню контролю на приєднаних територіях. Водночас була розгорнута інформаційна війна з дискредитації "українських буржуазних націоналістів". Крім того, для зміцнення свого авторитету влада спекулювала на "національному питанні", розпалюючи ненависть до румунів.

Ключові слова: радянська, амбівалентність, пропаганда, реокупація.

The Problem Statement. The propaganda served as the foundation of the Soviet statehood, permeating all institutions, creating artificial realities, symbols, images, instead of destroying the others. In addition to it, the selective history was written, one's own model of the world was created with the use of literature, the press, cinema, and television. The ultimate goal was to deepen the conditional distinction between "that" and the "new" Soviet world.

Harold Dwight Lasswell, the leading American researcher in the field of communications and author of the book “Propaganda Technique in the World War” (London, 1927), claimed that propaganda involved the forcible management of thoughts, relationships through direct processing of consciousness. Its main purpose is to “mobilize thought” around the idea of hatred of the enemy (Lasvel, 1929, pp. 27–28). The Soviet propaganda developed the “conspiracy theory”, involving the intellectual elite in this process actively. The propaganda used censorship to prevent the leakage of the “incorrect” information. Those people, who managed to isolate themselves from those realities served their terms in Gulag camps (Main Directorate of Camps) or in specialized medical institutions.

The propaganda became the most effective way of instilling the Soviet way of life in the territories of Ukraine integrated in 1939 – 1940 and 1944 into the USSR. Immediate transformations in all spheres of life, the accelerated pace of eradication of the consequences of the two Romanian periods of the 1918 – 1940 and 1941 – 1944, the leveling of national specifics, and the struggle against the liberation movement required the development of an effective propaganda mechanism.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The processes of Sovietization in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia can be divided into distinct periods. The first period, lasted for a short time in 1940 – 1941, which is associated with the Romanian government system and administrative division abolition and the second period, which began in 1944 and lasted for the decade was tougher, complicated by the consequences of Ion Antonescu’s reign, the war and the struggle against the Ukrainian underground. In historiography, the above-mentioned specificity is almost not reflected. The written collective work was one of the first domestic studies on the Sovietization problem of the above-mentioned territories (Boiechko, Hanzha, Zakharchuk, 1992). The researcher Yu. Saifulina studied Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia Sovietization processes through the prism of planting a new model of public administration and self-government (Saifulina, 2008). According to the researcher, the propaganda is the way to prepare the population’s minds for a positive perception of these changes in 1940 – 1941 (Saifulina, 2008, pp. 58–60). Furthermore, the control’s establishment over the region required some time and the use of human resources along with the mental specifics knowledge of these areas (Saifulina, 2008, p. 60). Instead, the so-called “reliable” personnel from the eastern and central regions of the USSR did not meet these criteria. The scientist, I. Pater analyzed the methods of Soviet propaganda, which were used to establish a new mentality (Pater, 2015 – 2016). The researcher, V. Mishchanyn focuses on the ambivalence of the Sovietization processes, for instance, the simultaneous elimination of the consequences of previous regimes and the implementation of large-scale multifaceted transformations in these areas (Mishchanyn, 2016; Mishchanyn, 2018). The author considers the Sovietization to be a reformatting of all spheres of life according to the models of a socialist modernization, which affected the Ukrainians’ mentality (Mishchanyn, 2019). V. Mishchanyn managed to characterize the measures used by the Soviet authorities in the context of “liberation” (Mishchanyn, 2016). The researcher considered historiographical aspects of the study of the Sovietization processes (Myshchak, 2009; Myshchak, 2007). He raises the intelligentsia participation issue in propaganda work, the usage of the punitive method against the disobedient (Myshchak, 2009, p. 277). The role of propaganda in leveling national differences and unifying life was analyzed by V. Koval (Koval, 2012).

In the post-war period, the propaganda campaign turned the historical science into a political situation. Numerous specialists created myths about the past, “fought against

nationalisms” in academic institutions, as the inclusion of new territories in the USSR required a revision of the Ukrainian historiography (Yusova, 2004).

Hence, the problem of using propaganda to establish the Soviet control in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia was studied only in the context of the socio-economic and political transformations that took place with the incorporation of these lands into the USSR.

The purpose of the article is to investigate the role of propaganda in the denationalization of the territories annexed to the USSR, which were previously part of Romania, the unification of all spheres of life, the new type of mindset planting and the Ukrainians everyday life.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Soviet propaganda influence among the Bukovynians intensified in early 1938 after the destruction of all signs of the liberal system and the introduction of a siege state. During February 1938, an authoritarian regime of King Carol II was established in Romania, which led to the abolition of the foundations of parliamentarism, the suspension of parties, societies, and the adoption of a constitution that strengthened the monarch’s power and restricted minority rights. Due to the Law № XXXVI of February 17, 1938, all forms of propaganda were prohibited (Colectiunea de legi, 1938, pp. 59–62). The Romanian language became mandatory in all state institutions (State Archives of Chernivtsi region – SACR, f. 38, d. 1, c. 10746, p. 2). The General Commissariat for Minorities establishment, permission to use the mother tongue in institutions and primary schools was a formality (Hamangiu, 1939, p. 1337).

The significant weakening of the Ukrainian positions in the region by limiting the activities of societies led to the anti-Romanian resistance. As a result, the contradictions between the Romanians and the Ukrainians intensified, which conditionally split the latter into several camps – those, who were willing to cooperate with the regime of King II and integrate into new political structures, and those, who were influenced by the events in the Carpathian Ukraine and had close ties with the emigration centers, and the third – the Soviet propaganda supporters. In order to consolidate the society in the autumn of 1938, the Romanian Prime Minister A. Călinescu proposed the idea of creating a single political organization – the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN), which soon covered the entire country with its network (Scurtu, Mocanu, Smarcea, 1995). More than 3 million people were enrolled in the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN) by the end of January 1939 (SACR, f. 43, d. 1, c. 8686, p. 1; c. 8717, p. 96). At the same time, the Ukrainians were forced to enter the National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN), who did not want to move to semi-legal activities.

The National Renaissance Front (Frontul Renașterii Naționale, FRN) documents include the total number of the Ukrainians in Romania in 1939 as well as those people, who were under the FRN influence: (11% – Bessarabia, 27.7% – Bukovina, 0.4% – Banat, 1.7% – Marmoroshchyna). There were numerous districts, where the Ukrainians inhabited, which were the part of the FRN: Suceava district – Chernivtsi district – 44.5%, Storozhynets – 45.5%, Suceava – 1.7%, Kimpulun – 6.7%, Radivets – 8.7%, Khotyn – 41, 6%. In the Dniester district – Belgorod-Dniester district – 20.5%, Tyhynskiyi – 3%, Orheyevsk – 9%, Lopushnyanskiy – 0.7%. In Prut district: Balti district – 7.6%, Soroca – 8.2%, Botosani – 0.3%. Even in of Tymysh and Somesh districts the Ukrainians could be found (*National Archive of Romania* – NAR, f. “Frontul Renașterii Naționale”, 1939, 4/1939, pp. 2–11). In October 1939, the Ukrainians prevailed in the administration in Kypulunh on Cheremosh, Ust-Putyl, Dykhtynka, Yablunivka, Nehostyn, Ploska, Serhiyah, and Shepot (NAR, f. “Prefectura județului Rădăuți” – PJR, 1939 – 1940, 59/1938). There were 75% of the Ukrainians FRN

members in Chernivtsi and Storozhynets district villages (NAR, f. “Ministerul de Interne, Presa internă”, 1939, 21/1940, p. 59).

Bukovyna administration reported to Bucharest concerning the anti-Romanian sentiments intensification among the Ukrainians (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 59/1938, p. 12). The police monitored the suspicious Ukrainians, who came into contact with the emigration centers (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 59/1938, p. 2). The Ukrainians worked most actively in schools, urging teachers to ignore government orders (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 13/1940, pp. 34, 65).

The defeat of the state-building processes in the Carpathian Ukraine, the persecution of organizations that “undermine” the foundations of Romania, weakened the position of the Ukrainian community. In 1940, the situation was complicated by the aggravation of relations between Romania and Germany and the USSR, povit (county) prefectures forbade the ethnic communities to hold meetings without the permission of the FRN (NAR, f. PJR, 1939 – 1940, 18/1940, p. 13–14). These events reinforced the pro-Soviet tendencies. Under the slogans of protecting the interests of the Ukrainians, the USSR launched an active agitation campaign in Bukovyna and created a powerful network of propagandists (Troncotă, Constantiniu, 1997, pp. 332–333).

According to a secret protocol of the Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact, Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia became controversial objects of the international relations. In June 1940, favourable factors emerged to decide the fate of these territories. The USSR refused to recognize the fact of those lands integration into Romania, which took place in 1918. On the 26th of June, J. Stalin began to demand for the immediate return of Bessarabia to the USSR from Romania and the transfer that part of Bukovyna, whose population was mostly connected with the USSR by culture, language and past history. The above-mentioned information was stated in a note handed to the Romanian side. At the end of June 1940, there were outright threats from Moscow. On the 28th of June, the Romanian troops evacuated from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna. As a result, the USSR entered the territories with a total area of 51,000 square kilometers with a population of almost 4 million people.

During 1940 and 1941, the Soviet propaganda produced a great number of literature volumes, pamphlets, propaganda, appeals, posters, and magazines that the Romanian propaganda authorities barely had time to process it. Hence, on the 11th of October in 1941, Ovidiu Vlădescu, the Romanian Government General Secretary, sent an order № 12612 to Bukovyna Province Governor (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 4062, pp. 1–2). It was reported that the Ministry of National Propaganda was aware of the huge amount of the Soviet material stored in Chernivtsi. It was necessary to classify immediately all collections, involving specialists with knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian. Hundreds of thousands of documents, monographs, and multivolume publications were to be studied by specialists from the General Staff, the Ministry of Propaganda, and the military department. Academic works, reference and periodicals, which were of value to the secret services, the police department and the relevant departments, were stored. On the 24th of October in 1941, the General Staff, represented by General N. Pelengyan, in a secret telegram № 54, expressed concern over the negligence of individual officials and warned against the destruction of any sources (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 4062, p. 3).

Preventing the repeated loss of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, in June 1941 the government introduced radical changes in the territorial division and management, the activities of the bureaucracy and the judicial system, the procedure for acquiring citizenship (General Ion Antonescu, 1941). The territories of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia became two provinces under the direct command of Marshal I. Antonescu. Bukovyna was divided into six povits (counties), and Bessarabia into seven povits (counties).

From the 1941st, September, the governor and heads of nine directorates powers in the province passed to, appointed directly by the head of state, which formed the Provincial Coordinating Council. The governor also controlled the local police. The povits (counties) were headed by Prefects (Hamangiu, 1942, pp. 1721–1728). For more effective control of the provinces, a Corps of Commissioners-General for Bessarabia and Bukovyna was created, consisting of eight high-ranking officials under I. Antonescu, who could give the commissioners the extraordinary powers (Hamangiu, 1942, pp. 1726–1727). In addition to it, § 40 of the same law regulates the establishment of the Civil-Military Cabinet for Bessarabia and Bukovyna with the subdivisions. He was to coordinate the activities of the provincial governors and ensure communication between the dictator, the government and the governors, gather information and identify propagandists.

On the 20th of July in 1941, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief introduced the emergency security measures in order to establish strict control and unify the life of the incorporated territories. Military intelligence and counterintelligence underwent major changes and were given a task concerning gathering the information on foreign spies and the Soviet propagandists. The work was rewarded with the prizes – from 2 thousand lei to 10 thousand lei (SACR, f. 38, d. 6, c. 118, pp. 244, 506).

Hence, Antonescu's regime took the drastic measures, which testified the desire to strengthen the state as soon as possible, to centralize the governance, and to launch a serious struggle against the Soviet propaganda. During 1941 – 1943, the security guard seized the secret documents about the Soviet intelligence centers' plans, the propaganda direction in the territory of Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 2407, pp. 70–75; d. 1, c. 406). Thousands of cases from the Bukovyna Provincial Governor's Office concern a special method of destabilizing the situation in Romania. It was a matter of preparing for the re-occupation of these territories. One of the propaganda manuals played a key role, as it selected trained individuals, who were due to recruit people to the special forces to organize the subversive activities. They worked with those in various positions from 1940 to 1941 closely. In the spring of 1943, the Romanian government sent the Governor a secret document regarding the activities of a wide network of the Soviet propagandists in Bukovyna, who were actually preparing the population for the return of the Soviet power (SACR, f. P-307, d. 1, c. 1099; c. 1124, pp. 1–2).

The intelligence and sabotage extensive network development in the territory of Northern Bukovyna is depicted in the secret work "The Regional Committee Organizational and Instructional Department References", which was adopted on the 24th of June in 1946 (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (joined), pp. 2–9). Hence, in July 1941, 7 battle groups were created in four districts, as well as 10 underground party groups in 7 districts. In October 1941, the underground Regional Committee of the party, headed by O. Boyark, the First Secretary, began its activities. However, within a few weeks, a network of secret apartments was discovered, and on the 10th – 11th November in 1941, a military tribunal sentenced the majority to death. At the same time, in September 1941, the Komsomol organization headed by K. Halkin appeared in Khotyn, which was engaged in "sabotage and subversive activities, the distribution of the Soviet leaflets" (SACR, f.1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (joined), p. 5). They killed a number of Romanian police officers, destroyed important communications, and blew up several businesses and institutions. By the end of 1942, all cells were exposed. Lots of mass arrests were made, some were shot, and others were to serve from 5 to 25 years of hard labour. During 1941 – 1944 there was an extensive organization in Chernivtsi. The center

published the newspaper “Stalin’s Eagle”. The case file contains a summary of the personnel and combat activities of underground communist organizations, sabotage groups and guerrilla units in 1941 – 1944 in Bukovyna. The five groups included 192 people, who conducted more than 10 combat operations, destroyed 20 cars and 75 km telecommunications, blew up 6 ammunition depots (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (joined), pp. 8–9). The information sector of the underground Regional Committee compiled lists of the “traitors”, “dissatisfied”, which included all those, who worked at the university and schools, were the Romanian police officers, security officers, counterintelligence and governor’s officials (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 69–72 (combined), p. 36 (combined), c. 36). In addition, there was a network of “informers”, who in 1944 handed over the materials collected for 1941 – 1944 to the NKVD.

Strengthening for the agitators was the work written by J. V. Stalin “On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union” (Stalin, 1943), which the Regional Committee of the KP (b) on the 3rd of July in 1944 recommended the “ideological and political education of the population” (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 2, pp. 47–49).

The historical science was assigned a task concerning developing the “right” prism for the Soviet processes’ perception as the Ukrainian people’s aspirations for the “reunification”. This is confirmed by Khrushchev’s letter to J. Stalin regarding the events to celebrate in January of 1944 the 290th anniversary of the conclusion of the Pereyaslav agreement. In the “Project on the celebration of the 290th anniversary of the accession of Ukraine to Russia” the fact of signing this agreement is regarded as a union of two fraternal peoples, which are connected by the “common historical process of formation of their nation” (Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine – CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 70, c. 91, pp. 45–47). M. N. Petrovskyi remained an unshakable authority, substantiating the positivity thesis concerning the Ukraine’s accession to Russia in 1654, while showing the connection between the events of the mid-seventeenth century and the Ukrainian territories entry into the USSR. In 1944, in the work “The Ukrainian people Reunification in a single Ukrainian Soviet state”, the scientist set out his own concept of the “common initial history of three fraternal, one-blooded peoples”. The so-called “common cradle” concept substantiations were actualized after the entry of Transcarpathia into the USSR. However, in 1944, F. Yenevych, the Institute of Party History Director under the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b), criticized scholars for the “confusing coverage” of the Ukrainian ethnogenesis issue of (Smolii, (ed.), *U leshchatakh totalitaryzmu*, 1996, pp. 127–128).

The renowned Soviet luminaries – medievalist O. D. Udaltsov (Udaltsov, 1942, 1943), a Slavist M. S. Derzhavin (Derzhavin, 1944) and the ancient era researcher V. V. Mavrodin (Mavrodin, 1941, 1946) created a theoretical basis for interpreting the Ukrainian territories accession process to the USSR.

On the 30th of October in 1944, the Soviet People’s Commissar of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) U established publishing the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, which paramount task was to “strengthen the education of the masses, especially the party-Soviet cadres and intellectuals in the spirit of Bolshevism and Soviet patriotism” (Pro vydannia, 1944, p. 1).

All the transformations in the Ukrainian historiography were reflected inevitably in the propaganda work on the places. The ideologists in the Regional Committees of the party decided to flick through the methods of teaching history as the history of the USSR peoples. On the 18th of October in 1944, at a meeting of the Chernivtsi Regional Committee, the resolution “On the state of teaching the history of the USSR peoples in Chernivtsi’s Kitsman

district and the Stalin district schools” was adopted (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 4, p. 56). It was mentioned that “teaching the history of the USSR peoples is not organically connected with the present, it is politically exhausted”, ignoring the Marxist approach to the interpretation of certain periods. As a result, a whole group of the history teachers suffered from repression.

The Regional Committee Propaganda Department of the KP (B) U held regional seminars for the speakers advanced training every month. Thus, in the appendix to item 19 of Chernivtsi Regional Committee of the CP (b) U meeting of the 3rd of July in 1944, it is stated in the section “The Measures” that City Committees are obliged to hold talks on the Soviet democracy principles and revolutionary legitimacy. It was highly recommended to display on the boards and in special installations the “atrocities, crimes and damage caused by the German-Romanian occupiers” in the districts and cities of the region. The reporting for April – June 1944 showed that the agitators read 400 political reports and lectures, held several thousand meetings, which were attended by 50 thousand Bukovynians (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 2, pp. 47–48). In addition, on the 14th of June, a resolution was adopted by the Bureau of the party’s Regional Committee on the radio broadcasting organization and radiofication in Bukovyna. It was about the maximum radio usage as a “propaganda tool in the hands of the party”. The topics of the programmes, which were to cover the role of the party and Stalin as the “organizer and leader of the victories of the Soviet people”, were outlined. The party structures were responsible for the “politically trained and tested” personnel selection for the radio stations in Chernivtsi and districts. The programmes’ censorship was entrusted to the propaganda department of the KP (b) U Regional Committee headed by O. Andryushchenko. In addition, the Head of the Propaganda Department together with the Head of the NKVD Regional Department were to ensure the private radios’ seizure within 10 days (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 7, pp. 108–110).

On the 3rd of July in 1944, a secret resolution issued by the Regional Party Committee Bureau “On approval of measures to improve the political work among the population”, which was signed by I. Zelenyuk, the Regional Committee Secretary (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 8, p. 60). The document described the forms of work with the large audiences: 1) the Red Army’s explanatory work on the victories, military and political events and prospects for war, the Ukrainian territories liberation from the “Nazi invaders”; 2) the internal life of the country coverage issues. The particular attention was paid to work with the intelligentsia, as “most were educated in various bourgeois educational institutions” (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 2, p. 49; c. 8, p. 65).

On the 13th of November in 1944, at the Regional Committee of the CP (B) U Bureau meeting, the subject of speeches to large audiences was approved, compiled on the basis of a report by M. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Soviet People’s Commissar of the USSR (SACR, f. 1, d. 9, c. 5, p. 50). In accordance with the above-mentioned resolution, the topics of events were sent to the District and City Committees on a monthly basis. As for the ideological “processing” of the university faculty, teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, the District and City Committees were obliged to organize special “circles” for them.

However, the propaganda’s main direction was aimed at counteracting and discrediting the National Liberation Movement led by the OUN and UPA (Ilnytskyi & Kantor, 2019). In a memorandum sent to M. Khrushchev, the Central Committee of the CP (B) U Secretary on the 27th of February in 1945, on the party’s decisions implementation on the 10th of January in 1945 “On intensifying the struggle against the Ukrainian-German nationalists” the following information is given: authorized by the Regional Committee from the staff of the Regional Committee and the regional party active, as well as the managers and operatives of the NKVD and NKDB departments to assist in the organization of work and the fight against

bandits” (SACR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 184, 204 (joined), p. 2). A total of 200 people were involved. Each was “personally responsible for the state of advocacy”. They organized speeches at village meetings, at which the names of those who were in the underground were announced. Fictitious individuals were often involved in naming the OUN members, who were allegedly known to the NKVD, and urging relatives to surrender voluntarily. The Soviet lawyers also “worked” with the population, explaining the content of the order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of December 30, 1944. Thus, on the 10th of February in 1945, similar meetings in Putilsky, Vyzhnytskyi and Vashkivtsy districts covered 83,202 peasants.

Due to the above-mentioned situation, discord and doubt about the successful resistance to the Soviet regime spread and caused distrust among the local population, which often betrayed the soldiers’ hiding places. As a result, the image of the “liberators” was created. Furthermore, there were pieces of evidence evidences by the Verkhovna Rada Presidium and the People’s Commissar of the USSR appeals concerning the “liberated” territories. These were the documents issued in February 1944, November 1944, May 1945 and February 1946. The texts of these documents were reproduced in leaflets, posters, which were distributed in the settlements, posted in public places. According to the documents, the Soviet government promised forgiveness to all, who agreed to cooperate (Sokhan, P. (ed.), *Litopys UPA*, 2001, pp. 104–116, 155–159, 223–230). The special traveling brigades agitated in the villages and settlements.

The report written by the Regional Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department in the 1947th contains the information about the Regional Committee of the CP (b) U groups of lecturers from the leading scientists of the university, medical and teaching institutes, and teachers of party courses. In the 1947, the agitation covered more than 100,000 people. 1046 lectures were given: 237 of them – on the history and theory of the CPSU, 353 – political and 106 – international issues. Lecturers of the Komsomol Regional Committee joined this process: 660 lectures, which covered almost 50,000 people, and the regional lecture bureau with three sections, which gave 14,920 lectures, which was much more than in 1944 – 1946 (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 657, pp. 20–23, 26, 35).

In 1946 – 1947, the critique written by M. Hrushevsky’s concerning the “bourgeois-nationalist concept” and his school, repression of dissidents, which was reflected in the ideological and political education tendencies, gained momentum. In June 1946, at a meeting on propaganda at the Central Committee of the CP (B) U, in a report on the state and tasks of the ideological work, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP (B) U K. Lytvyn emphasized the struggle against the “hostile concept” (Lytvyn, 1946).). “Soviet Bukovyna” published the following material: “Hrushevskyi – ideologue and leader of the bourgeois-nationalist counterrevolution in Ukraine” (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 657, p. 35).

Numerous central, regional and district publications, as well as radio broadcasting, undergone serious changes. The Regional Committee Secretaries and the Party District Committees were responsible for the information selection and censorship. In 1947, the volume of circulation and subscriptions to newspapers and magazines increased significantly “voluntarily and compulsorily”: 10,894 central, 24,660 republican and 16,000 regional newspapers, as well as 5,346 magazines. During the period of 1947, 467 radio broadcasts were conducted on the “achievements” of the government. In the same spirit, a new repertoire of the drama theater and philharmonic was compiled (SACR, f. 1, d. 2, c. 657, pp. 52, 54, 75).

The Conclusions. Taking everything into consideration, the main goal of the Sovietization processes in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, which joined the USSR, was to achieve the most profound changes in mentality, perception of self-identity, distorted understanding of

their own ethnogenesis. The propaganda campaigns were developed in accordance with the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) decisions, which went down to the party leadership of the republic. Diverse tools were used in order to keep everything under control at the annexed territories and prepare the masses for the state of being captured, for instance, the whole arsenal on means of influence was applied, party control over the periodicals and radio broadcasting, censorship of the repertoire of theaters, philharmonics, the historical science transformation into the instrument of consciousness manipulation, coverage of lecture groups by a large part of the population. At the same time, an information war was launched in order to discredit the “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists”. In addition, the authorities, aimed at strengthening its authority, speculated on the “national issue”, inciting hatred against the Romanians.

Acknowledgement. The authors express gratitude to the staff of the State Archives of Chernivtsi Region, the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine, the National Archives of Romania for the cooperation.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archivele Naționale ale României (NAR – National Archive of Romania).

Boiechko, V. D., Hanzha, O. I. & Zakharchuk, B. I. (1992). Kordony Ukrainy: istoriia ta problemy formuvannya [The Ukrainian Borders: History and Problems of Formation]. *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 1, 76–77. doi: 10/24919/2313-2094.5/37.102609 [in Ukrainian]

Colecțiunea. (1938). Colecțiunea de legi și regulamente. T. XVI. Partea I: legi 1 ianuarie – 30 aprilie 1938. (pp. 59–62). București: Monitorul oficial și imprimerile statului. Imprimeria centrală. [in Romanian] *Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivetskoï oblasti (SACR – State Archives of Chernivtsi region).*

Derzhavin, N. (1944). *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda: velikorusskogo, ukrainskogo, belorusskogo* [The Rus' People Origin: the Great Russians, the Ukrainians, the Belarusians]. Moskva: Sovetskaya nauka, 124 p. [in Russian]

General Ion Antonescu. (1941). Proclamația către țară. *Monitorul Oficial*, 145, 22 iunie. [in Romanian]

Hamangiu, S. (ed.). (1939). Codul General al României (Volume I–XXX, Vol. XXVI). București: Monitorul oficial și imprimerile statului. Imprimeria centrală, 1350 p. [in Romanian].

Hamangiu, C. (ed.). (1942). Codul General al României (Vol. I–XXX, Vol. V. XXIX). București: Monitorul oficial și imprimerile statului. Imprimeria centrală, 1890 p. [in Romanian].

Ilnytskyi, V. & Kantor, N. (2019). Establishment of the soviet administration in the Carpathian region through the use of the open forms of punishment (1944 – 1954). *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 181–192. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159174. [in English]

Koval, V. (2012). Transformatsii derzhavnoho upravlinnia polietnichnistiu v Ukraini u period panuvannya radiansko-bilshovytskoho totalitaryzmu (1930 – 1950 rr.) [The Transformations of Public Administration of Polyethnicity in Ukraine during the Soviet-Bolshevik Totalitarianism Domination (1930 – 1950)]. *Aktualni problemy derzhavnoho upravlinnia*, (1), 17–21. [in Ukrainian]

Kosminskiy, Ye. A. (ed.). (1942). *Prepodavanie istorii v usloviyakh Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny: metodicheskoe posobie dlya uchiteley sredney shkoly* [Teaching History under the Conditions of the Eastern Front: a Methodological Guide for the Secondary School Teachers]. Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo UzSSR, 55 p. [in Russian]

Lasvel, G. (1929). *Tekhnika propagandy v mirovoy voyne* [The Propaganda Technique in World War]. Moskva: Gosizdat, 199 p. [in Russian]

Lytvyn, K. Z. (1946). Pro stan i zavdannia ideolohichnoi roboty na Ukraini (Skorochna stenohrama dopovidi na sesii AN URSR) [The Ideological Work State and Tasks in Ukraine]. *Visti AN URSR*, 9–10. [in Ukrainian]

Mavrodin, V. V. (1946). *Drevnyaya Rus: (Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda i obrazovanie Kievskogo gosudarstva)* [The Ancient Rus: (The Rus' People Origin and Kyiv state formation)]. Moskva: OGIZ, Gospolitizdat, 312 p. [in Russian]

Mavrodin, V. V. (1941). *Obrazovanie russkogo natsionalnogo gosudarstva [The Russian National State Formation]*. Leningrad: OGIZ, Sotsekgez, 208 p. [in Russian]

Myshchak, I. M. (2009). Sotsialno-ekonomichni ta kulturni peretvorennia na zachidnoukrajnskykh zemliakh pislia vkluchennia yikh do skladu URSSR: novitnia istoriohrafia [The Socio-economic and Cultural Transformations in the Western Ukrainian Lands after their Incorporation into the USSR: The Latest Historiography]. *Istoryko-geohrafichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini*, 11, 276–287. [in Ukrainian]

Myshchak, I. M. (2007). Stanovyshche Pivnichnoi Bukovyny ta Bessarabii u skladi Rumunii peryednanniam do Ukrainy RSR: istoriohrafia [The Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia Position as The Part of Romania before joining the Ukrainian SSR: The Historiography]. *Spetsialni istorychni dystsypliny: pytannia teorii ta metodyky*, 15, 222–232. [in Ukrainian]

Mishchany, V. V. (2018). *Radianizatsiia Zakarpattia 1944 – 1950 rr. [The Transcarpathia Sovietization in 1944 – 1950]*. Uzhhorod: TOV “RIK-U”, 644 p. [in Ukrainian]

Mishchany, V. V. (2016). “Vyzvolennia”, “vozz’iednannia” i “radianizatsiia” Zakarpattia v 1944 – 1950 rr. [Transcarpathia “Liberation”, “Reunification” and “Sovietization” in 1944 – 1950]. *Literatura ta kultura Polissia*, (83), 66–81. [in Ukrainian]

Pater, I. H. (2015 – 2016). Ideolohichno-propahandystykyi nastup stalinskoho rezhymu na halychan (1944 – 1953) [The Stalin’s Regime Ideological and Propagandistic Offensive Against the Galicians (1944 – 1953)]. *Novitnia doba*, (3–4), 35–58. [in Ukrainian]

Pro vydannia. (1944). Pro vydannia Ukrainy RSR: Postanova RNK URSSR i TsK KP(b)U [The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia Publication: Resolution issued by the SNC of the USSR and the Central Committee of the KP(b)U]. *Radianska Ukraina*, 224, 1. [in Ukrainian]

Saifulina, Yu. V. (2008). Radianizatsiia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny u 1940 – 1941 rr.: administratyvno-pravovy aspekt [The Northern Bukovyna Sovietization in 1940 – 1941: The Administrative and Legal Aspect]. *Universytetski naukovy zapysky*, (4), 58–64. [in Ukrainian]

Smolii, V. A. (ed.) (1996). *Uleshchatakh totalitaryzmu: Pershe dvadtsiatyrychchia Instytutu istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy (1936 – 1956 rr.) [In the Grip of Totalitarianism: The First Twentieth Anniversary of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (1936 – 1956)]* (vol. 1.). Kyiv (w. p.), 247 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sokhan, P. (ed.). (2001). *Litopys UPA: Borotba proty UPA i natsionalistychnoho pidpillia: dyrektyvni dokumenty TsK Kompartii Ukrainy 1943 – 1959 : Dokumenty i materialy (v 30 t., T. 3) [The Ukrainian Insurgent Army Chronicle: The Struggle against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Nationalist Underground: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Directive Documents 1943 – 1959: Documents and Materials (in 30 vols., Vol. 3)]*. Kyiv–Toronto: Litopys UPA, 647 p. [in Ukrainian]

Stalin, I. V. (1943). *O Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne Sovetskogo Soyuza [On Soviet Union’s Great Patriotic War]*. Moskva: Politicheskaya literature, 128 p. [in Russian]

Scurtu, I., Mocanu, C. & Smârcea, D. (1995). *Documente privind istoria României între anii 1918 – 1944*. Bucureşti, 732 p. [in Romanian]

Troncotă, C. & Constantiniu, F. (1997). *Mihail Moruzov și Serviciul Secret de Informații al Armatei Române*. Bucureşti: Editura INI, 530 p. [in Romanian]

Udaltsov, A. D. (1943). Nachalnyy period vostochnoslavianskogo etnogeneza [The East Slavic Ethnogenesis Initial Period]. *Istoricheskiy zhurnal*, 11–12, 70–79. [in Russian]

Tsentrallyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh ob’iednan Ukrainy (CSAPOU – The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine)

Yusova, N. M. (2004). Vozz’iednannia ukrainskykh zemel i aktualizatsiia problemy pokhodzhennia ukrainy narodnosti v radianskii istoriohrafii: 1939 – 1947 rr. (u svitli novykh arkhivnykh dzherel) [The Ukrainian Lands Reunification and the Ukrainian Nation Origin Issue Actualization in the Soviet Historiography: 1939 – 1947 (in the light of new archival sources)]. *Spetsialni istorychni dystsypliny: pytannia teorii ta metodyky*, 11, 174–208. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on December 12, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 327.8(470)+321.013(47+57)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210883

Iryna GRIDINA

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Professor of the Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy of Mariupol State University, 129a Budevlnykyv avenue, Mariupol, Ukraine, postal code 87500 (ingreedina@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-3398-7708

Maryna FROTVEIT

PhD hab. (Political Sciences), Professor of the Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy, Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University, 2 M. Hrushevskogo Street, Vinnytsia, Ukraine, postal code 21050 (mn.kasianova@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-4681-1664

Ірина ГРІДИНА

докторка історичних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри міжнародних відносин і зовнішньої політики Маріупольського державного університету, пр. Будівельників, 129а, м. Маріуполь, Україна, індекс 87500 (ingreedina@gmail.com)

Марина ФРОТВЕЙТ

докторка політичних наук, професорка кафедри міжнародних відносин і зовнішньої політики Донецького національного університету імені Василя Стуса, вул. Грушевського, 2, м. Вінниця, Україна, індекс 21050 (mn.kasianova@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Gridina, I. & Frotveit, M. (2020). The Problem of the Unrecognized States of the Post-Soviet Space in the Politics of the Russian Federation. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 229–238. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210883

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNRECOGNIZED STATES OF THE POST-SOVIET SPACE IN THE POLITICS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of the problem place of unrecognized / partially recognized states and frozen conflicts in the post-Soviet space in the foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Its aim is to identify the key features of the Russian policy toward self-proclaimed republics, which should help to formulate an objective view of the tools used by the Kremlin in international relations. The methodology of the research includes a set of approaches (systematic, objectivity, historicism) and methods (comparative and functional analysis, induction, deduction, case studies). This makes it possible to characterize fully the evolution of Moscow's attitude towards the separatist movements of the post-Soviet space (from friendly neutrality through a covert support to a full use as a tool of a hybrid aggressive policy aimed at restoring imperial greatness); to explore Russia's military and economic policies regarding Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, the so-called "Donetsk People's Republic" ("DPR") and "Luhansk People's Republic" ("LPR"); to assess the risks posed by Russia's position to a regional security and the stability of neighbouring countries. The scientific novelty of the article is to summarize the material on certain conflict cases precisely from the point of view of*

Russia's role in their exacerbation – thus different examples of violations of the state sovereignty of the post-Soviet republics are considered through the prism of the Kremlin's contribution to the escalation. **The Conclusions.** In the article it is emphasized that Russia is primarily responsible for supporting the functioning of several unrecognized states in the territory of the former USSR. At the beginning of the 1990-ies, Moscow was not the sole initiator of the conflicts that led to this situation – however, it successfully used it to secure its presence in key areas of a regional space, and subsequently placed this deposit at the service of its imperial ambitions. Following the revision of Russia's approach to the world security environment in the mid-2000-ies, the Kremlin uses the factor of self-proclaimed republics to put pressure on the neighbouring countries, including by resorting to the practice of artificially creating separatist movements as one of the elements of its own hybrid strategy. It is emphasized that the majority of the unrecognized post-Soviet states are completely dependent on the Russian Federation in the fields of security and economics – thus, they are devoid of any sign of independence, and should only be regarded as an integral tool in Russia's revanchist neo-imperial policy.

Key words: the Russian Federation, Donbas, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, unrecognized state.

ПРОБЛЕМА НЕВИЗНАНИХ ДЕРЖАВ ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКОГО ПРОСТОРУ В ПОЛІТИЦІ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ФЕДЕРАЦІЇ

Анотація. У статті аналізується місце проблеми невизнаних/часткововизнаних держав та заморожених конфліктів на пострадянському просторі в зовнішній політиці Російської Федерації. Її метою є виявлення характерних рис російської політики щодо самопроголошених республік, що має допомогти у формуванні об'єктивного погляду на інструментарій, застосований Кремлем в міжнародних відносинах. **Методологія дослідження** включає комплекс підходів (системність, об'єктивність, історизм) та методів (порівняльний та функціональний аналіз, індукція, дедукція, кейс-стаді). Це дає змогу охарактеризувати у повному обсязі еволюцію ставлення Москви до сепаратистських рухів пострадянського простору (від дружнього нейтралітету через приховану підтримку до повноцінного застосування як інструмента гібридної агресивної політики, спрямованої на відновлення імперської величі); дослідити військову та економічну політику Росії стосовно Придністров'я, Абхазії, Південної Осетії, так званих “Донецької Народної Республіки” (“ДНР”) та “Луганської Народної Республіки” (“ЛНР”); оцінити ризики, які російська позиція створює для регіональної безпеки і стабільності країн-сусідів. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає в узагальненні матеріалу стосовно певних конфліктних кейсів саме з позицій ролі Росії в їхньому загостренні – таким чином, на перший погляд різні за характером та причинами приклади порушення державного суверенітету пострадянських республік розглядаються через призму внеску Кремля в ескалацію конфлікту й отриманих від цього бенефіцій. **Висновки.** У статті підкреслюється, що саме Росія несе основну відповідальність за підтримку функціонування кількох невизнаних держав на теренах колишнього СРСР. На початку 1990-х рр. вона не була єдиним ініціатором конфліктів, які призвели до такої ситуації – втім, вдало використала її для забезпечення своєї присутності у ключових районах регіонального простору, а згодом поставила цей депозит на службу своїм імперським амбіціям. Після ревізії російського підходу до світового безпекового середовища в середині 2000-х рр. Кремль використовує фактор самопроголошених республік для тиску на країни-сусіди, в тому числі звертаючись до практики штучного створення сепаратистських рухів – одного з елементів власної гібридної стратегії. Наголошується на тому, що більшість невизнаних держав пострадянського простору перебувають у повній залежності від РФ в сферах безпеки та економіки – а отже, позбавлені будь-яких ознак самостійності, і їх варто розглядати лише як невід'ємний інструмент російської реваншистської неоімперської політики.

Ключові слова: Російська Федерація, Донбас, Абхазія, Південна Осетія, Придністров'я, невизнана держава.

The Problem Statement. After the end of the Cold War, the post-Soviet space became the scene of global transformations that changed the geopolitical map of the world. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of fifteen recognized independent states.

However, under the conditions of destabilization, uncertainty and loss of control by central authorities over certain territories, the activation of separatist ideas in parallel led to the emergence of a number of self-proclaimed quasi-state entities.

As this region has remained a part of the Russian so-called imperial heartland for centuries, we must emphasize that Moscow's position was extremely important for the state-making processes within its borders. Its historic authority and status of a central regional power have inspired some politicians and leaders to turn to the pro-Russian orientation, rejecting the policies of the new national elites of the former Soviet republics. Initially, this became one of the sources of a local separatism. Subsequently, as the Russian Federation regained its potential and embarked on strengthening control of its immediate geographical environment, the support of such agents of influence became one of the Kremlin's foreign policy instruments. In some cases, this even takes the form of a complete artificial construction of the problem of "separatism" and its use as a tool of a hybrid aggression. It can be reasonably argued that Russia's position is a determining factor that influenced the conditions of creation and existence of quasi-state entities of the post-Soviet space, and today forms the prospects for the further evolution of each particular case. Thus, exploring the main features of the Russian policy on the subject is a key element in understanding the essence of the problems that have been destabilizing the region for several decades.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The problem of the post-Soviet unrecognized states and Russian policy towards them was studied by a number of researchers. During recent years, we can specially highlight works of S. Fischer, K. Büscher, F. Smolnik, U. Halbach, A. W. M. Gerrits, M. Bader, H. T. Koelle, J. Larsen, T. Nagashima, V. Jeifets, N. Dobronravin, S. Markedonov, S. Baymukhametov. Among Ukrainian researchers we should pay attention to the results of the scientific work made by P. Hai-Nyzhnyk, L. Chuprii, A. Holtsov, V. Ishchenko, L. Kovryk-Tokar, O. Telenko, M. Zamikula. Important sources of materials on the topic are the memoirs (such as work of Russian general A. Lebed) and the articles of the current political leaders.

The Purpose of the Publication. The purpose of this article is to identify the main features of the Russian policy towards the self-proclaimed states within the borders of the former Soviet Union. For this purpose, we consistently analyze the evolution of the Russian approach to the problem, examine the military political and economic components of Moscow's interaction with the quasi-entities, assess the level of control that the Kremlin has over them nowadays.

The Statement of the Basic Material. It is in the territory of the former USSR that most of the unrecognized or partially recognized states of the European space are located. From the early 1990-ies, Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the Republic of South Ossetia, the Republic of Abkhazia belong to this category. Since 2014, the list has been expanded with regimes that were established in the uncontrolled territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions – with the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics. Also, we should add to this some less well-known and short-lived manifestations of separatism and pseudo-separatism. Thus, during the first half of the 1990-ies the Gagauz Republic sought to secede from Moldova; in Georgia, similar ambitions were demonstrated by Ajarian separatists; finally, for a short period of time, the status of an unrecognized state was formally claimed by the Crimea – however, the situation quickly changed when its actual occupation by the Russian military was underpinned by a formal annexation.

As we can see, most of the precedents of separatism are related to the period of the beginning of the 1990-ies, when in the conditions of the collapse of the USSR, some of

the local elites turned to the realization of the state-building ambitions. Taking the situation from the standpoint of the Russian Federation, we consider it erroneous to impose an undeniable responsibility for these events solely on Moscow. In fact, at the first stage Russia had a considerable number of internal problems, the solution of which distracted the authorities' attention from the active interference in the affairs of the former Soviet republics. Undoubtedly, some circles of the Russian political elite had their interests in the conflict zones – and under the conditions of weakening of the central governmental control even used the state resources for their protection. However, during the beginning of the 1990-ies, we did not see any evidence of a centralized and planned Russian strategy aimed at intensifying a local separatism – rather, it was a matter of local initiatives of certain political circles and elite representatives, justified by business interests, personal ambitions and understanding. For instance, in the case of the Transnistrian conflict, the key role of the 14th Army Commander Alexander Lebed in opposing Moldovan forces trying to regain control of the region is a well-known fact. In many aspects he acted on the basis of his own vision of the situation and his own understanding of the interests of the Russian Federation – not according to the specific instructions and plans drawn up in Moscow. He even got some criticism from the central command, which tried to implement a non-intervention policy in the conflict zone (Lebed, 1995). Thus, it was this semi-professional, in some ways “amateurish” approach that characterized the first reaction of the Russian authorities to the “sovereignty parade”. However, the initiative actions of specific Russian politicians and field military commanders made a significant contribution to preventing the rapid defeat of separatists' forces at the beginning of the 1990-ies. And only when the central government in Moscow consolidated its position, it began to coordinate actions in order to use the situation to its own advantage – on the basis of its own military potential and threats of its use. For instance, the support of the Abkhaz and Nagorno-Karabakh separatists was used to destabilize Georgia and Azerbaijan, who tried to implement too independent and self-contained policies. The experts believe that this was one of the factors that forced Tbilisi and Baku to give up part of their ambitions and join the CIS (Fischer, Büscher, Smolnik, Halbach, 2016, p. 12). In any case, this approach of the Russian Federation resulted in the freezing of some conflicts. It also led to emergence of the unrecognized state entities of varying degrees of perspective and success.

In the XXIst century geopolitical concepts, which provided for the creation of a strong Russian state with a belt of political, economic, and security-dependent allies / clients in the post-Soviet space gained popularity. In the foreign policy of the Russian Federation at the beginning of the 2000-ies there is a clear line of the Russian authorities on the formation of a separate regional center of power around Moscow (Kovryk-Tokar, 2013, p. 212). Having recovered from the transformational crises of the end of the XXth century, and receiving a new leadership of Vladimir Putin and his surroundings, who cherished the hope of regaining the status of a global player and center of power in international relations, Russia began to re-evaluate its political vectors. At the same time, it turned out that the presence of the self-proclaimed states was a kind of a hidden deposit for the Russian authorities – an unusual resource that could be used to maintain its influence in the post-Soviet space. An important milestone in the process of changing Russian open position on the issue of the unrecognized states was the Kosovo precedent. According to many experts, it changed the context of this issue and laid the groundwork for reviewing the official Russian approach (Jeifets, Dobronravin, 2017). A discussion in the Russian Parliament, launched in the spring of 2008, illustrates the truth of this statement. The nature of the conversations and its rhetoric demonstrate the signal, which

Russia was giving to the world about its position on the issue. They showed that the Kremlin, in a full compliance with the revisionist vision of the world order declared in Munich the year before, was ready to intensify its international activities without fear of confrontation with the West, and allow a departure from the traditional orientation on the fundamental principles of international relations (Fischer, Büscher, Smolnik, Halbach, 2016, pp. 10–11). This was confirmed by the presidential initiatives to open consular offices in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, cooperation intensification of the Russian state bodies with representatives of these unrecognized states, and an official documents recognition of individuals and legal entities. Thus, Russia was preparing to imitate the US policy toward Taiwan regarding Moscow-oriented quasi-formations of the post-Soviet space (except Nagorno-Karabakh case, since its status was directly related to Russia's strategy of playing on the Armenian-Azerbaijani confrontation) (Kobrin'skaya, 2008, p. 2). However, only a few months later, the Russian authorities demonstrated a more radical approach. Having provoked a conflict with Georgia over South Ossetia, the Kremlin effectively occupied the Tbilisi-uncontrolled Georgian territories and recognized their independence as a demonstrative step. By this, Moscow gave a direct answer to the Kosovo precedent and demonstrated a clear ambition to apply for a global leadership based on a "special model" of relations with the surrounding actors (Hai-Nyzhnyk, Chuprii, 2016, p. 106). Thus, the Russian Federation showed readiness to intensify its aggressive policies in traditional areas of interest and lack of respect for the territorial integrity of other state actors. The West's weak reaction to these events only encouraged Moscow to a further escalation.

During recent years, the Russian Federation demonstrated a new approach to the problem of the unrecognized states. The Kremlin uses it as a tool of a direct aggression against its neighbours. Russia no longer simply supports certain separatist movements, responding to the objective situation and contributing to the intensification of the conflict. It simply initiates the conflict, artificially forming the separatism problem. The movements and groups created in this way are devoid of minimal signs of independence – they are completely controlled by Moscow and depend on its financial and military assistance. In this specific format the aggression against Ukraine was developed, resulting in the occupation of the Crimea and the part of Donbas (Fischer, Büscher, Smolnik, Halbach, 2016, p. 9).

Despite the specific nature of each case, today we can confirm that almost all unrecognized or partially recognized states of the post-Soviet space are totally dependent on the Russian Federation (the only exception is Nagorno-Karabakh, which is oriented on Armenia – but it is also supported by Moscow indirectly, through its allied relations with Yerevan, thus giving an opportunity to blackmail Azerbaijan in order to keep Baku under some Russian influence (Holtsov, 2017, p. 18). In fact, their existence is supported solely at the expense of the Russian factor, both in the economic and the security fields.

For instance, in the economical context the occupied regions of Georgia are completely dependent on Russia. In 2016, South Ossetia's own contribution to the budget was limited to 8% – the other part was provided by a financial assistance from the Russian Federation (Markedonov, 2016). In the case of Abkhazia, the situation is a little better – as Sukhumi has some potential for an independent economic activity. However, experts also estimate the high level of Russia's contribution to the budget of the republic. Even officially more than 50% of the Abkhaz budget is received from Russia through direct a financial aid or trade (Telenko, 2018, p. 449) – but unofficially this sum is even larger. In 2017 the Russian contribution to it amounted to 4,7 billion rubles; in 2018 – to 4,3 billion rubles. It is estimated

that during the period of 2008 – 2015 Russia provided near 71,6 billion rubles to Tskhinvali and Sukhumi (Baymukhametov, 2019). Also, Abkhazia and South Ossetia have virtually no foreign economic relations outside their partnership with Russia. Transnistria costs Russia much less – and here Moscow supports the local authorities by helping to provide the region’s population with pensions and health care systems, implementing housing programmes (Baymukhametov, 2019). Another recipient of the Russian funds are the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People’s Republics (“DPR” and “LPR”). These entities are solely sponsored by Moscow. The exact size of such help is difficult to estimate, since the parties hide the accurate data. The experts agree that Russia’s annual expenditures in this area amount to more than \$ 3 billion (Baymukhametov, 2019). The funds are channeled from two sources – in the form of a direct funding (shadow activity) and through the Commission for Humanitarian Assistance in the Donbas Republics, headed by Deputy Minister of Economic Development of the Russian Federation Sergiy Nazarov (an open activity). Moscow tries to compensate these costs by fully exploiting the industrial potential of the occupied territories. However, the Ukrainian experts estimate that the chances for reaching these indicators are very small (Chernysh, 2019). These “investments” have no economic benefits for Russia at all. They are motivated solely by political reasons. The economic dependence of the self-proclaimed republics on the Russian Federation is compounded by the comprehensive implementation of the Russian standards in their economy.

A separate feature of Russia’s economic policy towards the unrecognized and partially recognized states is the direct control of their economic resources and infrastructure. Such policy is an element of Moscow’s “hidden annexation” strategy. For instance, Russian Railways controls the Abkhazian railway infrastructure. Oil from the Abkhaz shelf is also exploited by “Rosneft” company (Gerrits, Bader, 2016, p. 301). The Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation is responsible for the infrastructure development of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Rejection of customs restrictions on trade actually transforms their economies into the part of Russia’s economic space (Kobrinskaya, 2008, p. 3). In the case of the occupied territories of Donbas the Russian Federation resorts to another strategy. Not recognizing officially the independence of the so-called “DPR” and “LPR”, while fully controlling these pseudo states, it applies a predatory strategy by resorting to the direct exploitation of the region’s industrial infrastructure and natural resources. There is a clear evidence of the thieves’ export to the Russian territory of equipment and documentation from the Ukrainian enterprises, which began during the active phase of the conflict. Nowadays, the Russians manage coal production in the occupied territories. However, it is by no means a matter of trade relations – only the use of shadow schemes controlled by the Russian secret services (Chernysh, 2019).

In order to hide its own role in supporting local conflicts in the post-Soviet space, the Russian Federation actively uses existing links between the unrecognized republics. For instance, South Ossetia is actively used to cover the Russian activity in the territories of the so-called “DPR” and “LPR”. Local companies actively use the South Ossetian Bank – an institution established in a similar quasi-state, which, however, has official branches in the Russian territory thus serves as a channel of access to the Russian banking system (Chernysh, 2019).

Similar to economy, the military component of the Russian policy towards the unrecognized post-Soviet states was dominant from the outset. An important element of the Russian intervention in the conflicts around the self-proclaimed republics was the peacekeeping policy. To legitimize its presence in the conflict zones (namely in Transnistria,

Abkhazia and South Ossetia) Moscow turned to this tool. This was made to gain credibility with the Western partners and to secure dominant positions in certain regions.

Nowadays, the Russian Federation is actively using the territories of the unrecognized and partially recognized states of the post-Soviet space as springboards that surround the Russian national borders as a forward bastion. After the war of 2008, the Russian commanders initiated the creation of military bases in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which were put into service the following year. In 2009, Russia signed agreements with the authorities of the self-proclaimed republics to deploy its permanent contingents on their territories for a term of 49 years, with the possibility of its automatic prolongation for another 15 years. From 7 to 8 thousand Russian servicemen armed with modern equipment serve in the occupied Georgian territories (Military Balance, 2018 p. 206). In parallel, the Russian Federation supports the development of the so-called national armed forces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. During the years that followed, the implementation of security agreements only emphasized the dependence of the self-proclaimed republics on the Kremlin. As of 2018, local military units at the disposal of local authorities are in fact integrated into the Russian military structures (Kuimova, Wezeman, 2018, p. 3).

In the territory of the self-proclaimed Transnistria Russia has been holding a contingent of 1,500 troops since the beginning of the 1990-ies. Formally, it was primarily intended to ensure the protection and export of the Soviet weapons from the territory of the unrecognized republic. However, at the beginning of the XXIst century, the process of transporting a military equipment was actually completed – but Moscow was in no hurry to reduce its military presence. Nowadays the Russian contingent is in fact the guarantor of the protection of the Russian interests in the region and the tacit evidence of support for a local separatism (Zamikula, 2017).

In the case of the pseudo-republics of Donbas, Russia has a total control over their military capabilities. It was created and maintained solely with the help of Russia's financial and logistical assistance. From an organizational point of view, the units that form the "armed forces" of the so-called "DPR" and "LPR" are integrated into the hierarchical command structure of the Russian Southern Military District. The Russians created two army corps from them – the First (in Donetsk) and the Second (in Luhansk), which maintain the illusion of the existence of an independent rebel army. In fact, they are directly subordinate to the command of the Russian 8th Army. Moreover, in order to enhance the military potential of the quasi-republics, Russia's own military units are used, operating on a rotational basis in the territory of Ukraine. The weapons available to the so-called separatists are of the Russian origin only and should be considered as an integral part of the military might of this state.

The Russian Federation has resorted to such a strategy for several reasons. In its revanchist policy, the Russian authorities try to regain the status of a superpower in the new system of international relations. Relying on long-known concepts of spheres of influence and a global competition within the international space, it seeks to "capture" certain regions, without allowing other powerful actors there. The deployment of military bases in this case is an element of this strategy, which should prevent the strengthening of the position of the United States of America in the Caucasus and the Black Sea space.

Also, the presence of military contingents allows to increase a political influence on the countries of the region. It becomes a deterrent that consolidates the situation in a format that is favourable to Moscow. The Russian bases in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, are designed to prevent Georgia from a successful implementation of Euro-Atlantic integration processes

(Markedonov, 2011). The “creeping occupation” of the Georgian territory, which was carried out during recent years with the direct involvement of the Russian servicemen, plays an important role in these processes (Larsen, 2017, pp. 2–4). Similarly, the conservative stance of the Russian leadership on the Karabakh conflict is actually turning Azerbaijan and Armenia into hostages of Moscow.

At last, but not least, we should point out the importance of the military component of such policy. The geographical location of the Russian forces on the territories of the unrecognized entities is by all means strategically important for the improvement of the Russian military potential. The bases in Transnistria and the South Caucasus create a kind of frontier defense. At the same time, they can act as a springboard for the offensive. The Russian presence in Abkhazia is also fully in line with the Black Sea region’s militarization strategy. It is an important element of Russia’s plan to turn this region into an anti-access and area denial (A2/AD)zone.

Russia’s political influence on the unrecognized republics of the post-Soviet space was also strengthened by means of the passportization process (Nagashima, 2019). Provision of Russian citizenship to local people in Abkhazia and South Ossetia was one of the reasons for the escalation of the situation in 2008. It was also used as an excuse for the Russian military intervention – as the Kremlin stated that it tried to defend the Russian citizens from Georgian forces. In later years the process continued, and now the same strategy is used in the case of Donbas. It demonstrates the Russian approach to this conflict, and creates a direct additional threat to the national security of Ukraine.

The analysis of the situation around the self-proclaimed states of the post-Soviet space and Russia’s policy towards them allows us to propose classification of the cases, which were characterized in the current article. In terms of preconditions, sources and circumstances of the formation of such problems, they can be divided into three groups. The first includes the cases of Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, where a local separatism had a real ethnic basis. In Transnistria, it was caused more by a political confrontation between elites; although to some extent it was based on the Russian identity of the region’s population. Instead, in Donbas, the separatist movement was artificially formed solely due to the external Russian intervention.

From the point of view of Russia’s current formal perception of the problem of the self-proclaimed states, it should be emphasized that Moscow is officially recognizing independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. In particular, it has made efforts to ensure that a similar decision is made by its international satellites and client states. This allows researchers to use the term “partially recognized states” in relation to the occupied Georgian territories, which distinguishes them from other self-proclaimed actors (Ishchenko, 2016, p. 210). However, in our opinion, it is necessary to understand clearly that in this case, the recognition is only a formality – because it was carried out exclusively by the occupier and his few allies. Therefore, an unbiased analysis of the situation proves that in reality the status of these territories does not differ from other examples considered in the article.

Regarding the ideological context of Russia’s approach to individual cases, we can see differences in Moscow’s position concerning the regions where it supports separatism (or directly initiates the problem) under the banner of protecting the Russian population (which coincides with the concept of “Russian world”), and on ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus. However, from a political point of view, nowadays all these areas are the elements of a single strategy aimed at ensuring the regional dominance of the Russian Federation.

The Conclusions. Russia plays an extremely important role in the development of events within the precedents of the frozen conflicts and the creation of self-proclaimed states in the post-Soviet space. It uses these destabilizing factors to form a favourable atmosphere within a regional space, in which the above-mentioned quasi-republics become instruments of its foreign policy. The Russian policy in this area has passed several stages of development – from friendly neutrality through a covert support to a full use as a tool of a hybrid aggressive policy. At the last stage, Moscow implements a new strategy – from now on it initiates pseudo-separatist movements (such as in Ukraine), thus artificially creating the conditions for the formal declaration of new independent states that actually function exclusively in the territories occupied by Russia. The latter thesis is confirmed by their total dependence on the Russian Federation – in political, economic and military terms. In recent years, Russia has strengthened control over a number of unrecognized and partially recognized states by resorting to a strategy of “a hidden annexation”. Such a threatening policy is of a particular relevance in the military sphere, since the Kremlin has created several bases on the territory of the former USSR where it maintains its military presence and which can be used for a future aggression.

In the current situation, there is a certain blame of the West – as it missed a moment when the Russian Federation turned the problem of frozen conflicts into a powerful tool for rebuilding and strengthening its influence in the post-Soviet space. For too long, Europe and the United States have looked at the Russian actions through their fingers, de facto agreeing to Russia’s preferential role in resolving these issues and thus removing responsibility from their shoulders. However, since the events of 2008, the depth of the threat posed by such Russian policy becomes clear. Therefore, opposition to the Russian strategy of destabilizing the post-Soviet space by supporting and artificially creating separatist movements should become an important element of the global strategy of the international community to eliminate the threat posed by the Kremlin’s neo-imperialist approach.

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baymukhametov, S. (2019). *Bratya po raskhodam. Nepriznannyye respubliki prinyali godovyye byudzhety* [Brothers on Expenses. Unrecognized Republics Adopted Annual Budgets]. URL: <https://newizv.ru/news/economy/10-02-2019/bratya-po-rashodam-nepriznannyye-respubliki-prinyali-godovyye-byudzhety> [in Russian]

Chernysh, V. (2019). “Russia Creates a Coalition of Unrecognized “Republics” and Plunders Ukrainian Subsoil”. URL: <https://mtot.gov.ua/en/intervju-ministra-vchernisha-apostrofu> [in English]

Fischer, S., Büscher, K., Smolnik, F. & Halbach, U. (2016). *Not Frozen! The Unresolved Conflicts over Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh in Light of the Crisis over Ukraine*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 97 p. [in English]

Gerrits, A. W. M. & Bader, M. (2016). Russian Patronage over Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Implications for Conflict Resolution. *East European Politics*, 32 (3), 297–313. doi:10.1080/21599165.2016.1166104 [in English]

Hai-Nyzhnyk, P. & Chuprii, L. (2016). Rosiisko-ukrainska viina: osoblyvosti rozv’iazannia viskovo-politychnoho konfliktu na Skhodi i Pivdni Ukrainy za suchasnykh heopolitychnykh umov [Russian-Ukrainian War: Specifics of Solving the Military and Political Conflict in Eastern and Southern Ukraine under Current Geopolitical Conditions]. *Ukrainoznavstvo*, 4 (61), 103–121. [in Ukrainian]

Holtsov, A. (2017). Yevraziiska stratehiia Rosiiskoi Federatsii: intehratsiinyi vymir [Eurasian Strategy of the Russian Federation: Integration Dimension]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka*, 1 (46), 15–20. [in Ukrainian]

Ishchenko, V. V. (2016). Nevyznani ta chastkovo vyznani derzhavy v suchasnomu mizhnarodnomu pravi [Unrecognized and Partially Recognized States in Modern International Law]. *Visnyk NTUU "KPI". Politolohiia. Sotsiolohiia. Pravo*, 3–4 (31–32), 209–215. [in Ukrainian]

Jeifets, V. & Dobronravin, N. (2017). Russia's Changing Partners: Sovereign Actors and Unrecognized States. *Rising Powers Quarterly*, 2 (1), 211–229. [in English]

Kobrinskaya, I. (2008). "Unrecognized States" in Russia's Domestic and Foreign Policy. *PONARS Eurasia Memo*, 10, 5 p. [in English]

Koelle, H. T. (2018) *Russian Patronage to Unrecognized States since the Annexation of Crimea: A Cross Case Study of the Republic of Abkhazia and the PMR*. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences, 85 p. [in English]

Kovryk-Tokar, L. (2013). Rosiiska polityka na terenakh novykh nezaleznykh derzhav u 2 pol. 1990-kh rr.: pohliad cherez pryzmu heopolytyky [The Russian Policy on the Territory of New Independent States during the 2nd half of the 1990-ies.: Look through the Prism of Geopolitics]. *Istoryko-politychni problem suchasnoho svitu*, 25–26, 209–213. [in Ukrainian]

Kuimova, A. & Wezeman, S. (2018). *Georgia and Black Sea Security*. Stockholm: SIPRI Background Paper, 16 p. [in English]

Larsen, J. (2017). *Deterring Russia's Borderization of Georgia*. Tbilisi: Georgian Institute of Politics Commentary, No 18, 9 p. [in English]

Lebed, A. I. (1995). *Za derzhavu obidno... [It's Shameful for a Great Power]*. Moskva: Moskovskaya Pravda, 464 p. [in Russian]

Markedonov, S. (2011). *Perspektivy rossiyskikh voennykh baz v Abkhazii i Yuzhnoy Osetii [Prospects for Russian Military Bases in Abkhazia and South Ossetia]*. URL: <https://www.ekhokavkaza.com/a/24296599.html> [in Russian]

Markedonov, S. (2016). *Referendum v Yuzhnoy Osetii. Kak s nim postupyat. [The Referendum in South Ossetia. What will They Do with It?]*. URL: <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/63708> [in Russian]

Military Balance-2018. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 520 p. [in English]

Nagashima, T. (2019). Russia's Passportization Policy toward Unrecognized Republics: Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transnistria. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66 (3), 186–199. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1388182> [in English]

Telenko, O. M. (2018). Rosiia yak derzhava-patron Respubliki Abkhaziia [Russia as a Patron-State of the Republic of Abkhazia]. *Hileia*, 3 (130), 447–451. [in Ukrainian]

Zamikula, M. (2017). *Rosiiski viiskovi ob'iekty za kordonom [Russian Military Facilities Abroad]*. URL: <http://conflicts.in.ua/> [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on October 22, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 930(438):94(477:438)“1918/1939”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210906

Vasyl FUTALA

PhD hab. (History), Professor at Department of History of Ukraine, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (vfutala@ukr.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2521-4710>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/I-3152-2018>

Василь ФУТАЛА

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри історії України Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (vfutala@ukr.net)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Futala, V. (2020). The Ukrainian issue in the political strategies of the Polish party environments of the interwar era of the XXth century: the Polish vision. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 16, 239–249. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210906

**THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE IN THE POLITICAL STRATEGIES
OF THE POLISH PARTY ENVIRONMENTS OF THE INTERWAR ERA
OF THE XXth CENTURY: THE POLISH VISION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to present the research results conducted by the Polish scholars on the Polish party circles political strategies in the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the Ukrainian issue, to personify the Polish authors' scientific achievements, to predict the prospects for the further scientific research. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, objectivity as well as the methods of historiographic analysis and synthesis. The scientific novelty is that on the basis of the wide range of historiographical sources, which were created by the Polish researchers, traced the process of accumulation and dissemination in time of historical knowledge about the essence of national programs of the Polish political circles of the interwar period of the XXth century and the ways to solve the Ukrainian issue. The Conclusions. The analyzed problem was studied intensively at the scientific level during the 70 – 80-ies of the XXth century. The researchers managed to clarify the program provisions of the main Polish party and political forces, in particular, the Ukrainian's issue place and role in it. It was proved that there were two concepts of the official Warsaw's policy leading in the interwar XXth century towards the Ukrainians – the national and state assimilation. The supporters of the first concept were the Polish National Democracy representatives and the second backed up the “pilsudzczy”. The Polish socialist activists made numerous attempts towards the idea of imposing the territorial autonomy on the Ukrainians, which failed. According to the Polish Ukrainophiles, whose representatives were in different political circles, imagined that the independent Ukrainian state could form up only behind the Zbruch River. Modern Polish researchers deepened their predecessors' work in all areas of the scientific research, especially in such issues as the Ukrainian issues in the political views of R. Dmowski and in the programmes of the Polish socialists, Christian Democrats, conservatives, the peasant party. It is shown that the visions of solving the national issues in Poland of the last three party groups did not differ in originality and developed in line with the concept of building a national Polish state, implementation during the interwar period of the XXth century.*

Key words: *Polish historiography, historiographical sources, Ukrainian issues, party, party environments, national issue, interwar Poland.*

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ У ПОЛІТИЧНИХ СТРАТЕГІЯХ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПАРТІЙНИХ СЕРЕДОВИЩ МІЖВОЄННОЇ ДОБИ ХХ ст.: ПОЛЬСЬКЕ БАЧЕННЯ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – показати здобутки польської історіографії у вивченні ставлення польського політикуму міжвоєнної доби ХХ ст. до українського питання, персоналізувати науковий доробок польських учених, передбачити перспективи подальших наукових пошуків. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, а також на методи історіографічного аналізу та синтезу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі широкого кола історіографічних джерел, створених польськими дослідниками, простежено процес нагромадження і поширення у часовому вимірі історичних знань про суть національних програм польських політичних середовищ міжвоєнної доби ХХ ст. та шляхів розв'язання ними українського питання. **Висновки.** Аналізована проблема почала інтенсивно вивчатися на науковому рівні у 70–80-х рр. ХХ ст. У цей час дослідники з'ясували програмні положення основних польських партійно-політичних сил, зокрема, місце і роль у них українського питання. Переконливо довели, що провідними у міжвоєнному двадцятилітті були дві концепції політики офіційної Варшави щодо українців – асиміляції національної та державної. Прихильниками першої були представники польської націонал-демократії, а другої – пілсудчики. Спроби діячів польського соціалістичного табору нав'язати владі ідею територіальної автономії для українців зазнали фіаско. Польські українофіли, представники яких були у різних політичних середовищах, виступали за незалежну Українську державу, але тільки за Збручем. Сучасні польські дослідники поглибили напрацювання своїх попередників у всіх напрямках наукового пошуку, особливо у таких, як українська проблематика у політичних поглядах Р. Дмовського та у програмах польських соціалістів, християнських демократів, консервативного середовища, селянської партії. Показано, що візії розв'язання національного питання у Польщі останніх трьох партійних угруповань не вирізнялися оригінальністю й розвивалися в річищі концепції побудови національної польської держави. Наступним кроком для польської історіографії може стати створення узагальнювального дослідження, присвяченого програмним засадам західноукраїнських політичних партій, рухів, організацій та боротьбі за їх реалізацію у міжвоєнний період ХХ ст.

Ключові слова: польська історіографія, історіографічні джерела, українське питання, партія, партійні середовища, національне питання, міжвоєнна Польща.

The Problem Statement. Taking into consideration the relevance of the research topic, it should be highlighted that in Rzeczpospolita II (the Second Commonwealth) a multiparty system was created. First of all, the range of political parties was extremely diverse, with more than sixty Polish political parties, organizations, and inter-party blocs operating there during the interwar period. Second of all, interwar Poland was a multinational state and the national issue's solution became one of the priorities, and at the same time, it was the most difficult task for the Polish political elite of that time. The Ukrainian issue was one of the most problematic, at least because the Western Ukrainians found themselves in the rebirth of Poland against their will. The attitude of the politically ruling class to the largest national minority at that time, which reached 15–16% of the total population, determined not only Poland's eastern policy direction but also the Polish-Ukrainian relations in the long run. Hence, the objective coverage of the difficult relations between the two neighboring nations in the first half of the XXth century by the Polish (as well as the Ukrainian) researchers, in particular in the interwar XXth century, will certainly improve the strategic partnership between Ukraine and Poland in modern geopolitical coordinates.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The declared topic is little studied in the historiographical aspect. The source base comprises only a few articles in which the achievements of Polish historical science from the middle of the XXth to the beginning of the

XXIst century are generalized, concerning the Polish-Ukrainian relations study of the interwar period of the XXth century (Torzecki, 1998; Koko, 2000; Mędrzecki, 2000), as well as a publication on the state of the Polish political thought study in 1864 – 1939 (Wójcik, 2004). A cursory assessment of the scientific literature (which is more like a bibliographic review) devoted to the Ukrainian issue in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth can also be found in the introductory parts of the monographs that are the subject of the following article. Thus, the Polish historiography representatives managed to identify only the general outlines of the scientific problem study, often leaving behind the historical and historical-political works' leading ideas.

The purpose of the article is to present the research results conducted by the Polish scholars on the Polish party circles political strategies in the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the Ukrainian issue, to personify the Polish authors' scientific achievements, to predict the prospects for the further scientific research.

The Statement of the Basic Material. During the interwar period of the XXth century, the analyzed topic was not scientifically studied yet. The process of creating and enriching the intellectual sources of the Polish socio-political thought took place. The Polish publicists paid attention to the Ukrainian issue whose works were colored by the clear party and political tendencies. In particular, there were the following the Polish National Democracy representatives (endowment) Stanislaw Grabski, Roman Dmowski, Jerzy Gertych, etc. The above-mentioned figures, while designing the nation-state model, proposed and as the politicians sought to implement the incorporation policy, open Polonization, the captured Ukrainian lands colonization (Dmowski, 1925; Gertych, 1932; Grabski, 1923; Grabski, 1925). Instead, the Pilsudski camp activists: Tadeusz Hołówko, Leon Wasilewski and the others advocated for the Ukrainians assimilation and their involvement in the Polish state cooperation by granting them certain rights in the framework of the autonomy in the eastern part of Galicia (Halychynna) and the self-government in Volyn (Hołówko, 1922; Hołówko, 1926; Hołówko, 1924; Wasilewski, 1934). These two paradigms of the national policy of the official Warsaw – “incorporative” and “federal” were the Polish politics nucleus until the outbreak of World War II, these paradigms were shared with certain modifications by other political movements' figures– conservative, socialist, peasant (people's), Christian democratic, etc.

The Ukrainian issues were not studied for a long time after the end of World War II in the Polish People's Republic. Apparently, one of the reasons for this was that the events of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in Volyn and Galicia in the 1940-ies were still fresh in the memory of the generations. On the one hand, a certain historical distance was needed in order to comprehend them at the level of the scientific argumentation, and on the other hand, for the historical legitimization of the communist regime. The qualitative changes occurred in the 1970-ies and 1980-ies, when the Polish historiography reassessed II Rzeczpospolita (the Second Commonwealth) national policy. It was possible to ponder over the situation due to the fact that the methodological pluralism paved its way in the humanities. Hence, along with the official scheme of the historical past, there is a tendency to an unbiased view of the modern history events, taking into account, as far as possible, the diversity of the factors including the national ones. The Ukrainian studies' important segments were the Ukrainians' socio-political, economic, cultural and spiritual life issues in the interwar Poland. The scientific analysis of these problems involved studying the place and role of the Ukrainian issue in the Polish political thought and the programmes of the most influential Polish political circles.

There were numerous scientists, who worked fruitfully in this research field, for instance, Andrzej Chojnowski, Roman Wapiński, Ryszard Tozecki, Myroslava Papierzyńska-Turek, Vladyslav Kulesha and the others. The authors gave a general assessment of the National Democracy (Polish: Narodowa Demokracja, also known from its abbreviation ND as “Endecja”) concept of the national policy of the rebirth of Poland. In particular, they pointed out that, according to the party’s program provisions, the role of a true sovereign in this state was to be performed by the Polish people, other nationalities had to submit to the political, economic and cultural domination of the Poles. Therefore, the above-mentioned programme denied the right of the non-Polish population to free national development, sought to make those citizens of the lower category. As for the Ukrainian population, it was a question of its complete denationalization, because, according to the National Democrats leaders, the Ukrainian population did not have its own language, was small and deprived of the national consciousness (Wapiński, 1974, p. 303; Chojnowski, 1979, p. 18; Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979, p. 46).

The researcher M. Papierzyńska-Turek gave the clear explanation – the National Democracy program was formulated at the beginning of the XXth century, and gained new prospects for the implementation when Józef Piłsudski’s and his supporters federalist plans failed as a result of the Soviet-Polish War of 1920. The Peace of Ryga or the Treaty of Ryga meant the victory of the postulate of the territorial program of the Endeks (Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979, p. 45). A. Chojnowski made the generalizing conclusion, which is also noteworthy. According to the researcher, the National Democracy program was based on two erroneous provisions – the belief in the exclusivity and assimilation force of the Polish culture and the belief in the national movements of the Slavic minorities weakness inhabiting Poland (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 21).

The concept of federalism was in opposition to the Polish National Democrats incorporation programme, which was formed among the judges during World War I and its foreign policy vector was directed against the Russian tsarism. The theorists from Józef Piłsudski’s camp proposed to restore Rzeczpospolita (the Commonwealth) in the form of a superpower owing to its federation with Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. The researcher Józef Lewandowski was the first, who managed to make the successful attempt of scientific analysis on Józef Piłsudski’s eastern policy (Lewandowski, 1967). Later on, the above-mentioned topic was widely discussed in the Polish historiography. According to A. Chojnowski, the “piłsudzczy” proceeded from the conviction concerning the permanent identity of the interests of the peoples inhabiting the ancient Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, so they considered it possible to restore the former state connection in a new, conditioned by the spirit of the modern era, federal form (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 19). It was assumed that joining the federation would be voluntary, and the federal system, combined with the democratization of relations within the future state, would guarantee the equality of all nationalities. At the heart of the Federalists’ views was the certainty that ethnographic boundaries could not be delineated in Eastern Europe, and the right to self-identification also applied to the Poles living in the eastern territories of the rivers Sian and Buh. Based on the above-mentioned foundation, the federalist program was presented as the nations self-determination principle implementation (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 19).

According to Teofil Piotrkiewicz’s observations, the attempts to develop the most general principles of the national minorities state assimilation government policy were made only in August 1926. Moreover, these principles were not a mandatory directive for the public institutions, they became only a starting point for the further program work (Piotrkiewicz,

1981, p. 151). In addition, the researcher depicted Stanisław Srokowski, a well-known scientist and politician close to the ruling circles, Volyn voyevoda during 1923 – 1924, as part of his project on the administrative-territorial division of Poland at the beginning of the 1930-ies, proposed to form a single administrative and political unit in which a single policy would be pursued for all the Ukrainians out of Volyn western lands, some parts of Polissya, Lviv, Ternopil and Stanislaviv voyevodstva. Piotr Dunin-Borkowski, the first rehabilitated Lviv voyevoda (1927 – 1928), heralded the similar concept. However, these projects of the Ukrainian autonomy did not come true, because after the parliamentary elections in autumn of the 1930-ies, Józef Piłsudski formed an increasingly authoritarian model of the state, which provided for the local self-government restriction, opposition to decentralization and power monopolization (Piotrkiewicz, 1981, p. 152).

Vladislav Kulesza, the researcher, while developing his predecessors' views, came to the conclusion that the reorganization camp was not the only one, it coexisted in three political groups: the Liberals, led by Kazimierz Bartel, the Conservatives and a group of "colonels". The state was the most important element of the "Piłsudchyks" political thought and was the most pronounced in the concepts (Kulesza, 1985, pp. 116–232). Presenting Piłsudski's supporters ideological and political doctrine against the broad comparative background of other ideologies and political trends that prevailed in Europe at the time, the author made the most important conclusion: the rehabilitation system was not fascist, but authoritarian (Kulesza, 1985, pp. 253–286).

There was the circle of Polish intellectuals, who were sympathetic to the Ukrainians, or at least understood the importance of the Ukrainian issue. These people were surrounded by the left party, the Socialists, Ludovtsi (the members of village parties), the Conservatives. Lots of them could also be found in Józef Piłsudski's camp. The researcher R. Torzecki drew attention to such figures as Count Stanislav Los, Stanislav Stempovsky, Professor Marcelli Handelsman, Leon Wasilewski, Tadeusz Hołówko, Henryk Józewski, Walery Sławek and the others. According to Torzecki, the above-mentioned figures were supporters of the federal idea and later on they focused on the concept of Prometheanism, foresaw the Ukrainian state emergence, which could territorially form up behind the Zbruch River. "None of those people, concluded R. Tożeczki, "could agree with the idea of losing the eastern frontiers, and each acted in the direction of the integration of these lands within the Polish state" (Torzecki, 1989, p. 132).

Taking as a basis the classification of party-political forces the criterion of the Polish government's attitude to the Ukrainians, T. Piotrkiewicz singled out two far unequal groups in terms of number and influence in the camp – piłsudczycy «miarodajni» and the "Ukrainophiles". The latter were characterized by the fact that, unlike the "moral" politicians, they offered to give the Ukrainians, if possible, more rights and privileges, just to calm down the anti-Polish sentiments among them and to connect them with the Polish state for a long time (Piotrkiewicz, 1981, p. 154). The most famous among the "Ukrainophiles" were Leon Wasilewski, Tadeusz Hołówko. Leon Wasilewski consistently defended his program of reforming the national relations on the eastern outskirts of Poland, but only until the coup d'état carried out by Józef Piłsudski. After May 1926, realizing the unpopularity of his ideas, Leon Wasilewski no longer promoted them in public. Instead, Tadeusz Hołówko, although forced to somewhat muffle his political rhetoric under the pressure of the Piłsudczyk right, by the end of his life (he passed away in August of 1931) sought to radically change the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the "eastern frontiers" (kresach wschodnich) (Piotrkiewicz, 1981, pp. 154–155).

The problem of the Polish Socialist Party's attitude (Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, PPS) towards the Ukrainian issue also played an important role in the Polish historiography of the Polish period. According to A. Chojnowski, the PPS's meticulous attention to the problem of the Slavic minorities was due to the difficult internal situation in Poland during 1922 – 1924 (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 25). The researchers found that the PPP first officially put forward the idea of autonomy for the Eastern Galicia in May 1922, when it became clear that Piłsudski's federal plans lost their chance of being realized (Torzecki, 1989, p. 114). The Socialists delivered a speech and heralded a draft law on the territorial autonomy of the lands inhabited by the Ukrainians after the Polish pacification of the eastern part of Galicia in 1930 in the Sejm. However, there was no unity among the party members concerning this issue. Mechyslav Niedzialkowski initiated the autonomous status granting to all Ukrainian lands that were part of Rzeczpospolita II (the Second Commonwealth). Some politicians, led by Zygmunt Żuławski, raised the question of separating Lviv, Boryslav and Drohobych from the autonomous territory and annexing the rest of the eastern Galician lands from Volyn to a single territorial autonomy. Among the Polish Socialist Party (Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, PPS) there were those, who categorically opposed the territorial autonomy. There were Poland's southeastern voyevodstva representatives, who feared the loss of the economic monopoly and political position of the Poles in the region and the "public order foundations" violation due to the dominance of the Ukrainians. Tadeusz Hołówko proposed to grant the autonomy only to the former Eastern Galicia (Tymieniecka, 1969, p. 54; Torzecki, 1989, pp. 120–121; Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979, p. 49).

Since 1989, the modern stage of the scientific problem research began. One peculiar feature is that the intellectual generations' succession preserved in Poland. The real methodological pluralism that existed in the scientific community was confirmed by the party dictatorship and censorship abolition. Already in the 1990-ies and 2000-ies, many works appeared, usually of a political nature, which enriched the knowledge of the views of Polish politicians and publicists on the national question in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hence, Włodzimierz Mich (Mich, 1992) presented the conservative understanding of state policy towards the national minorities, the PPS political platform was described by Eugeniusz Koko (Koko, 1991), the national democratic platform was depicted by Grzegorz Radomski (Radomski, 2000) and Krzysztof Kawalec (Kawalec, 2002), and the people's (peasant) – Alicja Wójcik (Wójcik, 1992). The researcher Waldemar Paruch described the Piłsudzczycy's attitude to the national issues in a thorough monograph (Paruch, 1997). Among the latest publications there are special studies written by Barbara Stoczewska (Stoczewska, 2013), Magdalena Nowak (Nowak, 2007) and Roman Wysocki (Wysocki, 2008; Wysocki, 2014). We should dwell on the achievements of recent authors briefly.

First of all, it should be noted that B. Stoczewska's work can be classified as the synthetic research because the author presented not only her own vision of the ideology and practice of leading Polish political forces on the Ukrainian issue but also managed to summarize the predecessors' work. First, Stoczewska analyzed the Polish Conservatives' political position deeply. According to her observations, the Polish Conservatives, unlike the radical politicians, managed to maintain the "moderation and objectivity" in the Ukrainian issues, were not inclined to take the drastic measures. However, these figures, although recognizing the Ukrainians as a separate people, still underestimated their state-building potential, accused them of the provincialism in political thinking, "Haydamatskyi mentality", propensity for the adventurism and romantic illusions, as well as a certain set of inferiorities in relation to

performed a civilizational mission in relation to the “uneducated Ruthenians” (Stoczewska, 2013, p. 230). The author claimed that in the interwar period, the conservative visions concerning the Ukrainian issue were diverse and ranged from a program of state assimilation to the postulate of the “Greater Ukraine” put forward by the “Buntu Młodych” (The Youth Riot) and “Naszej Przyszłości” (Our Future). The above-mentioned vision stemmed primarily from the particularly strong anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik foreign policy orientation of these environments (Stoczewska, 2013, pp. 230–231).

B. Stoczewska sought to prove that the Polish Peasants’ Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL) did not preach chauvinistic ideas. One of its main slogans was the Polish and Ukrainian peasants common destiny slogan. In other words, the people had a simplistic interpretation of the Ukrainian national movement: they were positive about the social demands of the Ukrainians and did not accept their political demands. Prior to World War I, PSL activists were staunch opponents of the creation of a separate Ukrainian crown land from Eastern Galicia, but after Poland’s independence, the Liberation Union and the Peasants’ Party leaned toward the concept of autonomy. But after the unification of these parties (1931) such a solution to the Ukrainian issue was rejected as unrealistic, mainly because of the diverse national composition of the “Eastern Lesser Poland” (Małopolska) (Stoczewska, 2013, pp. 328–329).

The Stoczewska’s conclusions on the political position of the Christian Democrats (Polskiego Stronnictwa Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji, PSChD) are noteworthy. In particular, it was found out that the attitude of the Chadaków (Khadeks) towards the Ukrainians was biased but not as negative as that of the National Democrats. The Christian Democrats were inclined to recognize the national identity of only those minorities who declared full loyalty to Poland, in particular, recognized the status of the Polish people as its exclusive sovereign. The list of possible concessions on the Ukrainian requirements was very short, in fact, it was limited to the socio-economic issues and the right to establish a national university, but, of course, not in Lviv. In general, the researcher stated, the Chadaków (Khadeks) did not formulate any specific program for resolving the Ukrainian issue, although they recognized it as important for the Polish state. The Ukrainian national movement was assessed very critically, and therefore, the Ukrainians were not seen as a constructive partner for the cooperation (Stoczewska, 2013, pp. 335–341).

The researcher B. Stoczewska also examined in detail the essence of the national issue in the political strategy of “endeks”, socialists and “piłsudzczy”. The author’s assessments and reflections coincide with the concepts of the leading Polish specialists in these scientific discourses: R. Torzecki, A. Chojnowski, W. Kuleszy, W. Mich, E. Koko, W. Paruch and the others.

M. Nowak’s work originality lies in the fact that it focuses on the Polish national democracy ideology, journalism and activities in the context of the Ukrainian issue during 1922 – 1939, taking into account regional differences in the approaches of government institutions to the international relations. The author’s leading opinion is that the Endeks’ position towards the Ukrainians corresponded to their ideological principles, the internal situation in the country, in particular, on the outskirts, as well as the general international situation (Nowak, 2007, p. 14). It is shown that this party advocated always the need for the Polonization of the “eastern frontiers” (kresach wschodnich), acknowledging it as the transfer of the most important centers of the political, economic and social life in the region into the hands of the Poles. The National Democracy opposed the idea of self-government as one of the forms of the

realization of the eastern part of Galicia's autonomy. At the same time, the researcher stressed that in the Polish conditions, self-government bodies should not be a counterweight to the state, but only complement it (Nowak, 2007, pp. 24, 35). Moreover, the Narodniks (Ukrainophobs), referring to Rzeczpospolita I traditions, called the population of the suburbs "Ruthenians", hence, denying the existence of the Ukrainian people (Nowak, 2007, p. 48).

M. Nowak's general conclusion should be paid attention: "The national policy of Rzeczpospolita II was overloaded with difficult moments in the Polish-Ukrainian relations. The pacification of 1930, the school and language laws of 1924, the Orthodox Church vindication, the lack of the effective measures in order to improve the Ukrainian peasants' situation, the Polish colonization or restrictions on the Ukrainians' employment in the public office were seen by the Ukrainian politicians as initiatives to polonize the Ukrainian population. Most Polish political circles, especially those associated with the National Democracy, viewed the Ukrainians' political, economic and cultural activities as being directed directly or indirectly against the Polish state" (Nowak, 2007, p. 289).

There is a large layer of literature dedicated to the famous politician Roman Dmowski in Polish historiography. However, the above-mentioned Lublin historian R. Wysocki, like no other, showed the Polish National Democracy leader's attitude to the Ukrainian issue. According to the author, R. Dmowski, as an ideologue of the party, tried not only to assess the historical events from a nationalist pragmatic standpoint but also to develop a line of conduct and predict the consequences of the Ukrainian issue for the Polish politics. The above-mentioned political figure was convinced firmly the state institution's great potential its ability to influence the national processes. According to his vision on the division of influence in Eastern Europe, Poland had to border directly on the Russian state, so there could be no place for Ukraine between them. Denying in his public speeches the right of the Ukrainians to become a nation, Dmowski was forced to use various terms to define the essence of this ethnic community. The "Rus' people", whose identity gained general recognition, was represented as the Polish people "branch" or "tribe" and did not abandon such an interpretation even when he was not happy to use the term "Ukrainian nationality". For the same reason, he denied the existence of a separate Ukrainian language, calling it nothing but an adverb. The other figures of the Polish National Democracy shared Dmowski's attitude to the Ukrainian issue. In particular, on their initiative in 1923, the term the "Ukrainian" was replaced in the official correspondence by the term the "Rus" (Wysocki, 2008, pp. 428–437; Wysocki, 2014, pp. 201–211). The researcher R. Wysocki showed that in the course of his life Dmowski changed his position a little: nevertheless, he acknowledged that there was a separate "Little Ruthenian language", but continued to insist on the drastic need to Polonize the "Ruthenians", considering it to be a guarantee for the Polish state's territorial integrity (Wysocki, 2014, pp. 211–212).

The Conclusion. Taking into consideration the historiographical sources, we can say that the analyzed problem during the interwar period of the XXth century attracted the Polish publicists' attention. During the postwar decades, mostly in the 1970-ies and 1980-ies, it became the subject of a wide range of studies conducted by the historians and political scientists, and was generally studied objectively and impartially. This was facilitated not only by the increased interest in the Ukrainian issues, but also by the methodological pluralism presence in the Polish historical science. The generations' intellectual continuity preserved in Poland after 1989. Moreover, the works written by such scholars as R. Tożęcki, A. Chojnowski, M. Papierzyńska-Turek became classics in the Polish Ukrainian studies.

The researchers of the Polish People's Republic period analyzed the programme positions of the leading Polish parties and political circles, found out the place and role of the Ukrainian issue in them. It was proved that there were two concepts of the official Warsaw's policy leading in the interwar XXth century towards the Ukrainians – the national assimilation, which was abandoned after the May Coup in 1926, and the state assimilation. The supporters of the first concept were the Polish National Democracy representatives, and the second backed up the “piłsudczycy”. The Polish socialist activists made numerous attempts towards the idea of imposing the territorial autonomy on the Ukrainians, which failed. From the end of 1934, the ruling circles returned to the national assimilation concept, trying to combine its elements with the state assimilation elements. The Polish Ukrainophiles, whose representatives were in different political circles, imagined that the independent Ukrainian state could form up only behind the Zbruch River. They did not even allow the idea of losing Poland's eastern outskirts – the native Ukrainian lands.

Modern Polish researchers deepened their predecessors' work in all areas of the scientific research, especially in such issues as the Ukrainian issues in the political views of R. Dmowski and in the programmes of the Polish socialists, the Christian Democrats, the Conservatives, the Peasant Party. It is shown that the visions of solving the national issues in Poland of the last three party groups did not differ in originality and developed in line with the concept of building a national Polish state. Another achievement of the Polish historiography may be referred to the generalized study creation on the programmatic principles of the Western Ukrainian political parties, movements, organizations and the struggle for their implementation during the interwar period of the XXth century. In addition, the national policy principles of small Polish political parties and groups should also be paid attention.

Acknowledgement. I would like to express gratitude Professor Roman Wysocki for the presented scientific works.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chojnowski, A. (1979). *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921 – 1939* [The Polish Governments National Policy Concepts in 1921 – 1939]. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 262 p. [in Polish]

Dmowski, R. (1925). *Polityka polska i odbudowanie państwa* [The Polish Policy and Rebuilding the State]. Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni Perzyński, Niklewicz i S-ka, 533 p. [in Polish]

Gertych, J. (1932). *O program polityki kresowej* [On the Borderlands Policy Programme]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo “Patria”, 145 p. [in Polish]

Grabski, S. (1923). *Uwagi o bieżącej historycznej chwili Polski* [Comments on the Current Historical Moment in Poland]. Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni Perzyński, Niklewicz i S-ka, 160 p. [in Polish]

Grabski, S. (1925). *Z zagadnień polityki narodowo-państwowej* [On the National-state Policy Issues]. Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni Perzyński, Niklewicz i S-ka, 132 p. [in Polish]

Holówko, T. (1922). *Kwestia narodowościowa w Polsce* [The Nationality Issue in Poland]. Warszawa: Druk. “Robotnika”, 38 p. [in Polish]

Holówko, T. (1926). *Metody i drogi sanacji stosunków we Wschodniej Galicji i województwach wschodnich* [Methods and Ways of Rehabilitating Relations in Eastern Galicia and Eastern Voivodships]. *Droga*, 6–7, 46–55. [in Polish]

Holówko, T. (1924). *Minimalny program polityki polskiej we wschodniej Galicji i na tzw. “kresach”* [The Polish Policy Minimum Program in Eastern Galicia and the so-called “Borderlands”]. *Droga*, 10, 4–17. [in Polish]

Kawalec, K. (2002). *Roman Dmowski 1864 – 1939 [Roman Dmowski 1864 – 1939]*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 331 p. [in Polish]

Koko, E. (2000). Polska historiografia po 1989 roku o relacjach polsko-ukraińskich w latach 1918 – 1939 [Polish Historiography after 1989 on the Polish-Ukrainian Relations in 1918 – 1939]. *Historycy Polscy i Ukraińcy wobec problemów XX wieku / Pod red. Piotra Kosiewskiego i Grzegorza Motyki.* (pp. 132–145). Kraków: Universitas. [in Polish]

Koko, E. (1991). *Wolni z wolnymi. PPS wobec kwestii ukraińskiej w latach 1918 – 1925 [Free People with Free People. The PPS on the Ukrainian Question during 1918 – 1925]*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 234 p. [in Polish]

Kulesza, W. (1985). *Koncepcje ideowo-polityczne obozu rządzącego w Polsce w latach 1926 – 1935 [The Ruling Camp Ideological and Political Concepts in Poland during 1926 – 1935]*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 310 p. [in Polish]

Lewandowski, J. (1967). *Imperializm słabości. Kształtowanie się koncepcji polityki wschodniej piłsudczyków 1921 – 1926 [The Weakness Imperialism. The Piłsudczy Eastern Policy Concept Formation during 1921 – 1926]*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 225 p. [in Polish]

Mędrzecki, W. (2000). Druga Rzeczpospolita w historiografii polskiej po 1989 roku [II Rzeczpospolita in Polish Historiography after 1989]. *Historycy Polscy i Ukraińcy wobec problemów XX wieku / Pod red. Piotra Kosiewskiego i Grzegorza Motyki.* (pp. 11–20). Kraków: Universitas. [in Polish]

Mich, W. (1992). *Problem mniejszości narodowych w myśli politycznej polskiego ruchu konserwatywnego (1918 – 1939) [The National Minorities Issue in the Political Thought of the Polish Conservative Movement (1918 – 1939)]*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 306 p. [in Polish]

Nowak, M. (2007). *Narodowcy i ukraińcy: narodowa demokracja wobec mniejszości ukraińskiej w Polsce, 1922 – 1939 [The Nationalists and the Ukrainians: the National Democracy towards the Ukrainian Minority in Poland, 1922 – 1939]*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 305 p. [in Polish]

Papierzyńska-Turek, M. (1979). *Sprawa ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1922 – 1926 [The Ukrainian Issue in II Rzeczpospolita in 1922 – 1926]*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 391 p. [in Polish]

Paruch, W. (1997). *Od konsolidacji państwowej do konsolidacji narodowej: mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej obozu piłsudczykowskiego (1926 – 1939) [From the State Consolidation to the National Consolidation: the National Minorities in the Political Thought of the Piłsudski Camp (1926 – 1939)]*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 424 p. [in Polish]

Piotrkiewicz, T. (1981). *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w koncepcjach piłsudczyzny 1926 – 1930 [The Ukrainian Issue in Poland in Piłsudski concepts during 1926 – 1930]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 165 p. [in Polish]

Radomski, G. (2000). *Narodowa Demokracja wobec problematyki mniejszości narodowych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1918 – 1926 [The National Democracy in the Face of the National Minorities Issue in II Rzeczpospolita during 1918 – 1926]*. Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 170 p. [in Polish]

Stoczewska, B. (2013). *Ukraina i Ukraińcy w polskiej myśli politycznej. Od końca XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej [Ukraine and the Ukrainians in the Polish Political Thought. From the End of the XIXth Century until the Outbreak of World War II]*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, 391 p. [in Polish]

Torzecki, R. (1989). *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923 – 1929 [The Ukrainian Issue in Poland during 1923 – 1929]*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 468 p. [in Polish]

Torzecki, R. (1998). Na temat historiografii stosunków polsko-ukraińskich w latach 1918 – 1956 [On the Historiography of the Polish-Ukrainian Relations, during 1918 – 1956]. *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 3, 103–111. [in Polish]

Tymieniecka, A. (1969). *Polityka Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej w latach 1924 – 1928 [The Polish Socialist Party Policy during 1924 – 1928]*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 344 p. [in Polish]

Wapiński, R. (1974). *Endecja wobec kwestii ukraińskiej i białoruskiej [The National Democratic Party on the Ukrainian and Belarusian Issues]*. *Słowianie w dziejach Europy* (pp. 301–308). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza. [in Polish]

Wasilewski, L. (1934). *Kwestia ukraińska jako zagadnienie międzynarodowe [The Ukrainian Issue as an International Issue]*. Warszawa: [s.n.], 146 p. [in Polish]

Wójcik, A. (1992). *Myśl polityczna Stanisława Augusta Thugutta (1873 – 1941) [Stanisław's August Thugutt Political Thought (1873 – 1941)]*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 335 p. [in Polish]

Wójcik, A. (2004). Stan badań nad polską myślą polityczną w latach 1864 – 1939 [The State of the Research on the Polish Political Thought during 1864 – 1939]. *Polityka i Społeczeństwo, 1*, 81–103. [in Polish]

Wysocki, R. (2008). Akceptacja czy negacja? Kwestia ukraińska w poglądach Romana Dmowskiego [Acceptance or Negation? The Ukrainian Issue in the Views of Roman Dmowski]. *Roman Dmowski i jego współpracownicy / Pod red. M. Białokura, M. Patelskiego i A. Szczepaniaka.* (pp. 425–445). Opole: Adam Marszałek. [in Polish]

Wysocki, R. (2014). *W kręgu integralnego nacjonalizmu. Czynny nacjonalizm Dmytra Doncowa na tle myśli nowoczesnych Romana Dmowskiego. Studium porównawcze [In the Integral Nationalism Circle. Dmytro Doncow's Active Nationalism against the Background of Roman Dmowski's Modern Thoughts. A Comparative Study]*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 543 p. [in Polish]

*The article was received on January 18, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

UDC 737.14-021.111(4)(091)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210910

Galyna GRYTSENKO

PhD (History), Assistant Professor of the World History and Special Historical Disciplines Department, Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (grycenko84@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7047-5664>

Mykhailo VIKHLIAIEV

PhD hab. (Law), Assistant Professor, Deputy Director of the Publishing House "Helvetica", 84 Oleksandrivska Street, Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, postal code 69063 (vikhliaievm@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1906-5176>

Галина ГРИЦЕНКО

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (grycenko84@gmail.com)

Михайло ВІХЛЯЄВ

доктор юридичних наук, доцент, заступник директора Видавничого дому "Гельветика", вул. Олександрівська, 84, Запоріжжя, Україна, індекс 69063 (vikhliaievm@gmail.com)

FORMATION AND EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTERFEIT COINS

Review of the monograph: Boiko-Gagarin A. S. Coin counterfeiting in Central and Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. Kyiv: "Ukrainian Academy of Heraldry, Trademark and Logo", 2017. 560 p.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ТА ЕВОЛЮЦІЙНИЙ РОЗВИТОК ФАЛЬШИВИХ МОНЕТ

Рецензія на монографію: Бойко-Гагарін А. С. Фальшивомонетництво в Центральній і Восточній Європі в епоху Середньовіччя і раннього Нового часу. Київ: "Українська академія геральдики, товарного знака і логотипа", 2017. 560 с.

In 2017, a monograph *Coin counterfeiting in Central and Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* by Andrii Boiko-Gagarin, Candidate of Historical Sciences (PhD), Numismatist and Museologist, was published. It was devoted to private counterfeiting of coins to the detriment of money circulation, which were characteristic of finds in Central and Eastern Europe in the middle of the 8th century and to the beginning of the 18th century.

From time immemorial, money counterfeiting was one of the types of easy earnings of social groups. It is believed that even the earliest coins invented by mankind were reflected in counterfeiting. The production of counterfeits gained momentum through the ages, kept pace with technical progress, and was a super lucrative business.

The history of counterfeit coins of the outlined period before the appearance of A. Boiko-Gagarin's monograph in the domestic historiography was not fully covered. The issues of money counterfeiting (the main types of coins, the role of counterfeits in the history of money circulation, technologies of their production, carried out using the latest accurate methods of physical measurements) have been studied quite sporadically in domestic and foreign numismatic scientific literature. This prompted the author to write a book, which aimed to draw the attention of numismatists, historians, archaeologists, museum workers and local historians to that non-trivial phenomenon of the past.

The novelty of A. Boiko-Gagarin's author's vision is that the book presents a complete classification of counterfeit coins in the circulation of Central and Eastern Europe, from antiquity to modern times in general: coins of private issuers entitled to coin regalia (imitation); counterfeits secretly made at the Mint; private "artisanal" counterfeits; application of false overprints; application of original overprints on counterfeit coins; false coins (p. 374).

For the first time the topography of finds of counterfeit coins is given in the book, the description of processes of their manufacture with application of modern, rather exact methods of physical researches is presented. The most common types of counterfeit coins in Eastern Europe are described. Based on the obtained conclusions and the depth of the aspect of counterfeiting, the author proposes a new and broader definition of the term *numismatics*. "Numismatics (from the Latin *nomisma* – coin) is the science that studies coins, treasures, collections, commodity-money relations and techniques of making coins, as well as artisanal counterfeiting of coins of that time" (p. 373).

A positive feature of A. Boiko-Gagarin's research, which can be traced throughout the text, is more than 600 illustrations describing the counterfeit coins of that time, as well as the presentation of a short terminological dictionary. Successfully selected rare (and sometimes unique) photographs of counterfeit coins complement the reader's idea of the formation and evolutionary development of counterfeiting.

The peer-reviewed monograph consists of an introduction, twenty-three chapters, research results, references, and appendices. The structure of the work looks quite logical and is determined by the main thematic chapters, which allow to fully reveal the topic, from the times of Kievan Rus to the era of Early Modern Times.

For understanding the topic of the study, the first section of the monograph *On the manufacture of counterfeit and fake coins* is of key importance, which outlines the chronological framework of the study (lower limit from the middle of the 8th century to the beginning of the 18th century) and features of this period. The author studied that counterfeit coins had been in Eastern Europe since the time of the Roman Empire. During that period in Eastern Europe, the mints were making the final transition to machine coin production, which significantly complicated counterfeiting, and, consequently, the very aspect of the activities of counterfeiters found other trends and features.

The source basis of A. Boiko-Gagarin's work is quite significant. Previously unpublished sources are introduced into scientific circulation, which allow opening a new page in the history of money circulation. The book is based on the study and research of counterfeit coins in private collections, judicial and administrative acts and other documents of the

time. The author's study of administrative acts stored in the archives gives a broad idea of investigative and judicial cases against counterfeiters. And also it allows establishing, what representatives of social strata were engaged in counterfeiting of coins, calling the real names of counterfeiters used at counterfeiting of technology.

The study of the following 18 thematically related sections of the monograph is of interest. Each chapter of the book is a logical continuation of the previous block. The material is presented on the basis of a problem-chronological approach, revealing information on counterfeiting of the most popular coins on the money market in the times of Kievan Rus to the era of Early Modern Times, which has not been sufficiently researched in domestic historiography. The book is written on the basis of the study and research of counterfeit coins of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; Kingdom of Poland, the Commonwealth; Bohemia (Czech Republic), Hungary, the Swedish occupation of the Baltic lands; Moldova and Transylvania; Holy Roman Empire; Prussia and Brandenburg-Prussia; Holland; Moscow Kingdom; Golden Horde; Crimean Khanate; Ottoman Empire; Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia; Scotland and the Venetian Republic; Spain. According to the historian's research, the dirhams and dinars of the Caliphate, European denarii, as well as hryvnias (ingots) were embodied in forgers' counterfeits.

According to the researcher's observations, coins counterfeiting of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is embodied from the earliest anepigraphic coins. The description of the well-known forgeries of denarii with the image of a spearhead with a cross and Gediminids' pillars belonging to the reign of Prince Vytautas (1392 – 1430), as well as images of a horseman belonging to the reign of Prince Casimir (1440 – 1492) is of great interest. The researcher noted the denarii and pól grosz, which could not escape the attention of counterfeiters, as the most popular in the money market during the reign of Alexander Jagiellon (1492 – 1506).

The scientist paid attention to the study of the so-called Belarusian numismatics of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In this section, devoted to the first coins of the principality, the author noted the study of the Belarusian numismatist Dmytro Huletskyi (published a copy of the counterfeit pól grosz of 1512). An interesting point of the study is the technique of making counterfeit coins, in particular, those made by one master, when there is one decoration style. Today they are stored in the museum of the National Bank of the Republic of Belarus (Minsk). Further we find interesting facts about counterfeit coins (trojak) of 1563 and their photos, which were found in the Brest region in Belarus.

Copper solids (coins of King of the Commonwealth Jan II Casimir (1648 – 1668) of Lithuanian minting), whose artisanal counterfeits filled the whole of Eastern Europe, researched by the historian, attract attention. The historian's assumption was quite interesting that the Polish coin had penetrated the territory of the Ukrainian historical lands of Lutsk and Volodymyr-Volynskyi since the end of the 14th century (imitating the denarii of Wladyslaw II Jagiello (1386 – 1434). The researcher analyzes a tendency in counterfeiting of Polish coins of larger denomination in those times: szostak, ort, coins equal to 4 groszs. Among the coins of Augustus III, copper coins – solids and groszs – also become prototypes for counterfeiting.

A. Boiko-Gagarin's explanation that the reason for the decline in the number of counterfeits in this period was the improvement of coin production technologies in the 18th century, when almost all mints were mastering the machine production of coins, seems quite reasonable.

The author paid considerable attention to the study of counterfeit coins of the Moscow Empire. On the basis of elaborated sources and national literature, the historian studied the oldest counterfeit coins of Ivan Mikhailovich, prince of Tver (1399 – 1425) and Moscow

coins of Prince Ivan III (1462 – 1505) and Tsar of Muscovy Ivan the Terrible (1533 – 1584). A. Boiko-Gagarin claims that by the end of the 1660s a wave of counterfeiting had literally flooded the Muscovy, and large sections of the population, from nobles to beggars, were engaged in counterfeiting coins.

Among the counterfeits of coins of the Crimean Khanate, the author was able to study examples that copy the most common original coins minted on behalf of the khans of the Giray dynasty. A. Boiko-Gagarin analyzes there a small number of counterfeit coins (made of silver) in circulation in comparison with European countries.

The section *Scotland and the Venetian Republic* is of interest, namely the archaeological finds that confirm the penetration of fake Venetian ducats on Ukrainian lands from Italy and neighboring lands. According to the research of A. Boiko-Gagarin, in the 15th – 16th centuries the Venetian gold coin played one of the dominant roles in monetary settlements in the Mediterranean. Venetian gold spread rapidly throughout the European continent and beyond.

Of particular interest is the section *Technologies of production of counterfeit coins*, which discusses the technologies and stages of production of counterfeit coins. The author shows the improvement of counterfeiting technologies, namely the introduction of machine technology of minting, which eliminated the possibility of counterfeiting small denomination coins.

A. Boiko-Gagarin examines the most severe punishments applied to counterfeiters in the Middle Ages and Modern Times in all European countries. Among the punishments, the most common ones were executions with previous torture and the confiscation of property. As the author explains, the most severe punishments and persecutions did not stop money counterfeiters; the production of counterfeit money kept pace with monetary reforms and technological progress. This once again confirms that the best way to combat counterfeiting of coins and tokens is to improve their quality and improve their means of protection.

The last part of the work, in our opinion, is the most original, because it is devoted to little-known topography aspects of the findings of counterfeit coins. It is interesting for us to find in the monograph a set of data on the areas of the greatest concentration of finds of counterfeit coins. The specifics of the researched types of counterfeits in different regions of Ukraine are determined. In Table 2, it was made assumptions about the localization of production of counterfeit coins, as well as the features of their findings.

A. Boiko-Gagarin managed to study the connection of numismatics with other sciences, in particular, with physics and chemistry (alchemy), metrology and statistics, economics and history of money circulation, art and fashion, as well as psychology (psychology of money). In particular, counterfeiters realized the dreams of alchemists – the transformation of base metal into “gold” and “silver” (p. 372).

We are impressed by the objective conclusions that meet the objectives of the study, reflect the scientific novelty of the work. In his conclusions, A. Boiko-Gagarin not only collected the final provisions presented by him in the sections, but also briefly, in the context of the whole topic, analyzed the evolution of private counterfeiting of coins to the detriment of money circulation, typical of finds in Central and Eastern Europe of the outlined period. He also quite aptly outlined promising areas for further research in the field of studying counterfeit coins of past eras. It is also commendable that the researcher proved to be a good stylist, which made his text interesting to read and transparent for evaluation.

One of the characteristic features of the peer-reviewed work is its content. The author proved that in accordance with the scientific task in the work, it was correctly defined the

subject and object, purpose and objectives of the study, substantiated its chronological boundaries. As it can be seen from the text of the monograph, due to the careful study of a huge array of counterfeit coins, a significant layer of new numismatic knowledge is introduced into scientific circulation. Gradually, taking into account the specifics of the historical moment, A. Boiko-Gagarin shows the influence of coins on the development of money circulation in Central and Eastern Europe during the middle of the 8th – early 18th centuries.

This scientific work is an independent, relevant, innovative work in its concept, which meets all modern requirements.

Undoubtedly, the book will be valuable not only for professional historians, archaeologists, museum workers, art critics, collectors, students, local historians, but above all (which, after all, the author expects) for the average readers who are not indifferent to the history of their native land. Moreover, A. Boiko-Gagarin not only reveals the historical facts, but also provides answers to some controversial topical issues of domestic numismatics. The detailed topography of the findings of counterfeit coins of the past presented in the author's work allows determining the potential centers of illegal coin production on the territory of modern Ukraine. And also it will contribute to their wider publication and study of this phenomenon. And, accordingly, it will be of interest not only to professionals but also to collectors and lovers of antiquity.

*The article was received on February 28, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 821.161.2.09(092):37(091)(477)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210904

Nadiia SKOTNA

PhD hab. (Philosophy), Professor, Rector of Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (skotna@ukr.net)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2929-8926>

Tetiana PANTYUK

PhD hab. (Education), Professor of the Department of General Pedagogy and Preschool Education, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (pantyuk@bigmir.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0672-9663>

ResearcherID: <https://publons.com/researcher/1967842/tetiana-pantyuk/>

Надія СКОТНА

докторка філософських наук, професорка, ректор Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (skotna@ukr.net)

Тетяна ПАНТЮК

докторка педагогічних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри загальної педагогіки та дошкільної освіти Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (pantyuk@bigmir.net)

THE NEW ACHIEVEMENTS OF IVAN FRANKO STUDIES

(review of: I. Franko on Education and Upbringing /

Arrangement and Comments by Halyna Sabat. Drohobych: Kolo, 2020. 436 p.)

НОВЕ ДОСЯГНЕННЯ ФРАНКОЗНАВСТВА

(рецензія на: Франко про освіту та виховання / упорядкування і коментарі

Галини Сабат. Дрогобич: Коло, 2020. 436 с., іл.)

Recently, in Drohobych publishing house “Kolo” the book “I. Franko on Education and Upbringing” has been published, which is currently the most complete collection of pedagogical texts by a prominent Ukrainian scientist and writer. The initiator of this publication was Professor Omelian Vyshnevsky, and the book was edited by Professor, Doctor of Philology Halyna Sabat – a well-known scholar of Franko studies, a researcher of I. Franko’s works for children.

It is known that Ivan Franko (1856 – 1916), according to the right observation of H. Sabat, among all Ukrainian writers wrote for children and about children mostly, as well as he wrote about school and university education (Sabat, 2020, p. 3). As a result, his pedagogical views and educational activities were the focus of many Ukrainian and foreign researchers. Professor V. Mykytyuk noted that Franko studies as a branch of the Ukrainian humanities for almost

125 years (and its beginning is derived from the appearance of the relevant section in the “History of Russian Literature” by Omelyan Ogonovsky in 1893), developed many occasional and many special investigations on a pedagogical legacy of Ivan Franko. Actually, the very Om. Ogonovsky, a university professor of I. Franko-student, published the first comprehensive review of his student’s life and work, where he recorded many valuable facts about the stages and peculiarities of I. Franko’s school, high school and university education, lectures at “normal” school, teachers’ influences, the educational and political priorities. Om. Ogonovsky was the first one, who actualized the sources of I. Franko’s maximalism (the so-called “cemeteryism”) in school fiction, literalizing and mainly identifying the heroes and authors of literary texts, which was later actively used by the Ukrainian and Russian sociological critics, and the writer himself denied it during the last years of his life (Mykytyuk, 2017, p. 9).

The next significant manifestation of the analysis of I. Franko’s pedagogical visions was the publication of Ivan Yushchysyn, a teacher, “Ivan Franko as a Teacher” (Yushchysyn, 1913; Yushchysyn, 1914). By the way, the publication encouraged the already ill writer to refute a number of myths about his education and the influence of a number of schools on his worldview, which appeared in the works of S. Yeferemov, M. Vozniak and were borrowed from there by I. Yushchysyn. The Soviet scientists, in particular, G. Paperna (Paperna, 1946), B. Mitiurov (Mitiurov, 1961) and O. Dzeverin, made a certain contribution to the study of Ivan Franko’s pedagogical work. (Dzeverin, 1960, pp. 5–19). However, taking into consideration the dictates of “Marxist-Leninist methodology”, the characterization of Ivan Franko’s pedagogical views was carried out through the prism of an ideological criticism, the theory of class struggle and the formational approach. Instead, during the past three decades, in an independent Ukrainian state hundreds and hundreds of works appeared on Franko’s views on education and upbringing. Among them we would like to single out the research of Drohobych scientists: O. Vyshnevskiy (Vyshnevskiy, 2016), R. Vyshnivskiy and M. Chepil (Vyshnivskiy & Chepil, 2016), as well as the work of Lviv scholar V. Mykytyuk (Mykytyuk, 2018), who defended his doctoral dissertation in Drohobych University.

All these works were based on the primary sources – Ivan Franko’s creative heritage of a pedagogical nature. In fact, Ivan Franko’s pedagogical works were published only once in a separate collection. In 1960 the famous historian of pedagogy and education, Alexander Dzeverin, a head of the department of theory and history of pedagogy of the Research Institute of Pedagogy of the UkSSR, published the book “Ivan Franko. Pedagogical Articles and Statements”. This collection comprised 55 articles and excerpts and it still remains the most accessible to scholars. It is important that at that time 10 Polish-language and German-language publications by Ivan Franko appeared for the first time in the Ukrainian translation (Dzeverin, 1960). Unfortunately, this collection is not complete: many of I. Franko’s articles on education, upbringing, schooling, teaching remained outside the publication for ideological and censorship reasons.

The collection under review aimed at getting rid of the above-mentioned drawbacks. The publication “I. Franko on Education and Upbringing” comprises 50 texts by a prominent scientist and writer, 16 of them – in Polish (translated into modern Ukrainian). To each text the comments are given by the compiler, who selected the works of Ivan Franko from the first editions or from the last lifetime publications and classified them in a chronological order. The book begins with an introductory speech by the compiler, prof. Halyna Sabat, and a thorough article by Professor Omelyan Vyshnevsky “Pedagogical Views of Ivan Franko in the Light of Current Challenges of Modern Education”.

Analyzing the materials presented in the collection, we note that they can be classified into several groups. Into the first group, of course, we should include those works of Ivan Franko, which reflect his own pedagogical views. Even the first pedagogical work of the writer – “Woman-Mother” – comprises many pedagogical visions. This article, which consists of three parts (introduction, mother and school, reading for children) I. Franko published in the magazine “Friend” during 1875 – 1876 (Sabat, 2020, pp. 41–52). Apparently, while writing this work, he used the research of the German physician G. Klenke. However, it perfectly illustrates the young writer’s idea of education and upbringing, especially the importance of a family upbringing.

Not less famous Ivan Franko’s work is his preface to the studio of M. Dobrolyubov “The Importance of Authority in Education”. At that time (1879), the young writer shared the views of the Russian publicist on the harmfulness of an authoritarian upbringing of children. He expressed similar views in the preface to Kh. G. Salzman’s book, “A Book of Proverbs on How to Treat Children” (1900). Kameniar expressed his deepest pedagogical views in his famous work “The End of the Reform of Teaching of the Ruska Literature at Our Secondary Schools” (Sabat, 2020, pp. 163–174), in which he expressed his own vision of the organizational and methodological principles of teaching the discipline “Ruska Literature” in the gymnasiums of Galicia. I. Franko’s pedagogical visions are quite fully expressed in his literary work “Boris Hrab” (1890), which the compiler placed in the appendices of the collection (Sabat, 2020, pp. 389–402).

The next group of I. Franko’s pedagogical works consists of the articles on an organizational and educational content. These are, in particular, the publications “A Few Words on how to Organize and Conduct our Public Publishing Houses” (1882), “What and How to Write for the People” (1883), “The Work of the Czechs in the Field of Education” (1888). Of great interest are also the political and journalistic articles of the famous scholar on the Congress of the Polish Pedagogical Society in Stryi, the work of the Regional Sejm, and critical remarks on Polish “organic labour” and “civilizational mission” in the field of schooling in Ukraine (1883). The collection also includes the fragment of I. Franko’s German-language article “The Great Acts of Mr. Bobzhynsky”, which was first translated and introduced into a pedagogical and historical science by V. Smal in 1959 (Smal’, 1959).

A large group of I. Franko’s articles, both journalistic and scientific, was devoted to the history of education. They are also published in the collection under review. To some extent, the article-memoir of I. Franko about his studies at Drohobych Gymnasium of Franz Joseph I. is of a historical and pedagogical character. In the article, he criticized sharply the changes that took place secondary school at the beginning of the 1870-ies, quite unfavourably described the figures of the directors Priest T. Bareviych and J. Kerekyarto (Sabat, 2020, pp. 54–58). It should be noted that Jan Kerekyarto, although he acted with strict disciplinary measures against gymnasium students, did a lot for the development of education in the region. In particular, owing to him the active development of Sambir Teachers’ Seminary during the 1890-ies.

I. Franko’s work “Student Library in Drohobych”, written in 1878, is also well-known. It is important that in it the young author reflected on the reasons for the emergence of secret societies of high school students, who organized clubs and libraries. I. Franko interpreted them as the result of “resistance to the system”, which young people dare to strive for more broad, uncensored knowledge: “... this the resistance will grow and strengthen more and more, because it is certain that no system, no austerity will be able to block all roads of a living

thought, will not be able to forbid it to enter our schools and arouse a new, more real, more scientific movement, whose ties and beginnings we already see now” (Sabat, 2020, p. 70). Among other historical and pedagogical works of Kameniar we should mention the articles “One Card from the History of our Public School” (1884), “Secondary Schools in Galicia during 1875 – 1883” (1884), “Our Public Schools and their Needs” (1892), “On the History of Education in Galicia” (1893), “Three Ruthenian Handwritten Textbooks of from the Years of 1806, 1815, 1829” (1902). The last article in the collection is published in an abridged form – numerous extensive quotations from textbooks analyzed by I. Franko were removed from it. Undoubtedly, the article “New Reasons for the History of Polish Society in Ukraine in the XIXth Century” has a historical and pedagogical character, which is a review of the book by the Polish researcher P. Khmelovsky under the famous title “Liberalism and Obscurantism in Lithuania and Russia (1815 – 1823)”, as well as T. Bobrowski’s memoirs about his education in high schools and universities of Ukraine (Sabat, 2020, pp. 312–349).

Among the articles included into the collection, a significant group consists of journalistic works on the problems of the youth of that time, in particular, students. Thus, I. Franko wrote about the student riots in Russia (1888), defended the civil rights of students, in particular, the formation of academic societies (1888), described and reflected on the Congress of Slavic youth in Prague (1891). It is known that Kameniar supported the resolution of the Ukrainian students at the Congress, who advocated the spread of “education based on the achievements of positive sciences, and such an organization of education in which education would become the property of the masses, not just certain privileged classes and individuals...” (Sabat, 2020, p. 253). We also consider it quite reasonable to include into the collection the fragment of I. Franko’s article “An Open Letter to the Galician Ukrainian Youth” (1905). This work once had an exceptional influence on the formation of the national identity of young Ukrainians, who, listening to their Franko-teacher, slowly but surely learned to “*feel like the Ukrainians* – not Galician, not Bukovynian Ukrainians, but the Ukrainians without official borders” (Sabat, 2020, p. 374).

Many articles by Ivan Franko were devoted to the role and importance of the teacher in the social and, more specifically, educational life of the people. One of the first such publications, aimed at protecting teachers from an unjust persecution by school authorities, was the work “Fact on the Characteristics of our Schooling” (1884), in which the scholar opposed Yulia Schneider’s deprivation of a teacher (a literary pseudonym – Ulyana Kravchenko) of a permanent position at school of Bibrka town (Sabat, 2020, pp. 141–143). In 1887 I. Franko published the article in the Polish newspaper “Kurjer Lwowski” “In Defense of Public Teachers”, where he criticized the baseless accusations of primary school teachers in anti-religious propaganda (Sabat, 2020, pp. 197–200). In addition to these publications, the collection comprises the fragment of Kameniar’s article about his teacher – Emerick Turczynski (1896) (Sabat, 2020, pp. 293–295).

The collection is supplemented by three appendices, including the already mentioned story “Boris Hrab”, as well as the memories of Ivan Franko’s children – Taras and Anna – about the style of their father’s parenting. The collection ends with the thesaurus of archaisms (“explanation of words”) and an index.

In general, the book under review is a rather serious scientific work of a source-based nature, designed to provide the modern researcher of I. Franko with a holistic set of pedagogical and pedagogical works, written by of Ivan Franko. However, unfortunately, it is not a complete collection of his pedagogical works. For instance, the compiler did not

include into the collection the excerpts from the article “Science and its Relationship with the Working Class” (1878), in which young I. Franko from the standpoint of positivism outlined not only the historical development of science but also education. In addition, the book does not include a number of materials of a historical and pedagogical nature. In our opinion, it should have included the preface, written by Kamenyar to the source collection “Materials on the Cultural History of Galician Rus’ in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries” (Franko, 1902, pp. V–VI). In the same collection, I. Franko published a preface to the collection of documents by Yuri Kmit “Activities around Education in the Diocese of Peremyshl during 1780 – 1787” (Franko, 1902, pp. 89–90), as well as his own archeographic articles with the relevant comments: “Activities around Education in Lviv Diocese during 1784 – 1792”, “Materials on the History of Galician Rus’ schooling during 1801 – 1848” and “The First Ruske Educational Society during 1816 – 1818” (Franko, 1902, pp. 99–102, 174–257, 258–276). Of course, the compiler, as an experienced Franko studies scholar, is familiar with these works, but we assume that she was restrained from reprinting them by an excessive saturation with the source material – the Latvian, Polish, Church Slavonic texts. In fact, it would be inappropriate to publish only the archeographic analysis of these materials made by I. Franko without publishing these materials themselves.

Unfortunately, I. Franko’s well-known reviews of K. Kharlampovych’s work on Ostroh Orthodox School (1898) and P. Kulakovsky’s study on the beginnings of schooling in Serbia (1904) were not included into the collection. We think that I. Franko’s articles “From Reading of our Ancestors Texts of the XIth Century” (1909) and “New Ruska Department at the University” (1892) could be added to the collection.

We understand that these minor “drawbacks” can be explained, because the works we have mentioned can be interpreted as exclusively historical, or those that do not sufficiently promote the pedagogical views of Ivan Franko. In general, we state the high professional level of the previewed publication and consider it a significant contribution to Franko Studies as a scientific discipline.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dzeverin, O. (ed.) (1960). *Ivan Franko. Pedagogichni statti i vyslovliuvannia* [Ivan Franko. Pedagogical Articles and Statements]. Kyiv: Rad. shkola, 299 p. [in Ukrainian]

Franko, I. (ed.). (1902). *Materialy do kulturnoi istorii Halytskoi Rusy XVIII i XIX viku* [Materials on the Cultural History of Galician Rus’ in the XVIII and XIX centuries]. Lviv: Nakladom NTSh, VI + 328 p. [in Ukrainian]

Mitiurov, B. N. (1961). *Pedahohichni pohliady I. Franka* [Ivan Franko’s pedagogical views]. Drohobych, 30 p. [in Ukrainian]

Mykytiuk, V. (2017). *Pedahohichni kontsepty Ivana Franka (teoriia ta metodyka navchannia literatury)* [Pedagogical concepts of Ivan Franko (theory and methods of teaching literature)]. Lviv: LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 408 p. [in Ukrainian]

Mykytiuk, V. (2018). *Ivan Franko v istorii ukrainskoi pedahohiky* [Ivan Franko in the history of Ukrainian pedagogy]. Drohobych: RVV DDPU im. I. Franka, 488 p. [in Ukrainian]

Paperna, H. O. (1946). *Ivan Franko pro narodnu osvitu* [Ivan Franko on Public Education]. Lviv: Vilna Ukraina, 61 p. [in Ukrainian]

Sabat, H. (comp). (2020). *Franko pro osvitu ta vykhovannia* [Franco on Education and Upbringing]. Drohobych: Kolo, 436 p. [in Ukrainian]

Smal, V. Z. (1959). *Z istorii borotby za narodnu osvitu v zakhidnoukrainskykh zemliakh* [From the history of the struggle for public education in Western Ukraine]. *Radianska shkola, 11*, 77–82. [in Ukrainian]

Vyshnevskiy, O. (2016). Pedagogichni pohliady Ivana Franka na tli reform suchasnoi ukrainskoi osvity [Ivan Franko's pedagogical views against the background of reforms of modern Ukrainian education]. *Osvita*, 15, 1–7. [in Ukrainian]

Vyshnivskiy, R. & Chepil, M. (2016). “...Iaka molod, take y maibutnie narodu”. *Ivan Franko pro osvitu ta vykhovannia* [“... As young people, so is the future of the nation”. *Ivan Franko on Education and Upbringing*]. K.: Vydavnychi dim “Slovo”, 420 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yushchyshyn, I. (1913). Ivan Franko yak pedahoh [Ivan Franko as a Teacher]. *Uchytel*, 1, 7–13; 2, 36–47; 3, 68–77; 4, 99–113. [in Ukrainian]

Yushchyshyn, I. (1914). Ivan Franko yak pedahoh [Ivan Franko as a Teacher]. *Uchytel*, 5–6, 132–153; 7–8, 197–216; 9, 262–272; 10, 296–309. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received on February 17, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

UDC 94(477.81-25)“1918/1939”
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.16.210902

Hryhorii PUSTOVIT

PhD hab. (Education), Professor of the Natural Sciences and Mathematics Department, Rivne Regional Institute of Postgraduate Pedagogical Education, 74 V. Chornovola Street, Rivne, Ukraine, postal code 33028 (h.pustovit@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7754-0249>

Olena ZYOMRYA

PhD (Philology), Associate Professor of the Department of International Communication, Faculty of Tourism and International Communication, Uzhhorod National University, 3 Narodna Ploshcha, Uzhhorod, Ukraine, postal code 88000 (olena.zyomrya@uzhnu.edu.ua)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7206-0190>

Григорій ПУСТОВИТ,

доктор педагогічних наук, професор, професор кафедри природничих наук і математики Рівненського обласного інституту післядипломної педагогічної освіти, вул. В.Чорновола, 74, м. Рівне, Україна, індекс 33028 (h.pustovit@gmail.com)

Олена ЗИМОМРЯ

кандидатка філологічних наук, доцентка кафедри міжнародних комунікацій факультету туризму та міжнародних комунікацій Ужгородського національного університету, площа Народна, 3, Ужгород, Україна, індекс 88000 (olena.zyomrya@uzhnu.edu.ua)

**INTERETHNIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL POLYPHONY
OF THE INTERWAR RIVNE**

(review of: (Gon M. RÓWNE: The Outlines of the Missing Town. 2nd ed. Rivne: Volynski oberehy, 2019. 160 p.)

**МІЖЕТНІЧНА ТА СОЦІОКУЛЬТУРНА ПОЛІФОНІЯ
МІЖВОЄННОГО МІСТА РІВНЕ**

(рецензія на монографію: Гон М. RÓWNE: обриси зниклого міста. 2-е вид. Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2019. 160 с.)

*“The Nazi and the Soviet regimes turned people into numbers”.
So we have to “turn numbers back into people”
Timothy Snyder “Bloodlands”*

“RÓWNE: The Outlines of the Missing Town” is an essay book, historical saga, which was published due to the laborious work of our contemporary, a Ukrainian historian and political scientist, Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor Maksym Gon. The 160-page book is divided into three main sections.

The book describes the life of one of the dominant national communities, which dwelled in Rivne – the Jews. In the decades between the two World Wars, this community played a significant role in the social, cultural, and economic development of the town. The disappearance of this community, which began during the Soviet era and got horrific forms during the Nazi occupation and organized by the Nazis' ruthless genocide of the town's Jewish population, led to the loss of the so-called shtetl (a small town with a predominantly Jewish population) – a special spirit of the town. The spirit that had been formed over the centuries due to the functioning of Judaism, the Jewish language, Jewish culture, and most importantly, its bearers, who lived peacefully their lives and developed the town with representatives of other nationalities: the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Germans, the Czechs, the Romani, the Russians. The book is recommended for use by historians, local lore researchers, ethnologists and ethno-politicians, all those who are interested in Rivne town past history, the history of the native land and Ukraine in general.

Taking into consideration the main plot line reflected in the title of the book, it seems metaphorical, because the author, in accordance with the situational historical facts and events of the past, managed to reveal sufficiently and with great emotional load certain stories from the life of Rivne and its dwellers, who both played a significant role in the life of the Jewish community and simply earned a living. Starting from the first page, the author brings the reader back to the forgotten pages of the history of the Jewish community. In the decades between the two World Wars, this community was one of the biggest in number and made great socio-political, cultural, and economic contribution to the development of Rivne, made up the majority of the social and cultural "landscape". At the same time, the book reveals the socio-cultural and national polyphony of the city of Rivne during the interwar period, which was reflected in the peaceful coexistence of different languages, cultures, nationalities, and sacred buildings of different religions. Tens of thousands of people who lived and built their future in this town, enjoyed life, loved, dreamed, raised children and cared for their parents, their language and culture, suddenly fell under the repressive machine of Nazi Germany and its genocide, lost everything – their life and the future of their loved ones. Not only people and their national culture disappeared, the whole "worlds" illuminated by their spiritual warmth disappeared, a town itself disappeared, a town that will never be the same, it disappeared, and it is gone... Thus, the title of the book from the very beginning provokes deep sadness, because those events happened and nothing can be fixed, time will never come back!

In addition to the positive assessment and note of the originality of the main story line, quite successfully revealed by the author in the reviewed book, it is important, in our opinion, that characterizing the socio-political, cultural, and religious life of the town, including public organizations and interethnic relations, the author diverges from the historical literature of the Soviet and partly post-Soviet era and ideological approach concerning the historical events disclosure. This allowed the author quite thoroughly, using the available source base (the archival materials and cases, the articles in periodicals, the photographs, the legal documents, Rivne residents' memoirs, the Second Commonwealth police and authorities reports, the period of the Soviet and the Nazi occupation, some foreign publications of the postwar period) to reveal the Jewish perspective of social, political, cultural, economic, and religious life in the town. Thus, the author managed to characterize these processes from the standpoint of biographical, phenomenological, paradigmatic, and personal-value approaches, which expanded greatly the possibilities of revealing the social and political life specifics in

Rivne, including the daily life of its inhabitants in the interwar period and during the years of the Nazi occupation.

We should note another important specificity of the reviewed book: its content, in addition to revealing a purely historical, local lore, cultural, and religious context, is, in the first place, the author's conversation with the audience. The book encourages the reader to get away from the everyday life and begin to think about life in general, in which knowledge of the past has a direct impact not only on the history of one's hometown, but also on the formation of modern realities of its multiculturalism, ethno-confessional diversity, and public tolerance.

The reviewed book is concise and at the same time informational, has emotional "coloring" of the titles of sections, interesting style of presentation, unique illustrations, photographs, statistics and their analysis and conclusions made by the author. Moreover, most importantly, the content of this book reflects the author's deep interest in revealing such an important problem of Rivne city history and its past in the context of the national and cultural-educational paradigm. It is possible that the publication of this book will encourage new historical and local lore research concerning the life and destiny of those Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, and the representatives of other nationalities, who lived in the town during those years. This may facilitate the creation of a wide information field, which will be a reflection of the multi-national and multi-religious "face" of the pre-war and even post-war Rivne.

In this context, analyzing the content of the first chapter of the reviewed book "Rivne between the two World Wars: the Jewish perspective of the social and political processes", there is every reason to say that the author is clearly focused on the role of the Jewish community in Rivne in the joint, peaceful and tolerant with the representatives of other nationalities, development of town's social, cultural, interethnic, and multi-confessional space. The specificity and originality of this space, as Maksym Gon notes, was precisely that "a significant component of this cultural polyphony was formed by those who addressed the Almighty in Hebrew in synagogues, who outside the walls of these sacred buildings spoke Yiddish" (p. 13); "...communication between neighbors, who lived on the "interethnic border", for example, in houses owned by people of different religions... confirmed the ethno-confessional diversity of the town, which was evident" (p. 14). In this way, in the pages of the book, the author managed to recreate the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional spirit of the town, the leading attribute of which was a friendly community, which "symbolized the interaction in Rivne between the representatives of the different nationalities and religions" (p. 16).

In a very interesting way, the author presents the social and cultural space of Rivne during the socio-economic crisis after World War I, the Russian Empire collapse, and later – the Ukrainian national revolution. In particular, during the last days of 1917, the town was controlled by the Ukrainian People's Republic troops, from the spring of 1918 – by the Bolsheviks, who were replaced by Austro-German military units and at the end of the year, the Directorate took over the control.

Appropriately applying a biographical and personal value approach, the author of the book described a number of personalities – the Jewish community representatives, who took an active part in these socio-political transformations of the social and cultural environment of Rivne. It is necessary to note the professional level of the author of the book in revealing the figure of M. Zilberfarb (alias Moses Bazin), who was born in Rivne and received the degree of Doctor of Law in Bern (Switzerland). In 1917, with the proclamation of the Second Universal of the Central Rada, he became the Vice-Secretary for National Minorities. As Maksym Gon notes, "that was the first time since the Jews had lost their state when they were

represented in the government... A year later, the Law on National and Personal Autonomy prepared by M. Zilberfarb gave him the opportunity to take the post of the Minister of Jewish Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic" (p. 20).

Maksym Gon's application of the phenomenological approach deserves a special positive note. It involved the rejection of idealization, dogmatism, and bias in the analysis and characterization of social, cultural, and political views, and the real results of personal activity. This approach also allowed the author to characterize the main stages of the formation of the worldview of Moses Bazin and to reveal the influence of his worldview on the result of creative activity, as well as to prove the fact that he was a distinctive representative of his era or even was ahead of it. The author of the book deserves a positive assessment for the creation of an inextricable link between generations, an example of which is the recognition by our contemporaries of the importance of social, cultural, political, and interethnic activities of Moses Bazin, after whom one of the streets of Rivne is now named.

In turn, the paradigmatic approach application allowed the author to determine the logic of the emergence and transformation of personal ideas and provisions developed by a personality within specific social, cultural, political, and interethnic realities characteristic of a particular level of community development in a given historical period. That is why, we consider a positive aspect of the reviewed book is the author's desire, which can be clearly seen in its pages, to restore historical justice and return from oblivion or reveal events that had a significant impact on social and cultural development of Rivne and Ukraine as a whole.

The analysis of the first chapter of the reviewed book confirms the postulate that history is known to be cyclical, and that people try to learn more about the past to avoid previous mistakes, which gets quite resonant in book's pages. The author develops this postulate characterizing the social and cultural space of the town via the description of the lives of its ordinary citizens. These lives were significantly influenced by frequent changes of central governments and local authorities, which failed to establish proper governance, desired order and comfort. In an atmosphere of such rapid change and turbulent emotions, as Maksym Gon notes, predominantly the Jews continued to be robbed and abused, although the other nationalities, including the Ukrainians, also suffered. At the same time, it should be mentioned that the author in the unbiased way describes not only the numerous episodes of the ethnic violence, but also the courage, devotion, and bravery of those members of the Jewish community, who chose the path of struggle for their dignity. An example of such a civic position is Petro Fedorchuk's activity, who twice in 1918 prevented the pogroms in Rivne (pp. 22–25).

It is necessary to emphasize the clarity of the author's adherence to the historical retrospective in the disclosure of book's story lines, which reflect the social, political, and economic transformations in the life of town's ethnic communities, in the first place Jewish, presented in the second and third chapters – "Town economy" and "Civil organizations and the Jewish community". In this context, the description of the next stage of social and political life in the town, were represented by a retrospective analysis of the years of gradual formation and rule of Poland in the western part of Volyn, is logical and quite thorough. The statistics presented in this section and their analysis and conclusion made by Maksym Gon deserve a positive assessment. First of all, this concerns the population of the town, which in 1931 reached 55.5 thousand people, 82.8% of whom were the Jews. Positive in this context is the author's professional analysis of the demographic situation in Rivne Povit (County), as well as in the towns of Berezne, Malyi Ustyluh, Dubno, Lutsk (the then administrative center of Volyn Voivodeship) and the others.

In addition, the book precisely describes extremely complex processes of Western Volyn incorporation into the Second Polish Commonwealth, including the establishment and functioning of state bodies, the implementation of mechanisms for Volyn Voivodeship governing, the police and courts activities, the state institutions unprofessionalism and incompetence, which replaced the tsarist-Russian officials in those years. The book clearly reveals the problem under study, carries out the analysis of the processes in the dynamics, and provides characteristics of the role and significance of the Jewish community. This allowed the author to identify a number of trends and factors of social, political, and economic life of the region, and of the demographic situation, which were characteristic for Volyn in general and the town of Rivne in particular (pp. 26–27).

As a positive feature, we should particularly note a thorough analysis of the social and political structuring of the Jews in Rivne, the disclosure of the main directions, content, and results of various institutions created at the beginning of 1920-ies – 1930-ies: the Jews-Victims of World War I Committee Aid (leaders: S. Kulikovicher and W. Goldenburg), the American Jewish Distribution Committee in Rivne (M. Zakon – Chairman), the Jewish National Council, the Department of the Emigration Society “HIAS”, an illegal organization in Poland (active members N. Rapoport, M. Rubinstein, etc.), the Zionist Party (led by B. Asenberg), the other parties: the “Poale Zion” (Workers of Zion), the “Hitahdut”, the “Mizrahi”, the “Mercaz” (Spiritual Center), the public organizations: the “Gehalutz-pioneer” (the initiative of Y. Shvidki and B. Kagan), the “Palestinian Emigration Society”, the funds: the “Jewish National Fund”, the “Building Palestine” and the others. Considering the activities of these institutions, the book focuses on the attempts of most of these parties to combine the Zionist ideals with Judaism, the values of the Social Democracy and the Zionism, to protect the civil and national rights of the Jews in Poland, to revive the national state in ancestral lands. It is this idea that practically became the leading activity of most of these parties and organizations. The research, carried out by Maksym Gon, found out and characterized the unique historical materials concerning the preparation of the Jewish youth for emigration, for which various structures were created that contributed to their acquisition of the professional skills in crafts, agriculture, industry, etc. (pp. 36–39). Thus, the author thoroughly reveals and describes the extremely important role of the Jewish community in the town of Rivne in the creation of the national state of the Jews in Palestine years later.

No less positive assessment in this context deserves the author’s systematization, a thorough historical and genetic analysis and disclosure of the essence and significance of Rivne Jewish community members in the development of the social and political activity in the 1920 – 30-ies. They organized and held numerous events: the Hebrew University of Jerusalem opening celebration, the mass demonstrations against London’s prohibition of the Jewish emigration to Palestine, the support for those who traveled to the Promised Land, the celebration of national holidays, and more. Thus, we can state that the author proved the role of the Jewish community in Rivne as a center of the Zionism in Volyn, and as one of the leading communities for the revival of the Jewish state in the Middle East.

Another important contribution of the author is the disclosure of the role of the Jewish community in the development of town’s economy, which, unfortunately, during the 1920-ies and until 1939 did not acquire the features of industrial, but remained partly underdeveloped agricultural. Rivne itself remained not a big town. The “great future” was postponed to the future (pp. 62–67).

It should be noted again the effectiveness of Maksym Gon’s biographical and personal value approaches in revealing the contribution of some prominent figures among the

entrepreneurs, the philanthropists, the owners of factories, the breweries, the artisans, doctors of Rivne, such as: M. Pisiuk, O. Shtryk, D. Stok, N. Steiman, L. Deichmeister and the others. Important in understanding the social, political, and economic situation in the town is the author's disclosure of a whole historically verified layer of the Jewish community activity in the trade unions, which were a significant lever in town's economic development.

We should mention the authenticity and logical unity of the presentation of the historical events written by the author in the epilogue "The Missing Shtetl" as the quintessence of the content of the reviewed book. As Maksym Gon notes, everything changed after September 17, 1939, because "the formation of a totalitarian regime of the Communist model in Western Ukraine was accompanied by the liquidation of the multiparty system... and this, in turn, led to the mass liquidation of the civil society, which was accompanied by the leaders arrests of primarily the Ukrainian, the Polish, and the Jewish party institutions and civil organizations ... and even simple citizens: Y. Golberg, H. Katz and thousands of others..." (p. 134).

It is necessary to note the historical-genetic analysis made by the author and a rather meaningful retrospective reflection in the book of historical events of those years, the lives of individuals, the heads of public institutions, the representatives of culture, education, religious denominations structured in accordance with the ethnic variety of Rivne residents. The author of this unique book defines the essence of those events based on the results of an extensive analysis of the evidence in the horrific acts of the NKVD in 1939 – 1941. A characteristic of the repressive activities of the Bolsheviks is the Jewish saying of the time provided by the author "We were sentenced to death, but by the grace of God it was substituted by life imprisonment" (p. 137).

History has always been relevant, and history told first hand is even more relevant. There are many facts in this book that modern Rivne residents should know about that time. Unfortunately, the history of the city consists not only of bright pages; this city has seen a lot of tragic events as well. The great tragedies that influenced hundreds of thousands of people cannot be silenced or forgotten, and time distance does not play a role in such cases. We must remember the terrible events so that humanity will never repeat such mistakes again. The "double occupation" created a kind of social space, in which mixing of images left by the Soviets and the political aspirations of the local population in 1939 – 1941, and later the Nazi ideology and the local specificity resulted in the mass extermination of the Jews.

Author's special professionalism manifested itself in the unbiased and at the same time truly historical description of the Holocaust in Rivne region. In the Soviet times, this topic, although present in the social and cultural paradigm, was rarely mentioned, if not practically hidden. The stereotype of a country, which won World War II, did not allow mentioning millions of victims, especially when it came to a particular nationality. Therefore, behind the name the "Soviet people" hid the tragedy of millions, which even in the first years after the war was talked about by almost all countries of the world: Poland, Italy, then the Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and the others.

In our opinion, the greatest achievement of Maksym Gon, the author of the book "RÓWNE: The Outlines of the Missing Town", is the disclosure of numerous examples of the Nazi repressive machine against the Jews in the town of Rivne. This is not just a statement by the author of the statistics, which he found, not just a description of certain events and their consequences, the fate of the Jews of Rivne, and all the horror of the Nazi; it is, above all, his personal empathy with the events he describes. The main thing is that they touch the soul and make readers think.

There are not many eyewitnesses of those horrors left today, and when they can talk openly about those events, does it make sense to them to deceive someone or to hide something? Developing this plot line in the book, the author presents the stories of eyewitnesses of those events, who by God's grace survived. It should be noted that based on the stories of those people, with all the emotional expressiveness, openness, historical authenticity and responsibility, Maksym Gon managed to reveal the numerous atrocities of the Nazi in Rivne region during the period of 1941 – 1944. The book describes the mass killing of 17.5 thousand make sense the Jews shot in Sosonki, including thousands of children. K. Novakovska's story about this place causes sadness and pain. The author of the book cites her words: "some small children were thrown alive into the pit, the others were thrown up and shot on the fly. It was accompanied by the moans and cries of the dying and the laughter of the executioners" (p. 140).

Special mention should be made of Maksym Gon's retrospective analysis of a large number of documents, materials, letters, orders and other information of Rivne Judenrat at the time, which allowed the author to accurately reveal the fate of thousands of Jews in the town, who escaped the horror of Sosonki, but did not avoid the horror and humiliation of Rivne ghetto. The author managed to reveal the broken destinies thanks to numerous memories not only of the Jews who survived, but also of the Ukrainians, the Poles, and the Russians, who helped them to escape and survive. The author managed to recreate the faces of those Rivne residents of different nationalities and religions, who lived next to each other a few years earlier, and the horror of the ghetto, which destroyed those who before World War II were the largest community in Rivne.

The road to eternity of the last Rivne victims of the Holocaust began with the ghetto horror. As the author of the book notes, "5,000 nameless victims are buried there, near Kostopil. There are no documents, no names. Only our memory and shocking lines of the documents to commemorate them. The Jews, who lived in Rivne – disappeared" (pp. 151–153).

In our opinion, the indisputable value of the reviewed book for modern Ukraine, which has faced numerous socio-political, economic, religious and even military challenges and threats, lies not only in the historical and local lore context, but also in the examples of the civic tolerance described by Maksym Gon in his work. The Civic tolerance is especially relevant not only in the multicultural environment of modern Rivne, but also in the state as a whole as an example to follow in building life on the principles of the mutual understanding, tolerance, and mutual respect in the European independent state – Ukraine.

*The article was received on February 11, 2020.
Article recommended for publishing 26/08/2020.*

НАУКОВЕ ВИДАННЯ

**СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ
ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ВІСНИК**

**EAST EUROPEAN
HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

**ВИПУСК 16
ISSUE 16**

Головний редактор
Василь Ільницький

Відповідальний редактор
Микола Галів

Літературне редагування
Ірина Невмержицька

Редагування англomовних текстів
Віра Слінецька, Юлія Талалай

Технічний редактор
Лілія Гриник

Макетування та верстка
Наталія Кузнєцова

Дизайн обкладинки
Олег Лазебний

Здано до набору 29.08.2020 р. Підписано до друку 07.09.2020 р.
Гарнітура Times. Формат 70x100 1/16.
Друк офсетний. Папір офсетний.
Ум. друк. арк. 21,78. Зам. № 0920/235
Наклад 300 примірників

Друкарня – Видавничий дім «Гельветика»
73034, м. Херсон, вул. Паровозна, 46-а
Телефон +38 (0552) 39-95-80,
+38 (095) 934 48 28, +38 (097) 723 06 08
E-mail: mailbox@helvetica.com.ua
Свідоцтво суб'єкта видавничої справи
ДК № 6424 від 04.10.2018 р.