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THE ROYAL LAW OF PATRONAGE AS A MECHANISM OF STATE REGULATION OF THE FINANCIAL AND PROPERTY SITUATION OF THE BASILIAN MONASTERIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to investigate the evolution of the royal right of patronage on the basis of the privileges of the Lavriv Basilian Monastery. **The research methodology** is based on analytical and synthetic critique of royal privileges. A comparison of different editions of privileges, which were preserved in the confirmations of later times or were included in the majestic books of the Standing Committee of the Governor's Office in Lviv, was made. Preference is given to the use of accrued privileges in the city act books. **The scientific novelty** of the research is seen in the establishment of the legal influence of the royal administration on the activities of the Basilian monasteries. **The Conclusions.** The Polish administration tried to control the activities of the self-governing bodies of the Basilian Order, demanding that its Constitutions be in accordance with the religious legislation of the Commonwealth. During the 17th – 18th centuries, the royal right of patronage in the Basilian Order underwent a certain evolution: from the appointment of hegumens, archimandrites to the regulation of property security. Such changes were due to the desire of the Order to achieve full self-government. For this purpose, the Basilian monasteries

were removed from the jurisdiction of the local bishops and handed over to the protoarchimandrite. Protohegumens received the right not only to represent, but also to appoint hegumens of monasteries. The royal administration retained a limited right to approve candidates for the positions of archimandrites, with the exception of the protoarchimandrite, who was elected by the General Chapter of the Order. At this time there is a transition to the introduction of the election of senior administrative positions (protoarchimandrite, protohegumen, general and provincial consuls), while the middle (archimandrite) and lower (hegumen) rank of officials of the Order retained the ancient right to appoint as king (archimandrite), so on the part of the provincial administration (hegumens). The analyzed system of the administrative system of the Order was based on a mixed form of government: the election and appointment of officials at different levels (local, provincial, general). However, the restriction of the administrative component in the royal law of patronage did not mean its complete elimination, because the next component – property regulation – continued to operate. Royal privileges transferred table land ownership to the use of monasteries located on their lands, and determined their economic rights and freedoms.

Key words: right, patronage, king, privilege, monastery, obliata (document record), confirmation.

КОРОЛІВСЬКЕ ПРАВО ПАТРОНАТУ ЯК МЕХАНІЗМ ДЕРЖАВНОГО РЕГУЛЮВАННЯ ФІНАНСОВО-МАЙНОВОГО СТАНОВИЩА ВАСИЛІАНСЬКИХ МОНАСТИРІВ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – дослідити еволюцію королівського права патронату на підставі привілеїв Лаврівського василіанського монастиря. **Методологія дослідження** – опирається на аналітичну та синтетичну критику королівських привілеїв. Проведено порівняння різних редакцій привілеїв, які збереглися у конфірмаціях пізнішого часу або ж були внесені до австрійських нобілітаційних книг. Перевага надається використанню облятованим привілеєм у гродських актових книгах. **Наукова новизна** дослідження вбачається у використанні досі не запроваджених до наукового обігу королівських привілеїв. **Висновки.** Польський король та сейм як світські колятори постійно шукали шляхи впливу на керівництво Василіанського Чину. Також намагалися взяти під свій контроль законодавчі акти василіанських капітул, домагаючись, щоб вони узгоджувалися із світським законодавством із релігійних питань Речі Посполитої. Впродовж XVII – XVIII ст. королівське право патронату у Василіанському Чині пройшло певну еволюцію: від призначення настоятелів, архимандритів до регулювання майнового забезпечення. Такі зміни були обумовлені прагненням Чину добитися повного самоврядування. З цією метою василіанські монастирі були вилучені із юрисдикції місцевих єпископів та передані у відання протоархимандрита. Протоігумени отримали право не тільки представляти, але й призначати ігуменів обителів. За королівською адміністрацією збереглося обмежене право на затвердження кандидатів на посади архимандритів, за винятком протоархимандрита, якого обирала генеральна капітула Чину. В цей час спостерігається перехід до запровадження виборності вищих адміністративних посад (протоархимандрита, протоігумена, генеральних і провінційних консулторів). В той час як за середнім (архимандрит) та нижнім (настоятелі) рангом урядників Чину зберігалось давнє право призначення як з боку короля (архимандрити), так із сторони провінційної управи (настоятелі). Проаналізована система адміністративного устрою Чину ґрунтувалася на змішаній формі управління: виборність та призначуваність урядників різних рівнів (локальний, провінційний, генеральний). Однак, обмеження адміністративного компонента у королівському праві патронату не означало його повної ліквідації, адже продовжувала діяти наступна складова – майнова регуляція. Королівські привілеї передавали столові землеволодіння у користування монастирів, що розташовувалися на їх ґрунтах, та визначали їх економічні права та вольності.

Ключові слова: право, патронат, король, привілей, монастир, облята, конфірмація.

The Problem Statement. In 1569, the Union of Lublin was concluded, which provided for the unification of two states (the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) into one state entity – the Commonwealth. In the future, there was unification not only in the administrative-territorial system, legislation, but also in religious relations. Thus, in 1596

the Brest Union was concluded between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches of the Commonwealth. As a result of this event, the Kyiv Union Metropolis was formed, which extended its jurisdiction to Lithuanian, Polish, Belarusian and Ukrainian lands. In the newly formed Union Church in 1617 the Basilian Order was formed, which was organized on the model of Catholic orders. In particular, the Basilian monasteries were removed from the jurisdiction of local bishops, were temporarily under the authority of the metropolitan, and later passed into the direct subordination of the Pope. The establishment of the Basilian Order took place with the help of Polish kings, who granted that community a number of privileges and thus contributed to its development.

Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Researchers have different origins and essence interpretations of the institution of patronage law in both the Eastern and Western Churches. The study of this problem was started by O. Konskyi, who believed that the origins of patronage should be sought in public and private property. He noted that the patron had the right to submit (recommend, nominate, approve a candidate for spiritual governments), control, commemoration (Konskyi, 1870, p. 5–8). For a long time, the question of the right of patronage was not studied in both Ukrainian and Russian church historiographies. The certain aspects of the right of patronage were considered only in some general works on the history of the Church. In particular, I. Chystovych singled out several forms of private patronage law: patronage, charity, gifts, administration and court (Chystovych, 1872, pp. 196–197). M. Hrushevskiyi focused on this issue much more. He singled out several types of patronage law: private (magnate, noble), royal, metropolitan, episcopal, fraternal (Hrushevskiyi, 1994, pp. 482–483). A special study of the institution of patronage was conducted by M. Vladymyrskiyi-Budanov, who identified the following components: legislative, judicial, tax, property (Vladymyrskiyi-Budanov, 1907, p. 53). K. Chodynicky's research is based on a rather extensive comparative material, noting that the right of patronage of the Polish king was reflected in the following forms: influence on the appointment of spiritual governments; defense of inviolability of possessions and judicial immunity; care for the moral level of the clergy (Chodynicky, 1934, pp. 119–120). I. Vlasovskiyi considered the influence of the Western Church on the formation of the institution of patronage. According to the researcher, patronage took various forms: guardianship of church institutions; the right to transfer temples for use to clergy. The researcher determines that the institution of patronage was limited to the norms of the national legislation of the Commonwealth: the king had no right to distribute state lands to foreigners and persons without nobility; patrons provided land for temples and monasteries only with the consent of the king (Vlasovskiyi, 1995, pp. 179–180). Recent research on the history of the Orthodox Church and monasteries summarizes information on the functioning of the right of patronage and submission (Ulianovskiyi, 1994, pp. 172–174; Horin, 2007, pp. 26–31). Instead, there are no special works to study the peculiarities of the manifestation of royal patronage in relation to the Basilian Order. Most studies on the history of the Order are devoted to the study of purely domestic legislation of the Order, which mentions the influence of the royal administration on its development (Wojnar, 1949; Pidruchnyi, 2018).

The purpose of the article is to investigate the evolution of the royal right of patronage on the basis of the privileges of the Lavriv Basilian Monastery.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Lavriv Monastery, which dates back to the princely period, in the absence of the original foundation documentation, is based on the royal privileges of later times, which included a forged charter of Prince Lev Danylovykh (1292). However, the archaeological research convincingly proves that the monastery was founded in

the 13th century. Also the charter was repeatedly confirmed by the Polish kings Sigismund I (1524, 1549), Sigismund II (1553), Jan Casimir (1665), August II (1726), August III (1761). All these privileges were checked for legitimacy and nostrified by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II (1781). (CSHAUL, f. 575, d. 1, c. 246, pp. 110–119).

In accordance with the charter of Prince Lev and royal privileges, the boundaries of monastic landholdings were determined. In particular, in the privilege of Jan Casimir (1665), granted at the request of Przemyśl Bishop Anthony of Vinnytsia and Przemyśl Chapter, the possession of the Lavriv Monastery was determined: Nanchilkova Volia, ancient soils between the villages of Khliply, Pidlysky, Lyashky and other ancient legations that serve the Lavriv Monastery. With all the serfs, gardeners, storekeepers and their ancient duties. Folwarks at this monastery, which included arable land and wastelands, gardens, hayfields, apiaries, rivers, large and small streams, lakes, ponds, mills, taverns, forests, which have long belonged to this monastery, according to the ancient monastery boundaries: from the last yard of the Nanchilkova Volia village along the Linya stream. The village of Nanchilka is located between Stolets and Mezhyrichchia mountains near this stream. These mountains form two separate monastic boundaries. Then across the Linya stream to the right under Stolets mountain to the Monastery of St. Onufii, which is on the mountain, through the forest and meadows under Stolets mountain to the Velykyi Potik stream, and through that big stream to Kichera mountain, through the forest to the Mala Linyka stream, and through this stream under Voritnia mountain and from the top of Voritnia mountain to the bottom to the Velyka Linya stream, and through this stream outside the Monastery of St. Onufrii. On the other side – to the left through the forest through the top of Mezhyrichchia mountain, and then to the Monastery of St. Onufrii, on the mountain, across the Ivanivskyi stream, and from it through the forest through the top of Ivanivska mountain, up to the top of the same mountain, under the top of Symkova Kychera mountain up to the Prokhyriv stream, then from it through Krepaky below the Monastery of St. Onufrii, which stretches to the river Linya, where the boundaries between the Monastery estates and the villages of Velyka Linya and Voloshynova Volia on the one hand, and the Linyka and Nanchilka streams on the other hand and the same Monastery of St. Onufrii and the village of Volia Nanchilska, which belongs to it (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 530, p. 496).

In the same privilege the question of granting self-government for the Lavriv Monastery was considered. After all, the monastery was to proceed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Przemyśl and in its activities be guided by the charter of the Scythian Monastery: annually elect a hegumen who was to take care of the material support of the monastery and spiritual guidance for the fraternity (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 530, p. 497). Until 1659, the monastic landholdings were owned by the Eastern Rite bishops of Przemyśl in accordance with the privilege of King Wladyslaw II of Poland (1407) (Kupchynskyi, 2004, p. 808).

Due to significant material support and self-government, the Lavriv Monastery became the largest monastic center on the territory of the Diocese of Przemyśl at the end of the 17th century. In particular, in 1691 its hegumen Benjamin announced the transition of the monastery to the union. Between 1691 and 1713, the monastery was under the patronage of the Union bishops of Przemyśl, Innocenty and Jerzy Winnicki, who generously endowed the monastery with donations and turned it into one of the centers for preparing candidates for monasticism (there was no regular studio house for beginners). However, in 1707 there was a large-scale fire in the monastery, which led to its decline. During the fire, a significant part of the monastery's documentation was lost (Stetsyk, 2015, p. 161). To restore the privileges, Fr. Ezekeyil

Bonchakivskiyi, the hegumen of the monastery, appealed to the royal chancellery to confirm the gift record of Prince Lev and the privileges of Queen Bona and King Jan Casimir for the Lavriv Monastery. In response to this request, on 31 January 1726, King Augustus II issued a confirmation which included the prince's charter and the privileges of previous rulers, which determined the boundaries of monastic possessions (Kupchynskiyi, 2004, pp. 1034–1037).

Upon entering the Saint Protection Province (1739), Lavriv became an educational center for the training of monks. During the second half of the 18th century, monastic studies in philosophy and theology operated there. According to the instructions of the provincial council, a monastery archive was formed. In connection with the loss of the original documents, extracts and copies of royal privileges were kept there, which at various times were included as obliatas (document records) in the Przemyśl city acts (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 613, pp. 425–439).

During the second half of the 18th century, the monarchs of the Commonwealth managed to regain the right to approve a candidate for the post of archimandrite. During this period, five archimandrites continued to operate on the territory of the Saint Protection Province: Myltsi, Zhovkva, Kaniv, Univ, and Ovruch. The secular legislation of the Commonwealth emphasized the nomination of representatives of Basilian monasticism with noble roots as archimandrites. Accordingly, a prominent secular social background deprived the monk of the opportunity to pursue a church career by reaching the positions of archimandrite, bishop, and metropolitan, which continued to remain for lifelong term.

The General Board of the Order tried to limit the royal right of patronage to appoint archimandrites, gaining in 1743 the right to nominate candidates from the monastic order for the position of archimandrite for approval by the metropolitan and for approval by the Polish king. The Apostolic See, considering the Constitutions of the Order, allowed the General (protoarchimandrite) of the Order to rule the archimandrites, who lost their autonomous self-government. According to a papal decree of 30 March 1756, the archimandrite was given the right to enthrone, visit, and dismiss archimandrites if they were not bishops. Accordingly, the archimandrites received an active and passive vote, could participate in all chapters, and had the right to be elected to all governments in the Basilian Order. However, the fact that the archimandrites were approved by the Polish kings and they were in their governments for life remained problematic (Patriylo, 1992, p. 203).

During the 17th – 18th centuries, the Basilian Order formed a tradition of conferring life titles on archimandrites for general government officials (protoarchimandrites). This approach was due to the fact that the protoarchimandrite did not possess the privileges used by the archimandrites. Receiving archimandrite ordinations made it possible to control the activities not only of monasteries but also of archimandrites who entered the Order.

During the 18th century, Polish kings, using the right of patronage, tried to change the status of the Lavriv Monastery by introducing the archimandrite (a monastery ruled by an archimandrite). In particular, in 1730 Fr. Peter Kos was proclaimed Lavriv archimandrite, in 1768 – protoarchimandrite Hypacy Bilinski, in 1771 – Fr. Nykyfor Sheptytskyi. However, the administration of the Saint Protection Province of OSBM protested against the royal privileges of the archimandrite, which, relying on the Constitution of the Order and papal decrees, declared the impossibility of forming a new archimandrite, which would lead to a reorganization of the monastic community. Also, the first division of the Commonwealth (1772) and the entry of the Lavriv Monastery into the Austrian Empire did not contribute to the transformation of the monastery into the archimandrite (Stetsyk, 2016, p. 143).

Protoarchimandrite Hypacy Bilinski, being nominated and enthroned as an archimandrite, was unable to occupy the government of the non-existent archimandrite, mainly due to strong

opposition from the local monastic order and the Provincial Administration of the Saint Protection Province. The above material once again proves that the Basilian monasticism tried to be guided by the monastic law, rejecting the external influence of secular patrons and officials. In particular, by the middle of the 18th century, the corresponding legislative base was already formed, which was at the stage of unification and codification.

The important place of the Order in the Union Church is proved by the fact that during the second half of the 18th century the Polish Sejm repeatedly approved privileges for it, which provided for the appointment to church positions (archimandrites, bishops, metropolitans) of this monastic congregation (Bilyk, 2011, p. 39).

The first division of the Commonwealth did not weaken the influence of the royal right of patronage on the activities of the Order. On the contrary, King Stanislaw Augustus, trying to strengthen his power through the influence of monastic institutions on public opinion, expressed his demands at the Torocan General Chapter (1780) to the Basilian leadership: that in making decisions the monks take into account the contribution of Polish kings to the development of Basilian monasteries; that decisions be agreed primarily with the royal administration and not with the Apostolic See.

To these wishes, the Torocan Chapter (4 October 1780) replied that the Order would first take care to print the new Constitutions before sending them to Rome. To check, it had to get to the person appointed by the king. They also requested that they be further allowed to explain to the royal censor those points which would not be clear to him (Pidruchnyi, 2018, p. 259).

The Conclusions. The Polish administration tried to control the activities of the self-governing bodies of the Basilian Order, demanding that its Constitutions be in accordance with the religious legislation of the Commonwealth. During the 17th – 18th centuries, the royal right of patronage in the Basilian Order underwent a certain evolution: from the appointment of hegumens and archimandrites to the regulation of property security. Such changes were due to the desire of the Order to achieve full self-government. To this end, the Basilian monasteries were removed from the jurisdiction of the local bishops and handed over to the archimandrite. Protohegumens received the right not only to represent, but also to appoint hegumens of monasteries. The royal administration retained a limited right to approve candidates for the positions of archimandrites, with the exception of the protoarchimandrite, who was elected by the General Chapter of the Order. At this time there is a transition to the introduction of the election of senior administrative positions (protoarchimandrite, archbishop, general and provincial consuls), while the middle (archimandrite) and lower (hegumen) rank of officials of the Order retained the ancient right to appoint as king (archimandrites), so on the part of the provincial administration (hegumens). The analyzed system of the Order administrative system was based on a mixed form of government: the election and appointment of officials at different levels (local, provincial, general). However, the restriction of the administrative component in the royal law of patronage did not mean its complete elimination, because the next component continued to operate was property regulation. Royal privileges transferred table land to the use of monasteries located on their lands, and determined their economic rights and freedoms.

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**OFFICIALS OF THE CHIEF COURTS OF RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE:
BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL PRACTICES AND THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN
JUDICIAL TRADITION (1797 – 1831)**

Abstract. *The purpose* of the research is to analyze a social portrait of the corps of officials elected by the local nobility – the chairmen and jurors of the provincial chief courts at the end of the XVIIIth – the first third of the XIXth century under conditions of the imperial practices application of finding compromises with the local institutions for the establishment of the Russian power in the region. **The research methodology** is based on the combination of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods with the principles of historicism, systematics and scientificity. The method of criticism and classification was used during the analysis of the archival materials. **The scientific novelty** consists in the study of a social portrait of the chairmen and jurors of the chief courts during the process of the relationship formation of the supreme power with the elite of the region, which allows us to understand the importance of the judiciary to ensure the proper functioning of the society. For the first time, the dynamics of personnel changes and biographical data, which illustrate the imperial practices of an indirect management of the judiciary, have been presented. **The Conclusions.** Trying to find understanding with the local elite, Paul I restored the elements of the Polish-Lithuanian judiciary system. To control the judicial structures, revision and appellate provincial chief courts were established. The evidence of the imperial practices application was the permission given to the nobility to elect a chairman and the jurors (with the consent of the authorities). The local elite needed experienced professionals to ensure the rule of law, and the government, on condition of loyalty, often instructed mayors to act as governors. The officials acted in accordance with the law, seeking to prevent the imbalance of relations between the supreme / local authorities and the nobility and to ensure peace in the region.

Key words: the Russian Empire, Right-Bank Ukraine, chairman and juror (deputy) of the chief court, imperial practice, the Polish nobility, Polish-Lithuanian judicial tradition.

ПОСАДОВЦІ ГОЛОВНИХ СУДІВ ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ: МІЖ ІМПЕРСЬКИМИ ПРАКТИКАМИ ТА РІЧПОСПОЛИТІВСЬКОЮ СУДОВОЮ ТРАДИЦІЄЮ (1797 – 1831)

Анотація. Мета – дослідження соціального портрета корпусу виборних місцевою шляхтою посадовців – голів і засідателів губернських головних судів наприкінці XVIII – у першій третині XIX ст. в умовах застосування імперських практик пошуку компромісів з місцевим істеблішментом для утвердження російської влади в регіоні. **Методологія дослідження** базується на поєднанні загальнонаукових (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичного, історико-типологічного, історико-системного) методів з принципами історизму, системності та науковості. Під час опрацювання архівних матеріалів застосовувалася метод критики і класифікації. **Наукова новизна** полягає у дослідженні соціального портрета голів і засідателів головних судів у процесі вибудовування відносин верховної влади з елітою регіону, що допомагає зрозуміти значення судової влади для забезпечення повноцінного функціонування суспільства. Вперше наведено динаміку змін кадрового складу та біографічні дані, які ілюструють імперські практики непрямого керівництва судовою системою. **Висновки.** Прагнучи порозуміння з місцевою елітою, Павло I відновив елементи річпосполитівської судової влади. Для контролю за судовими структурами було створено ревізійно-апеляційні губернські головні суди. Свідченням використання імперських практик став дозвіл шляхті обирати голову й засідателів (за згоди влади). Місцева еліта потребувала досвідчених професіоналів, які забезпечували б законність, а влада, за умови лояльності, нерідко доручала головам виконувати функції губернаторів. Посадовці діяли згідно із законами, прагнучи не допустити порушення рівноваги у відносинах верховної/місцевої влади зі шляхтою й забезпечити спокій у регіоні.

Ключові слова: Російська імперія, Правобережна Україна, голова і засідателі (депутат) головного суду, імперська практика, польська шляхта, річпосполитівська судова традиція.

The Problem Statement. The reign of Catherine II was the period of prosperity of the Russian Empire. The reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment and cameralism were the reasons for success. At the same time, local elites were not ready for a pro-European change. The incorporation of Right-Bank Ukraine with the subsequent formation of the Russian system of governance and jurisdiction according to “Institutions for the Governance of the Provinces of the All-Russian Empire” of 1775 aimed at making the Polish nobility of the region loyal to the government. But the local establishment had already European judicial system with the independence and election of the judiciary, the Polish language and constitutions, a stable system for resolving agrarian relations, and etc. Paul’s I coming to power, who wanted to carry out bureaucratization and centralization, required the support of the regional elites. In the Western provinces, the supreme power pursued a flexible policy of an indirect rule, the main component of which was the restoration of elements of the Polish-Lithuanian judicial tradition: county and pidkomorious courts, the Polish language, the Third Lithuanian Statute and constitutions. These measures, as well as the preservation of power over the serfs, were to promote the establishment of the supreme power in the region. However, the center was not ready to release completely the judiciary into the so-called “free navigation”, so Paul’s I formed a whole system of control, which included Volyn court (1798 – 1801), provincial courts (1798 – 1801) and fiscals (1799), simplified by Alexander I to the chief court. The criminal and civil departments were entrusted with the functions of supervising the activities of the courts of the first instance. Work productivity depended on the staff of the institution.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Personnel issues and a social portrait of officials of Kyiv, Volyn and Podilsk chief courts elected by the local nobility at the end of the XVIIIth – the first third of the XIXth centuries were not reflected in historiography. This can be explained by a poor preservation of the archival funds and the complexity of

their processing, but the main reason, in our opinion, is that the object of the research is at the intersection of history and jurisprudence.

Along with this, the imperial practices in Right-Bank Ukraine have been studied, to a certain extent, by specialists. M. Dolbilov, mentioning the ethnic, religious and social diversity of the Russian Empire, paid attention to the use of various archaic and innovative practices in management, which allowed to reconcile the interests of local communities with the state priorities (Dolbilov, 2010, p. 18). L. Gorizontov noted the attempts failure by the imperial government to reform the system of government and to turn the Poles into loyal subjects (Gorizontov, 1999, pp. 7–8). A. Kappeler emphasized the destabilizing factor of the Russian Empire by the Polish issue. He considered the main reason in the loss of independence by the Polish nobility, despite the fact that the peasants and burghers could not act as partners of the ruling authorities. The deterioration of the Russian-Polish relations during the 1820-ies was noted (Kappeler, 2005, pp. 67–68, 70). On the example of Slobidska Ukraine V. Sklokin analyzed the application of the imperial practices to include the territories into the Russian Empire. Catherine II, conducting the political and social integration of Slobidska Ukraine in the spirit of the Enlightenment and Cameralism, promised the local society “order” – the general imperial laws and administrative institutions were to provide protection against oppression and abuse by the Cossacks (Sklokin, 2019, pp. 72–73).

A number of studies focused on the specific issues of the judiciary functioning. M. Klochkov criticized Catherine II for the complicated judicial structure and dominance of the nobility, noting that under Paul's I rule, although the previous rights and privileges of individual regions were restored, but the real power was in the hands of the governor (Klochkov, 1916, pp. 407–413, 417–418, 426–427). L. Pisarkova, assessing the reforms of Paul I, noted that the judiciary ceased to be estate and partially elected. The supreme authorities retained a real control over the administration and finances (Pisarkova, 2007, pp. 498, 501). R. Uortman was convinced that at the beginning of the XIXth century the courts defended the interests of the elite and were formed, above all, from the former military. Having no experience and interest in the administration of justice, they shifted the responsibilities to clerks, who did the work and adapted the law to satisfy the wishes of rich and influential people (Uortman, 2004, pp. 121–122). D. Bovua emphasized the great importance of the judiciary for the Polish nobility, because with its help the nobility retained a full power in a public life and agrarian relations before the Polish uprising of 1830 – 1831 (Bovua, 2007, pp. 152, 155).

V. Voropanov analyzed the staff of judicial institutions of the Russian Empire in the provinces of the Urals and Western Siberia during the first quarter of the XIXth century. The researcher noted that the absolutist state systematically solved the problem of providing the imperial courts with qualified personnel, who had positive characteristics and different professional experience. The authorities of Western Siberia filled vacancies regularly, determined professional qualifications, substituting or dismissing the incompetent (Voropanov, 2011). R. Sarazhyna, characterizing the judicial system of Western Siberia, paid attention to the service of estate jurors and focused on the problem of involving the population into the work of estate institutions. With the help of the jurors, the government tried to increase trust in the judiciary, and the jurors themselves, without receiving payment from the state, appreciated the service because of a high social status (Sarazhina, 2011, pp. 21–22).

The historiographical review illustrates that the issue of personnel and social portrait of the chairmen and jurors of the chief courts in Right-Bank Ukraine has not been studied. A detailed analysis of these aspects will confirm or refute the thesis of the application of imperial practices in the preservation of the Polish-Lithuanian judicial tradition.

The purpose of the article is to study the social portrait of the corps of elected officials – chairmen and jurors of the provincial chief courts. It is necessary to determine the conditions

of their work in the situation when the supreme power, with the help of a flexible policy of restoring elements of the Polish-Lithuanian policy, tried to establish itself in the region; to elucidate the role of senior judicial officials in this process. Achieving this goal implies the following objectives: determining the formation process of the judiciary under conditions of changes in a domestic policy by the supreme power, the analysis of social portraits of the chairmen and jurors of departments.

The Statement of the Basic Material. After gaining power, Paul I began to carry out reforms immediately, including the judiciary reforms. Throughout the Empire, the judicial structure was simplified and county courts were established, the jurisdiction of which extended to the entire population of the county (except for citizens, who were subject to magistrates). The Provincial Court of Appeal and Revision was the Chamber of Court, which consisted of criminal and civil departments (CCLRE-1, v. 44: part. 2, p. 396). Judicial structures on the Right Bank were reformed somewhat differently. On December 12, 1796, the entire territory of the Empire was divided into two categories: provinces with “governance on general grounds” and provinces “with special rights and privileges” (the latter included Kyiv, Volyn and Podilsk provinces) (CCLRE-1, v. 24, pp. 229–230). According to the Staff document, on December 31, 1796, county courts (the Russian name “*uyezd*” was changed into Polish “*povit*”) and *pidkomorious* courts and magistrates were restored. However, on the part of the Emperor, these changes, together with the restoration of the Polish language in the judiciary, the provisions of the Third Lithuanian Statute were only tactical actions. In the strategic control plan the provincial audit and appellate establishments were created, i. e., the chief courts (CCLRE-1, v. 44: part. 2, p. 396). It was the chief courts, which had to control and correct the activities of the judicial structures of the first instance.

According to the Staff of 1796 the court consisted of two departments: criminal and civil, each consisting of a chairman elected for three years by the Polish nobility (a subsequent approval by the Senate was needed) and three jurors (candidates were approved by the governor) (CCLRE-1, v. 44: part. 2, p. 397). It is clear that under such conditions only absolutely loyal members of the elite could be approved for office, but the authorities had to act extremely flexibly so that the elected / approved officials were not accused of servility the Polish nobility. To exercise control, the supreme power appointed an adviser and a secretary to each department (CCLRE-1, v. 24, p. 728), and especially important was the role of the latter, who under conditions of a formal trial was responsible for the documents.

The problem of holding noble elections was analyzed in detail on the example of the sub-chambers in one of the previous researches (Shevchuk, 2018, pp. 188–190). One cannot ignore V. Shandra’s thorough research on this issue, who claimed that with the help of the elections the supreme power managed to establish its own supremacy, to legitimize itself, to penetrate into all strata of the society and to strengthen the state power, and also not the least, to have an inexpensive administrative apparatus (Shandra, 2009, p. 195). It is worth noting that constant problems, especially with the property qualifications of voters and elected officials, were the manifestations of flexibility of an imperial practice aimed at finding a compromise with a local elite. At the same time, the supreme power partially made concessions to the Polish nobility in case of their conflict with the governors. For instance, in his secret report to the Prosecutor General, earl K. Mionchynsky (1799 – 1802), Volyn provincial marshal, complained about Governor K. Glazenap (1799 – 1800), accusing him of violating the terms of the election, the absence of a fixed payment for accommodation and the presence of the captains of the border counties at the elections, which were not related to very the elections. At the same time, it was noted that the nobles were present in the court room “... with humility and modesty, they voted unanimously and declared their loyalty to the monarch” (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 532, pp.

1–1 v., 5). It is possible that this report was one of the reasons for the resignation of Governor K. Glazenap on June 27, 1800 (Gryzlov, 2003, p. 82).

To illustrate the issue under analysis, we considered the results of the elections of 1823 in Podilsk province. The criminal department of the chief court had the following composition: the chairman – the court adviser, earl Z. Abimelik (for – 283 votes, against – 183 votes), a candidate, who could substitute – J. Wislowsky (for – 380 votes, against – no votes). There were ten candidates for the position of the juror, but only two people were approved, who received the majority of votes: J. Martynovsky (for – 212, against – 71), J. Lesnevych (for – 176 votes, against – 107 votes), the rest people: six people were approved as candidates, one person – a deputy of the nobility commission, and one person was at court building. J. Sulytsky was elected the head of the civil department (for – 297 votes, against – 172 votes) and V. Yalovytsky was elected the candidate (for – 247 votes, against – 244 votes). Eleven people were candidates for the position of the juror, but three people were approved: F. Veliamovsky (for – 319 votes, against – 199 votes), F. Zhaboklytsky (for – 311 votes, against – 207 votes), R. Khlebovsky (for – 304 votes, against – 214 votes), the rest people: five people were approved as the candidates, one person was elected to [Podilsk Provincial] ordinary court, one person was at court building and another one was not recorded in the nobility's book (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1186–1186 v.). During the analysis of the election results, several opinions arose: the appointment to the post of the chairman was related not so much to the election results as to other factors (earl Z. Abimelik received fewer votes); a large number of candidates for the position of the juror, taking into account a low salary; for the unknown reasons, only two jurors were approved to the criminal department, although there should have been three in the staff.

The main role in the work of the department was assigned to the chairman. We have already emphasized the prudence of the supreme power in the process of appointing to office. A sign of prestige was the fact that in the absence of a civilian governor and vice-governor in the province, it was the chairman of one of the departments, who performed the functions of the chief official. For instance, the chairman of the civil department A. Dombrovsky performed the functions of the governor of Volyn many times and he was even included into the official list of governors (as performing the duties from 14.02. till 22.03.1816) (Gryzlov, 2003, p. 82). In 1818 the duties of the civil governor were performed by J. Pininsky, the chairman of the civil department of Volyn chief court (SAZhR, f. 2, d. 1, c. 183, p. 1).

Wealthy local landowners were selected for the positions of chairmen, preferably with experience in the legal sphere. Since this position was elective (the state would have to save on payment), but Paul I, according to the Staff document of 1796, set the salary of 840 rubles by silver per year. For instance, the governor received 1 800 rubles and 1 200 rubles – for eating at canteens, the vice-governor – 1 200 rubles, the provincial prosecutor – 600 rubles. The chairmen were provided with the rank of the 5th class, which was equal to the state councilor (for comparison, the vice-governor was also a state councilor, and the provincial prosecutor received the rank of the 6th class – a colleague councilor) (CCLRE-1, v. 44: part. 2, pp. 394, 397). However, the supreme power was reluctant to assign ranks. On July 24, 1816, Podilsk military governor O. Bakhmetyev sent a report, in which he addressed to the Emperor with a request to pay attention to the service of the chairman of the civil department L. Podosky, who from October 13, 1815 till April 16, 1816, even served as a civilian governor. Characterizing his service positively, the military governor asked for the rank of the state councilor (according to the position), but it was late. According to the excerpt from the journal of the Committee of Ministers of June 9, 1816, concerning the renaming of the Polish ranks into classes of the Russian service, it was said that the elected officials, who did

not previously have any ranks, could not claim their assignment, and the worthy ones could be awarded the orders. Therefore, L. Padosky was awarded the Order of St. Volodymyr of the 3d degree (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1613, pp. 2–4, 12, 15 v–16, 23). The procedure for taking office was the following: the Senate received a decree to the provincial board approving the candidate (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 2, c. 75, p. 4), who began his work, after taking a solemn oath in the presence of the provincial prosecutor (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 2, c. 74, p. 245).

The supreme power was interested in the professional chairmen of the chief courts, who would be loyal and respected among the local nobility. The chairman of the civil department of Volyn chief court A. Dombrovsky (born in 1747 – the year of death is unknown) met all the criteria: he was wealthy, with extensive experience in the judiciary (he had the appropriate education, for a long time held positions in the courts of first instance). The degree of his loyalty was evidenced by the awarding of the Russian orders. In addition, he served as Volyn's civilian governor many times. The careers of the chairmen of the civil department were similar: the real chamberlain J. Bachynsky in 1815 and J. Pininsky in 1818 (See in details: Shevchuk, 2019, pp. 11–12). We were able to make clear that before the election of 1820 the positions of chairmen were held by experienced professional officials. However, in 1820 the position of the chairman of the civil department was taken by earl S. Karvytsky, the owner of 239 serfs, who during 1809 – 1810 was at the military service and retired as a lieutenant. (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 25, pp. 1 v.–2). This change can be explained by several reasons: the resignation of the previous generation of officials and the policy of Governor V. Gizhitsky (1816 – 1824).

Table 1

Chairman of Volyn Chief Court (1800)

Election Year	The Criminal Department ¹	The Civil Department ²
1800	Ihnatii Liedokhovsky	Mykhailo Korzhenovsky
1803	Mykhailo Hlembotsky	Mykhailo Korzhenovsky
1805	Yosyf Bachynsky	Tadeush Tieliezhynsky; kandydat – Anton Dombrovsky
1809	Anton Dombrovsky	prince Dmytro Chetvertynsky
1811	Yan Nepomutsen Trypolsky	Yosyf Bachynsky
1814	earl Yosyf Liubomyrsky	Anton Dombrovsky / Yosyf Bachynsky
1817	Anton Dombrovsky / Erazm (Dionisii) Prushynsky	Yosyf Pininsky
1820	earl Hryhorii Komarovsky	earl Stanislav Dunin Korvytsky
1823	earl Sviatoslav Berzhynsky / Dionisii Prushynsky	Yelyhii Oleksandr Piotrovsky
1826		Pavlo Yelovytsky
1829	earl Sviatoslav Berzhynsky	Ihnatii Telezhynsky

¹ 1800 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 12, p. 1); 1803 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 20, p. 1; c. 200, p. 1); 1806 p. – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 206, p. 190); 1809 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 3 v.–4); 1811 – (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1275, pp. 3, 4); 1814 – (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1610, p. 5); 1817 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 5, p. 11; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 229, p. 667); 1820 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 98, p. 1); 1823 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 11, p. 5; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 152, p. 81); 1826 – no information; 1829 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 188, p. 1).

² 1800 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 195, p. 237); 1803 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 198, pp. 1, 709); 1806 – (SAZhR, f. 6, d. 3, c. 206, p. 190; d. 1, c. 17, pp. 3 v.–4); 1809 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 211, p. 1); 1811 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 41, pp. 1 v.–2); 1814 – (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1610, p. 5; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 222, pp. 490, 819); 1817 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 42, pp. 1 v.–2); 1820 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 235, pp. 1, 8 v.); 1823 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 11, p. 5; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 25, pp. 1 v.–2; d. 3, c. 247, p. 1); 1826 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 251, p. 1); 1829 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 266, pp. 1, 905).

Compiled by the author on the basis of the archival data, Table 1 allows us to draw the following conclusions: firstly, it is necessary to note the relative alternation of staff in the positions of departments chairmen, only J. Bachynsky and A. Dombrovsky were elected three times, three more chairmen – M. Korzhenovsky, E. Prushinsky and S. Berzhinsky were elected twice; secondly, it was not rare for experienced J. Bachynsky and A. Dombrovsky to rotate from one department to another, which can be explained by the need to “rake up blockages” or perform the duties of the governor (usually involving the chairmen of civilian departments, because they could be used during the meetings break).

Compiling the tables on the activities of judicial institutions requires some effort. For instance, elections usually took place in July, and swearing oaths by new jurors (after approval of candidacies by the governor) could take place in September. On September 29, 1829, the journal of the second department of Volyn chief court stated that there were three new jurors and one more, who was the former juror. (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 257, pp. 2314). The situation with the chairmen approved by the Senate was even more complicated. This process could be delayed, so the previous chairman was in office with new jurors. For instance, A. Dombrovsky was elected by the nobility in July 1814, and approved as the chairman of the civil department on April 2, 1815 (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 2 v–3). In addition, the provisional criminal departments functioned in parallel (that is why, the data on the criminal department of 1826 are missing, because the journals of the provisional department were deposited in Fund 16 of the State Archives of Zhytomyr region); during breaks in meetings in the criminal department, the chairman, adviser and juror of one of the departments were constantly on duty; chairmen and jurors resigned for various reasons.

The confirmation of the professionalism of the first chairmen are illustrated by the data on Podilsk chief court. In 1799 the chairman of the civil department [Jan Onufriy] Orlovsky in his report to the Prosecutor General P. Lopukhin reported that the judges refused to swear the loyalty oath to the Emperor. In his next address to the Emperor, he pointed out that since the age of 65 he had been sitting in court for 20 years without being given any admonitions (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 111, pp. 1, 2). In 1809, the former Skvyra county marshal K. Proskur was approved as the new chairman of the civil department of Kyiv chief court by the largest number of votes during the noble elections (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 2, c. 75, p. 4). According to the formulary list, the above-mentioned chairman of the civil department of Podilsk chief court, L. Podosky, came from the nobility and owned 1066 serfs in Yampil and Olhopil counties. He began his military service in the Polish army as a lieutenant in the regiment of Chief Yu. Ilyinsky, and the following year he became a captain. In 1797 he was elected by the nobility of the province to be present at the coronation of Paul I. He began his service in 1802 from the rank of Yampil county cornet, from 1809 – county marshal of the same county, from July 20, 1815 – the chairman of the civil department. He was not in the campaigns, in trial and in retirement, he was able to continue his civil service. Interesting is the private life of the chairman, who was married to the noblewoman K. Kaminskaya. He was the father of two sons and two daughters (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1613, pp. 2–4, 12, 15 v.–16) (one of them – Rosalia was the wife of F. Colm, the Decembrist, and it was stated that she was the daughter of the earl, the state councilor (Nechkina, 1988, p. 77). The other daughter, Paulina, was the wife of a large landowner, the chairman of Kyiv chief court, P. Ivanovsky, but she considered her marriage a mesalliance. In their marriage Carolina Wittgenstein was born, who from 1848 till 1861 lived with Ferenc Liszt (Talson, 2011).

The archival data indicate a decline in the professional qualities of chairmen since the 1820-ies. In 1823 K. Orlovsky was the chairman of the civil department of Podilsk chief court. The 52-year-old married nobleman owned 1 000 serfs. The first stage of his career was associated with his election as Litynsky marshal (1801 – 1806). The next election was 14 years later, in 1820 he became the chairman of the department, also dealt with 150 cases transferred from the

criminal department in 1821 (SAKhmR, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1196 v.–1197). His successor was elected in 1823, a 33 year-old J. Sulyatytsky, who was the owner of 1023 serfs in Mogilev district. He served in the Polish military, took part in the campaigns of 1809 and 1812, served as a captain and received the Military Golden Cross. His civil service began in 1820 with the election of the chairman of Mogilev boundary court (he was engaged in the delimitation of estates) (SAKhmR, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1273–1274). In 1827 he was re-elected the chairman of the department (SAKhmR, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3342, pp. 1474 v.–1475).

Not all elected chairmen wanted to take up their duties for various reasons, so one chairman had to work for the two ones. The chairman of the civil department of Podilsk chief court, L. Podosky, appealed to Podilsk military governor, O. Bakhmetyev, to allow him to go for two months abroad to the health resort of mineral waters. However, it was impossible because the chairman of the criminal department, earl F. Chetvertynsky, did not swear the oath and did not take office because of the illness. L. Podosky had to work for two, and it was unknown what to do. Therefore, it was decided to clarify the circumstances with F. Chetvertynsky, if he was unable to serve, to appoint the next candidate according to the amount of votes (during the election the winner received 303 votes “for” and 150 votes – “against”, his competitor J. Starzhynsky – 240 votes “for” and 213 votes “against”) (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1610, pp. 1–2, 8, 20).

It is clear that during their service chairmen were active in the society life, they took an active part in court proceedings, using, if possible, their position. In March 1799, the civil department of Kyiv chief court considered the two proceedings, one of the part was its chairman Morzhkovsky (1797 – 1800): the first proceeding – with the chamberlain K. Milevsky on execution of the decree of Kyiv city court on extradition of peasants, the second proceeding – with the nobles Dombrovski and the others on the implementation of the decrees of the same city court on the return of funds. It is interesting, it was decided to use the police to enforce court decisions (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 2, c. 13, p. 48 v.).

The dismissal of the chairman also involved a whole procedure. In 1815, Volyn Civil Governor M. Komburley sent an appeal to Prosecutor General D. Troshchynsky, that the real chamberlain, the chairman of the criminal department J. Bachynsky, applied for resignation to the governor and the prosecutor general. Among the reasons there were included 15 years in various positions, health (a medical certificate was provided), tidying up the estate, and other matters. The illness certificate, a formulary list, and the two extracts from the protocols of Volyn noble assembly of 1811 and 1814 were sent to the Senate, expressing gratitude from the nobility for the long-term and diligent service. At the same time, the landowner of Zhytomyr County H. Prushinsky was nominated for this position, because during the period of illness the chairman of the civil department was in charge of the criminal work. On November 18, J. Bachynsky resigned according to a personal decree of the Senate (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1439, pp. 1–3, 8).

An important element of the full functioning of the departments was the effective work of the jurors (three in each of the departments). At the initial stage, according to the Polish-Lithuanian tradition, the jurors were called deputies in court documents, which raised their status – elected representatives of the local nobility, who protected the interests of the estate. At first, the supreme power did not pay attention to this, but in 1824 the question of the title was considered by the Senate. The Minister of the Internal Affairs explained that although, according to the Staff of 1804, there were jurors in the chief court, in official documents the officials elected by the nobility appeared under the name of deputies. Podilsk governor was required to explain the reasons for using the new name. In the given answer M. Grokholsky (1823 – 1831) (Gryzlov, 2003, p. 223) pointed out that he did not know why the term “juror” was used until 1801, and then the term “deputy” was used, the only argument was that the elected to the Tribunal were called so under the Constitutions of 1726 and 1768. The supreme power forbade the use of the term “deputy” to all present and judicial institutions

(SAKhMR, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1446–1446 v.). However, according to the records of the Civil Department of Kyiv chief court in March of 1829, the use of the term “deputy” continued (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 2, c. 231, p. 86).

As in the case with the chairmen, the positions of the jurors were held by wealthy local landowners. However, according to the Staff of 1796, their positions were to be maintained by the local nobility, while for four assessors in the Chamber of Justice in the provinces were provided the salary of 300 rubles (CCLRE-1, v. 44: part. 2, pp. 394, 397). It is clear that no one paid the jurors any salary. In 1814 a scandal broke out in Podilsk chief court. The complaint about the lack of salary reached the Senate. The way out was suggested by the chief court itself: to allow the criminal department to collect 34 zl. and 8 gr. (for the Russian money – 5 rubles and 14 kopicks) from the accused for the deputies, who did not receive any salary (according to the Constitution of 1726). However, the Senate rejected the proposal as illegal (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1389, pp. 4, 12 v.). In 1815 the jurors once again explained that for the sake of the service they did not engage in their private affairs, estates and houses and asked about the payment for their work. This scandal had a history. Back in 1807 it was decided to collect an additional 18 kopicks from peasants of all categories to pay salaries to jurors from this sum. However, being sent to the treasury, the money remained there. In 1813, the civil governor of Podilsk, earl K. Saint-Prix, offered in vain his version, identical to the proposal of the main court – to collect from the accused 34 zl. to pay the salary. However, on February 10, 1814, the decree of the Senate informed the official that, according to the Staff document of 1796, the salary should be paid by the nobility. Therefore, on December 20, 1814, the gentry of Podilsk province “... demanded ...” (an outrageous violation of a formal style. – *Author*) that the jurors were paid by the treasury. The amount of money was determined by the local elite: according to the Crown (Polish) Constitution of 1768, the salary was to be 1500 rubles, according to the Lithuanian Constitution of the same year (P. 3), the amount of money was a bit less – 450 rubles. Finally, on January 10, 1816, the Senate sent the order to the Department of the Ministry of Justice that the governor of Podilsk should fix and pay the salary at the expense of a tax of 18 kopicks (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 1, c. 1437, pp. 1–2 v., 4, 14, 17). However, we have not been able to make clear from the archival materials whether the salaries of the jurors were paid in the future.

According to the Staff document of 1796, there were no ranks for the jurors (CCLRE-1, v. 44: part. 2, p. 397). The only cases of use of ranks were obtained at the previous place of service, in Catherine’s judicial system. For instance, in January 1799 the chairman of the criminal department of Kyiv chief court was a collegiate adviser Alferov, the same ranks were held by other jurors – Golovinsky, Romanovsky, and from June of the same year – Glembotzky (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 1, c. 11, pp. 1, 5, 280).

If we analyze the social portrait of the jurors, the first composition of the civil department of Kyiv chief court (1797 – 1800) included M. Tretiak and L. Kharlinsky. If the former never served and had no rank, the latter’s career began in 1780 with a law degree at Lublin Tribunal. Ten years later, Stanislaw Avgust presented him as a chamberlain of the Polish court. The following year he was already a civil-military commissar, in 1793 – an adviser in the court of Targovitsze Confederation. In 1797 L. Kharlinsky was elected the deputy for the coronation of Paul I in Moscow, from May 1 of the same year – a juror (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 5, c. 2, pp. 7, 5). The career of another juror of the same chamber from January 1798, T. Kupchynsky, was more intense. In 1782 he began his service in Bratslav court as a regent (secretary), in 1788 – as a storekeeper, in 1790 – as a civil-military commissar, and in 1792 – as a commissioner of Bratslav voivodeship. In 1793, with the extension of the Russian Empire, he became an assessor of the commissions of the First Department of Bratslav province. In 1796 he was the juror of the nobility of the conscientious court of Bratslav province, the following year he was the juror of Uman district and, finally, the juror of the civil department (CSHAK, f. 1254, d. 5, c. 7, pp. 2–2 v.).

Table 2

Jurors of Volyn Chief Court (1800 – 1829)

Election Year	The Criminal Department ³	The Civil Department ⁴
1797		Yosyf Vyliezhynsky Tadeush Podhorodelsky Ivan Terletsyky
1800	Tomash Tretiak Erazm Voronich K. Zhmyhrodsky	Vatslav Boreiko Stefan Hrudzynsky Dionisii Dubetsky
1803	Ivo Stetsky	Erazm Prushynsky Yosyf Dombrovsky
1805	earl Fridrikh Liubomyrsky Yosyf Dombrovsky Nestor Baranovsky Yosyf Zaltiesky	Yosyf Pavsha Yosyf Ometsynsky
1809	Zhvanovsky Yosyf Zaltiesky	Varfolomii Butkovych Ivan Viliezhynsky Erazm Voronich
1811	Karl Prushynsky Akym Khamts Foma Surin	Voitsekh Piotrovsky Yosyf Zaltiesky Stepan Dunin Yelyhii Piotrovsky
1814	Anatolii Pavsha Mykolai Polianovsky	Voitsekh Piotrovsky Yosyf Zaltiesky Yelyhii Piotrovsky
1817	Ihnatii Zozulynsky Mykolai Polianovsky Vatslav Podlesky	Yosyf Zaltiesky Ihnatii Dubietsky Petro Tonzhevsky Klymentii Hrodetsky
1820	Herard Felinsky Kypriian Stetsky Isydor Zakashevsky	Anatolii Pavsha Ihnatii Dubietsky Frants Rottermund Petro Tonzhevsky
1823	Isydor Zakashevsky Yosyf Tadei Po(tots)ky Ihnatii Yankovsky	Rafail Stroinovsky Anatolii Pavsha Yakiv Ometsynsky
1826	Yosyf Hrokholsky Kostiantyn Bushchynsky Tsyryhlii Hradetsky Khylyhnevych	Voitsekh Rothariush Antonii Hulievich Leopold Rymynsky Venedykt Mochulsky
1829	Yustyn Kosovsky Dubetsky	Vasyl Baranetsky Tselestyn Rottermund Aloizii Zhehotsky

³ 1797 – no information; 1800 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 12, pp. 1, 554, 582; c. 16, p. 1); 1803 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 20, p. 1; c. 200, p. 1); 1806 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 26, p. 1); 1809 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 39, p. 1; c. 40, p. 1); 1811 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 2, p. 35); 1814 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 72, pp. 1, 822, 900, 916; d. 1, c. 39, pp. 1 v.–2); 1817 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 5, p. 11; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 229, p. 667); 1820 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 195, pp. 1, 451); 1823 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 11, p. 5); 1826 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 151, p. 1; c. 181, p. 1); 1829 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 188, p. 1).

⁴ 1797 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 6, pp. 1, 554, 582); 1800 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 195, p. 237); 1803 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 98, pp. 1, 709); 1806 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 206, p. 190); 1809 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 211, p. 1; c. 215, p. 1); 1811 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 2, p. 35); 1814 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 195, pp. 490, 819); 1817 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 5, p. 11; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 229, p. 667); 1820 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 235, pp. 1, 8 v.; d. 1, c. 39, pp. 1 v.–2); 1823 – (SARR, f. 550, d. 1, c. 11, p. 5; SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 1 v.–2); 1826 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 251, p. 1); 1829 – (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 266, p. 1, 905).

The analysis of the data from Table 2 illustrates the staff turnover: it has been calculated that only J. Zaleski was elected a juror five times, A. Pavsha – three times, nine people were jurors two times. Changes from one department to another were infrequent – only three cases. The composition of the civil department was more stable, which may indicate the higher prestige of its work, as this department was associated, primarily, with property proceedings. There was not always a complete set (three officials), which was due to illness, death, transfer to another position, and etc. If we dwell on the figure of the above-mentioned J. Zaleski, then at the age of 21 he began serving as a cornet in Smolensk Dragoon Regiment and five years later retired as a lieutenant. His first elected position was a deputy in Volyn aristocratic commission, from 1805 he began his work in the judiciary – first as a juror twice in the criminal department (we failed at making clear the reasons for the election in violation of the three-year term – 1805 and 1809. – *Author*), then he worked twice in the civilian department. The last, fifth election, in 1817, was interrupted in 1818 by the transfer to the post of adviser to the civil department. In 1822 he was transferred to the criminal department, in 1825 – back to the civilian one. In 1821 he was awarded the Order of St. Volodymyr of the 4th degree, in 1826 – a collegiate assessor. It seems suspicious for us that J. Zaleski had no property (his wife had 29 serfs), at the age of 57 he had a 10-year-old daughter and a 5-year-old son (hence the marriage took place after the start of his career) (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 22, pp. 1 v.–3), and therefore, in the absence of property qualifications, the period of the Russian military service was used. And the very fact of being elected and given to the position of a councilor five times testifies to the ability to get along with both local authorities and the nobility. As for A. Pavsha, he was the owner of 4465 serfs in Zhytomyr County, graduated from Vilnius Academy in 1810 and stayed in the estate until 1814. Then he was elected a chairman of the criminal department, after the next election in 1817 – a deputy for the calculation of zemstvo duties, in 1820 and 1823 was re-elected to the post of a chairman of the civil department (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 1 v.–2). Ye. Piotrovsky, the owner of 501 serfs, immediately after graduating from Kremenets Lyceum in 1811 was elected a chairman of the civil department (re-elected in 1814). In 1817 – Zhytomyr county sub-chamber. During 1820 – 1823 he dealt with the final resolution of the congressional subcommittee affairs. In 1823 he was elected a chairman of the civil department of Volyn chief court (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 41, pp. 1 v.–2). This is the only case we have recorded: electing a juror to the position of a chairman. A. Gulevich, the owner of 593 serfs, until his election as a juror in 1826, from 1811 till 1820 occupied the position of Lutsk district judge (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 1 v.–2).

We managed to find out that in Podilsk province there was a combination of two recruitment systems. The first category included jurors with experience in the Polish-Lithuanian judicial structures. According to the results of the elections of 1820, in 1823 the chairman of the civil department of Podilsk chief court was 53-year-old V. Bednarovsky, who owned 12 smoke buildings in the amount of 2 500 rubles in Kamianets County under a mortgage right. After graduating from Kamianets school in 1784, he entered Podilsk yemsky court to study jurisprudence, and in three years began to conduct the affairs of the landlords and, according to court resolutions, to consider the cases of the poor. In 1790 he became a lawyer in the same court. He served as a lawyer in the newly created Podilsk chief court for 14 years. In 1811 when it was determined that there could be 12 full-time lawyers in Podilsk chief court, V. Bednarovsky became one of them. In 1819 he resigned to be elected a juror the following year (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1201 v.–1204). Another juror was a 54-year-old M. Popavsky, who had 37 serfs in Mogilev County. In 1794, after the incorporation of the Right Bank, he was appointed a clerk of Kholmilnytsky count court. In 1797 he was elected

a clerk of Mogilev county court. During the next election, he was re-elected to the same position, then elected a judge assistant, and after next election – a judge. From 1811 till 1814 he served as a chamberlain of the same county. In 1814 and 1820 he was elected a chairman of the civil department, in 1821 he was awarded the Order of St. Volodymyr of the 4th degree (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1203 v.–1205). The juror, a nobleman Ignatius Gada[li]kiy (55 years old), had 218 serfs in Kamianetskiy district. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth he was the secretary of King Stanislaw August of Poland, and after the incorporation in 1799 he was elected a deputy to the commission for the payment of debts of the three bankrupt [Warsaw] banks. He held this position for one year. The next election took place in 1817 and Ignatius Gada[li]kiy was elected a judge of Kamianets Boundary Court of Appeal. In 1820 he was elected a juror (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1204 v.–1206).

The second category included jurors, who acquired practical skills directly in the courts. During the elections of 1826 two jurors were elected – R. Khlebovsky and L. Charnovsky, the third one was A. Yanushkevych (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, p. 1593 v.). That is, none of the three jurors elected in 1820 was re-elected in 1826. In 1831, the juror of the civil department of Podilsk chief court was R. Khlebovsky at the aged of 32 (i. e., he was re-elected in 1829. – *Author*), whose parents had 695 serfs. In 1819, after graduating from Kremenets public school, he entered Podilsk chief court to study law. After finishing the three years of studying during 1823 – 1826, he was elected a juror of the civil department (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1479 v. – 1480). As for the 25-year-old A. Yanushkevych, elected in 1826, who owned 14 smoke buildings under a mortgage right in Yampil county, after graduating from Vinnytsia gymnasium, he, on the basis of a visitor's certificate and attestation, entered Podilsk chief court to study law. After three years of studying, he studied a regional law at Vilnius Academy for a year, after graduating from which, he was elected a juror (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 3043, pp. 1606 v.–1607).

As for the procedure of changing jurors, this issue was regulated by the provincial board and did not require a decision of the Senate. On May 16, 1799, Kyiv provincial board received a message from Kyiv provincial department, which ran: M. Glembotsky, a judge of the former Volyn supreme judiciary, had been elected to replace Sobansky. As he did not arrive, Radomyshl lower zemstvo court was ordered to find out his location (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 1, c. 12a, p. 213). Only on June 9 did the official arrive at his new place of service (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 1, c. 11, p. 170). By the way, in 1803 he was elected a chairman of the criminal department of Volyn chief court (SAZhR, f. 16, d. 3, c. 20, p. 1).

The presence of jurors was monitored by the provincial prosecutor, to whom special attendance information was sent from the departments each month. In July 1812, D. Yanishevsky, a juror of the criminal department of Podilsk chief court, was absent at six court hearings. The prosecutor considered it a self-willed avoidance, which provided for a penalty. The prosecutor demanded the explanation from the juror (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 766, p. 11). Similarly, in April 1816 the juror of the criminal department of Podilsk chief court L. Pavsky (from April 4) and the juror of the provisional department K. Izhytsky (from April 17) were absent until the end of the month. By the way, the latter was absent until September 20 of the same year, which disrupted the work of the provisional department. Therefore, the provincial government demanded explanation from the criminal department. It is interesting, these two appeals were concealed from the prosecutor: the facts of absence were revealed, in the first case – in August, and in the second case – in May, but the request for explanations was received at the end of September (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 766, pp. 34–35). Obviously, some of the “absences” were caused by objective reasons. For instance, in 1810, a juror of the temporary criminal department

of Podilsk chief court, Pavlovsky, submitted to the Senate the report with a medical certificate on his release for treatment in the house, which was located 25 verstv from the provincial city. It is obvious that the the report consideration lasted for a long time, and therefore Pavlovsky missed the court hearings, which was interpreted as an unauthorized absence, that is why, he was fined 25 rubles in favour of the order of public charity (SAKhM, f. 120, d. 1, c. 766, p. 1).

After the suppression of the November Uprising of 1830 – 1831, the situation for the local elite deteriorated sharply: Nicholas I intensified the course for the full incorporation of the Western territory, one of the components of which was the unification of the judiciary. Already on October 30, 1831, by Nicholas's I personal decree, it was ordered to rename all judiciary establishments according to "The Institutions ..." of 1775. Instead of the chief courts, two chambers were formed – criminal and civil. The procedure of forming chambers changed: the chairman of the criminal department was appointed by the supreme power, advisers were appointed by the Ministry of Justice (CCLRE-2, v. 6: part. 2, pp. 159–160). The decree was announced in the provincial boards and departments of the chief courts, and the date of reorganization was set for on November 20 (CSHAK, f. 484, d. 2, c. 261, pp. 617, 618).

The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Researches. At the end of the XVIIIth century the change in a domestic state policy, aimed at finding a compromise with the local elite of Right-Bank Ukraine, was to ensure the elite's reconciliation with the Russian rule. The judiciary and agrarian relations were chosen for concessions, while the administrative power was maintained. However, to leave the courts exclusively in the hands of the Polish nobility, from the point of view of the supreme power, meant to recognize the weakness of the Russian rule. Therefore, the audit and appellate system of chief courts of Kyiv, Volyn and Podil provinces was created. They were tasked with managing the region's judicial system, correcting activities if necessary, and minimizing social and political tensions. The evidences of the imperial practices applications of combining the governmental ambitions and the local elite ambitions were the formation principles of the chief courts departments staff. The nobility was allowed to elect the chairman and jurors, but the appointment did not take place without the consent of the authorities. The flexibility of the compromise policy was manifested in the ability to choose candidates for positions: the elite needed experienced specialists, who would not undermine the authority of the Polish-Lithuanian judicial tradition. The authorities were ready to meet such aspirations on condition of loyalty. The proof of a high status of chairmen and an absolute trust can be the fact that they often acted temporarily as governors. This situation required the elected officials to act exclusively in accordance with the law, because a blind following of the supreme and local authorities instructions would lead to accusations of servility, which resulted not only in non-election to positions in the future, but also in isolation in a private life. Of a particular importance to the authorities was the successful functioning of the criminal department, one of its functions was to deal with the misconduct of officials. The main task – to ensure peace and balance between the needs of the local elite and the demands of the supreme power – was solved successfully, primarily, by combining the Polish-Lithuanian judicial tradition with a flexible policy of the Center.

The documents of county courts and magistrates require a further research and introduction into a scientific circulation, which will allow to determine the mechanisms of adaptation of the Polish-Lithuanian judicial tradition of the Right Bank to the complex imperial system.

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**LANDSCAPING, SANITARY AND HYGIENIC CONDITIONS
OF THE CITIES OF RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE: ACTIVITIES
OF SELF-GOVERNMENT BODIES (THE SECOND HALF
OF THE XIXth – BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES)**

Abstract. *The Purpose of the Article* – the peculiarities analysis of landscaping, sanitary and hygienic conditions in the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries through the prism of local governments activities, especially in such spheres as development of street infrastructure, landscaping, water and electricity supply, environmental supervision and control. **The Methodology of the Research.** To write the article there became fundamental the principles of historicism and objectivity, an institutional and interdisciplinary approach to the phenomena and processes study (the combination of a social history, history of law, economics). The methods of a comparative historical analysis (on the example of different provinces and cities), statistical information processing, problem-chronological and regional studies have been widely used. **The scientific novelty** consists in a comprehensive and, at the same time, comparative historical analysis of the landscaping and sanitary hygienic conditions of the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine from the point of view of local self-government bodies participation in the correspondent processes. The use of the archival materials and other sources allowed to show an objective picture, focusing on both positive aspects, specific miscalculations and drawbacks. **The Conclusions.** The analysis of the sources showed that, with some exceptions, the activities were gradually intensified to improve landscaping and sanitation in the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth century. At that time, especially at the turn of the centuries, local governments received many proposals from individuals and organizations to implement such projects as water supply and electric lighting on various terms. However, bureaucratic obstacles, lobbying practice, or administrative interference hampered a fast transition from a project discussion and analysis to the very implementation. Instead, the implementation of such initiatives as paving the streets, arrangement of squares and sidewalks, landscaping, sanitation control of public places, fire

safety, etc., required significant funds without a direct profit. Thus, before World War I the majority of the county centers of Right-Bank Ukraine, not to mention small towns, had significant problems in the sphere of landscaping. In the general cohort there were distinguished the provincial cities significantly (first of all Kyiv, then Zhytomyr, less – Kamianets-Podilsky) and Berdychiv and Uman – developed in trade and industry, a little less developed – Vinnytsia, Cherkasy, Rivne.

Key words: *landscaping, sanitary and hygienic conditions, Right-Bank Ukraine, city self-government, welfare, ordering.*

БЛАГОУСТРІЙ ТА САНІТАРНО-ГІГІЄНИЧНИЙ СТАН МІСТ ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ: ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ОРГАНІВ САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ СТ.)

***Анотація. Мета роботи** – аналіз особливостей благоустрою та санітарно-гігієнічного стану міст Правобережної України у другій половині ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. крізь призму діяльності місцевих органів самоврядування, насамперед у таких сферах як розвиток вуличної інфраструктури, упорядкування громадських місць, водопостачання і електроосвітлення, екологічний нагляд та контроль. **Методологія дослідження.** Під час підготовки статті основоположними стали принципи історизму та об'єктивності, інституційний та міждисциплінарний підхід вивчення явищ і процесів (поєднання соціальної історії, історії права, економіки). Широке застосування отримали методи порівняльно-історичного аналізу (на прикладі різних губерній та міст), статистичної обробки інформації, проблемно-хронологічний та регіоналістики. **Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному і водночас порівняльно-історичному аналізі благоустрою й санітарно-гігієнічного стану міст Правобережної України з точки зору участі у відповідних процесах місцевих органів самоврядування. Залучення архівних матеріалів та інших джерел дало змогу показати об'єктивну картину, акцентувавши увагу як на позитивних моментах, так і на конкретних прорахунках й недоліках. **Висновки.** Аналіз джерел засвідчив, що впродовж другої половини ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. у містах Правобережної України, за деякими винятками, поступово активізувалася діяльність щодо поліпшення благоустрою та санітарно-гігієнічного стану. На той час, особливо на рубежі століть, органи самоуправління отримували безліч пропозицій від приватних осіб та організацій щодо реалізації на різних умовах таких проектів, як водопостачання і електричне освітлення. Однак бюрократичні переешкоди, лобістські практики або втручання адміністрації заважали оперативної перейти від обговорення й аналізу проектів до їх втілення на практиці. Натомість реалізація таких ініціатив, як брукування вулиць, облаштування площ і тротуарів, озеленення, контроль санітарного стану громадських місць, протипожежна безпека та ін., вимагало значних коштів без отримання прямого прибутку. Відтак більшість повітових центрів Правобережної України, не кажучи вже про невеликі містечка, напередодні Першої світової війни мали значні проблеми у сфері благоустрою. У загальній когорті суттєво вирізнялися губерньські міста (насамперед Київ, далі Житомир, менше – Кам'янець-Подільський) та розвинуті у торгово-промисловому плані Бердичів і Умань, дещо менше – Вінниця, Черкаси, Рівне.*

Ключові слова: *благоустрій, санітарно-гігієнічний стан, Правобережна Україна, міське самоврядування, добробут, впорядкування.*

The Problem Statement. At the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries a radical change in an everyday life and the spread of the latest civilizational benefits did not eliminate, unfortunately, a number of problems related to the well-being of the broad social strata, the landscaping of public places and the elimination of threats to health due to the neglect of basic sanitary norms. These risks become even more relevant in the cities, where the population density is much higher than in rural areas. Taking into account the fact that many modern problems of an infrastructural development, a proper landscaping and sanitation had been the focus of self-government for many decades, including the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century, the professional and comparative study of this issue is topical in the scientific and social contexts on the example of Right-Bank Ukraine.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Some aspects of the above-stated issues have become the object of attention of historians only at the level of certain provinces, primarily, Volyn province (Pryshchepa, 2010; Shkilniuk, 2017) and Podilsk province (Yesiunin, 2015), or such large cities as Kyiv (Hlyz, 2016), Lutsk (Bilyk, 2019), Rivne (Pryshchepa, 2006), etc. The research interest was usually concentrated around the economic processes (Zadorozhniuk & Reient, 2008), the administration systems (Щепба, 2001), general aspects (Humeniuk, 1993) or vice versa only certain aspects (Martyniuk, 2018; Molchanov, 2005) of an urban life. Instead, the activities directly in the sphere of landscaping and improvement of sanitary and hygienic conditions of the Right-Bank cities require an additional study, including the archival materials.

The purpose of the article is the analysis of the peculiarities of landscaping and sanitary and hygienic conditions of the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries through the prism of the activities of local governments, especially, in such spheres as the development of street infrastructure, landscaping of public places, water supply and electricity, an environmental supervision and control.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Before the introduction of the reform of the city government in 1870, the regulation mechanisms of landscaping and sanitary and hygienic conditions of a public space were very primitive and sharply contrasted depending on a certain settlement. On the Right-Bank, the regulation mechanisms development was not facilitated by the existing network of privately owned cities, whose owners were not legally obliged to take care of improving the welfare and living conditions of the population. City owners solved these issues differently, demonstrating a wide range of approaches, from apathy and ignorance to spending large sums of money on these needs. Progressive approaches were used mainly by well-known wealthy noble families. For instance, in Kyiv province, this category included the Branytskys, a wealthy noble family, who were the owners of several cities and towns, took a proper care of landscaping and the social sphere in general. In particular, in Smila, Cherkasy district, already during the 1860-ies, there was a fire brigade, which was maintained by the city owners. In Bila Tserkva, on the other hand, brokerage fees were spent on paving the streets. At the same time, in the county of Lypovka, which belonged to the Strutynskys family, no funds were allocated from the city budget for any public needs, let alone sanitation. Even in the region's capital, Kyiv, there was less than a half of paved streets at the beginning of the 1850-ies. There were no paved streets at all in Lybidska, Kurenivska and Zvirynetska parts of the city. The presence of 13 paved streets in Pechersk and Podil did not change the situation significantly. After floods and heavy rains, streams of water literally flowed down from the Dnieper hills. In 1845, a large-scale flood of the Dnieper damaged or destroyed 500 houses – almost 10% of the total number of houses at that time. This main river artery, along with the rains, was the only source of drinking water. Centralized water supply appeared much later, in 1872. In most of the 127 wells of that period “the water tasted bad and it was unsuitable for a human consumption” (Funduklej, 1852, pp. 333, 346–348).

In the middle of the XIXth century the complete absence of paved streets was a characteristic feature of the vast majority of county towns in the three Right-Bank provinces. The absence of paved streets was a negative factor not only in terms of communication but also in terms of sanitation. Among the exceptions in Kyiv province there was Berdychiv, a commercially developed town, and to a lesser extent – Uman, the military town, where slow paving began at the beginning of the 1850-ies. In Volyn and Podillia paving the streets was typical of provincial centers only. In several counties (Dubno, Kremenets and Novohrad-Volynskiy) one central street was paved (Zabelin, 1850, p. 72).

In the 1860-ies, during the preparation of the city reform, in the official documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs it was repeatedly emphasized to maintain the proper condition of the bridges at the squares in front of the government buildings and military departments; annual allocation of funds for paving the main streets first, and then the secondary streets; taking care of small streets, shorelines, embankments and piers. A gradual realization of these intentions in practice became possible only after the approval of “The City Regulations” in 1870. The law stated that the external landscaping improvement and population welfare belonged to the competence of the public administration elected bodies (Polnoe sobranie zakonov, 1874, pp. 18–183).

Due to the fact that the elected authorities formation lasted for more than a decade (in the majority of the Right-Bank county centers the first elections took place only in 1880 – 1882), the results of their activities were not immediately noticeable in the sphere of landscaping and sanitation. “At the end of the 1870-ies Mohyliv, one of the best county centers of Podillia, was considered to be developed in trade and industry; among other towns – Medzhybizh, which until 1837, was under the control of the military department. That is why, it was “tidier and more beautiful than all cities and towns of the province” (Dnestr i Pridnestrov’e, 1878, pp. 4–6, 33–34).

In the 1880-ies, in Volyn Starokostiantyniv was negatively described as a “big and very dirty city”. For a long time it did not have its own authorities and was subordinated to Novohrad-Volynskiyi. That is why, the level of improvement was minimal. There were no pavements, instead, there were wooden sidewalks, or large logs across the streets for pedestrians. Lanterns illuminated only two main streets. Mykola Zuts, a researcher of the city’s history at that time, explained the local unsanitary and unhygienic conditions by a number of factors: 1) pollution of rivers into which the population dumped household waste and sewage; 2) the presence of a large dam for water mills, which formed a lake without runoff with moldy shores; 3) a large number of the Jews, who inhabited the area densely, without fences and outbuildings, often keeping cattle in the streets; 4) the location of the slaughterhouse almost in the center of the city, the waste from which was also dumped into the river; 5) the location of the city on the plains, which delayed the flow of precipitation, and the soil dried up only owing to evaporation and warm air; 6) the proximity of several cemeteries – “The Orthodox cemetery is separated from the city only by a ditch, the Catholic cemetery – by a street, and the old Jewish cemetery is located in the city, on the river bank, and it is so closed by surrounding buildings, that it is almost invisible” (Zuc, 1884, pp. 21–23).

At the end of the XIXth century Kyiv stood out in terms of the level of landscaping, where several commissions had been working in the city council since the 1870-ies, including bridge commission, water supply commission, sanitary commission, market and city parks commission. Among the progressive actions of that time, which contributed to the welfare improvement and sanitary and hygienic situation, the following achievements should be mentioned: construction of a water supply system (1872), centralized sewerage (1894) and sanitary epidemiological station (1905), the creation of a network of urban slaughterhouses and the closure of private ones (1888), the transition to the consumption of exclusively artesian water (1910) (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 521, c. 215, 76 p.; CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 661, c. 19, 72 p.; State Archives of Kyiv Region – SAKR, f. 145, c. 995, 45 p.; State Archives in the City of Kyiv – SACK, f. 41, c. 5941, 90 p.). However, the most problematic were the working suburbs – Shuliavka, Solomianka, Kurenivka and Demiiivka. The local unsanitary conditions, due to the low level of a material well-being and

the special concentration of the local population (at the end of the XIXth century, more than 16 000 people lived there), were unprecedented during that period of time.

In Volyn, there was a proper landscaping in Zhytomyr province only, the rest towns “were extremely dirty”. Novohrad-Volynskiyi, Dubno and Kremenets looked relatively neat, other county centers “impressed with their unhygienic appearance”, one or two streets were paved. There were no paved streets in Volodymyr-Volynskiyi, Ovruch and Starokostiantyniv (Zabelin, 1887, pp. 351–359). In some towns self-government bodies made house owners responsible for repairing bridges and sidewalks. This situation, in particular, was observed in Lutsk, when in 1890 the city council failed at “demanding from house owners to repair the pavement” in Starokovelska street. Only in 1904 Volyn provincial city affairs government the indicated the illegality of such actions. The same year, a separate resolution of Vinnytsia City Duma was approved “on the maintenance of city streets, sidewalks and squares and a ban to release pets in city streets”. As a sanction for this violation there was used “detention of domestic animals and poultry” with the subsequent fine and payment for feeding during the entire period of their detention, without any responsibility for possible illness or death of domestic animals. If the owner of the cattle was not identified within three days, it was handed over to the local police for further sale (State Archives of Volyn Region – SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 59–60, 413).

In 1907 the issue of proper condition maintaining of city squares and streets was raised at the level of the Technical and Construction Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire. The Committee conclusions, which were sent to different provinces, concerned, inter alia, the rules of arrangement of sidewalks and the competence of city administrations to regulate this sphere (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 212–214).

At the beginning of the XXth century provincial centers continued to occupy leading positions concerning the level of landscaping, living comfort and public places arrangement. However, some individual indicators did not have a clear picture. For instance, in Kyiv the centralized water supply system, as already mentioned, had been functioning since 1872, in Berdychiv – since 1896, in Zhytomyr – since 1898. Instead, in Podillia, the corresponding process began only during the 1910-ies: in Proskurov – in 1910, in Vinnytsia and Kamianets-Podilskiyi – in 1912 (Donik, 2019, p. 339). In Kamianets-Podilskiyi the issue was to be resolved at the end of the 1890-ies, but was initially delayed due to resistance from more than 100 house owners, who considered the proposed conditions unfavourable. Then this issue was delayed due to limited financial resources. Instead, there was a problem with buying land from private owners in Vinnytsia. In 1904 one of the options for obtaining water from the Buh River provided for “mandatory costs for the purchase of land from a private owner for 14 000 rubles”. The City Duma recognized such a price as “excessive and inconsistent with the real value” (State Archives of Vinnytsia Region – SAViR, f. 230, d. 1, c. 982, pp. 3v, 8). At the same time, self-government bodies received projects and proposals for the project implementation regularly. Five different companies responded from Odesa. From Novhorod-Siversk it was offered to prepare an estimate, from Vinnytsia – materials delivery, from Zhmerynka – various equipment (generator engines, pumps and pipes), from Warsaw – a comprehensive solution for the construction of water supply and sewerage, etc., not to mention workers. Traditionally, the main problem was the lack of money, as well as bureaucratic obstacles. In addition, obtaining a loan from the treasury was delayed due to the inability to agree on the future price of water for public institutions (SAViR, f. 230, d. 1, c. 982, pp. 11–26, 42–43).

Concerning the issue in other cities, it was common to delay the process deliberately not only to maximize profits for the community. This delay also happened under the influence of various lobbying circles. The epic with the construction of the water supply system in Lutsk lasted for more than a decade. In 1896 the first project was submitted to the Duma by Mykola Falberg, Kyiv merchant, and Roman Kravets, an engineer. For the unknown reasons, this suggestion was not considered by Lutsk authorities. In 1908 the second project was sent from Baku by Alexander Kancel, an engineer, who promised to “build, to maintain and to repair the water supply system at his own expense” for 38 years. A later version of the document suggested banning water supply by water carriers, which may have led to the rejection of such idea. The example of Zhytomyr, where the water supply system was built at its own expense, also hindered the implementation of the concession. However, Lutsk did not have the necessary funds, that is why, the process was delayed. The discussion about the source of water supply was added – from the Styr River or an artesian well. During 1909 – 1914 various proposals were sent to the Duma regularly, from representatives of Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Homel and even from intermediaries of London firm. In 1910 even the governor of Volyn, Oleksandr Kutaisov, and the police department tried to speed up the resolution of the issue, demanding at least the expansion of artesian wells network (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 160, pp. 1–4). However, the city remained without water until the mid-1930-ies. Until that time, the majority of the population received water by means of water carriers, and even from those places, where there was a quay for cargo boats. In 1906 – 1907, “traders turned the places for water collection into a pier because these places were paved not only to the river, but even 2 – 3 yards into the river” – it was said in a statement of the city council (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 141–143). The preparations for the introduction of electric lighting lasted for almost 20 years. These preparations were similar to the described situation with the construction of water supply system in Lutsk. For the first time the city council announced a corresponding competition in 1890. The electric power station started functioning only in 1909 (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 26, pp. 7–9).

It should be understood that even in spite of availability of the described civilization benefits, not everyone could use them. The reasons were both subjective personal factors (lack of money to pay for services among for poor residents) and objective factors. The latter include, for instance, the limited length of the existing water supply system. In this situation, some parts of the city, remoted from the center or the river, did not have access to the centralized water supply. In Zhytomyr the residents of Pavlykivka suburb were in the same situation. In 1898 they even asked the governor of Volyn to extend the water supply system. In the document, which was forwarded to Oleksandr Davydovsky, the mayor, it was stated that the house owners of two Pavlykivka streets (250 houses) were in fact left without water, because there was no water supply system in this area, water carriers refused to deliver water due to the remoteness of the nearest water supply booth. The location of the suburb on the hill made it impossible to have water from wells. However, due to the “disadvantage for the city to carry out such an expensive pipe system and construction of a booth”, the request was rejected (State Archives of Zhytomyr Region – SAZR, f. 62, d. 1, c. 830, pp. 2–3).

If the water supply system eventually appeared in several Right-Bank cities, the issue of sewerage, which existed only in Kyiv before World War I, was much more difficult to resolve. Although it was a social useful issue but it was much less profitable. In 1890 in Kyiv during the preparation for the beginning of work, “commercial people... realized well that the functioning of the city sewer could not be the subject of a profitable commercial enterprise” –

said Arthur Abramson, an engineer (Trudy, 1902, p. 33). The whole process lasted from 1879 to 1894, beginning with the creation of a special commission by the City Duma to study the relevant issue and ending with the project approval and the funds allocation (SACK, f. 163, d. 7, c. 1362, pp. 59–65).

However, this did not save the city from the seasonal outbreaks of the cholera epidemic, particularly during 1907 – 1910. The poor Kyivans were at the greatest risk (“the disease constructs its hut, especially where there is a crowd of poor people, who starve and drink raw water”). Ipolite Diakov, the mayor, appealed to the population to donate money and food (Po Ukraini, 1908, p. 3). In 1908 the local self-government bodies spent 51 000 rubles to fight cholera, and at the end of the year the decision was made to allocate another 14 000 rubles. To overcome the epidemic, the city authorities decided to use artesian water instead the water from the Dnieper. After that, the cholera cases began to decrease. Bila Tserkva was the centre of cholera epidemic in Kyiv province. However, in 1909 the following autumn, a new outbreak began in Kyiv. Then at police units there were allocated special sanitary carriages for patients transportation to hospitals. During two months (from the end of August till the end of October) 55 people died of cholera (Po Ukraini, 1909, p. 3). In 1910 it was planned to allocate 10 000 rubles to fight the epidemic diseases. The spread of cholera since the end of May ruined these plans, because only for the maintenance of medical staff 4,5 thousand rubles had to be spent per month, and at the beginning of August – an additional loan of 15 thousand rubles was taken. It is worth mentioning that such situation was typical not only of Kyiv, but in fact, of every city and even some villages. For instance, in Uman during the week of the end of July – the beginning of August of 1910, 45 people died of cholera, in Cherkasy during a slightly longer period – 63 people. However, as compared to the outbreaks of the previous decades, there was marked the reduction in scale. Thus, in 1872 in Kyiv almost 3 thousand people fell ill with cholera and 1376 died, and in 1892 – almost 2 thousand fell ill and 659 people died (Kyivske ukrainske naukove tovarystvo, 1907, p. 5; Po Ukraini, 1910, p. 3).

Functioning of sewage had not only positive consequences. We mean the deterioration of the ecological situation of the river reservoirs and atmosphere. This situation was recorded in the areas to the South of Kyiv in 1911. Residents of country settlements, as well as the villages of Mysholovka and Korchuvate, Konyk hamlet complained that urban sewage descended to the Dnieper Bay, polluting the air and the water. In the summer of 1911, the peasants of these settlements even sent a complaint to the governor, but as a result they were obliged to dig wells to have water for consuming (Po Ukraini, 1911, pp. 2–3).

On the eve of World War I, the Right-Bank cities took a significant step towards tidying up the streets and public places. In Kyiv the work on the arrangement of suburbs and parts of the city was done at that time actively. The work was done by some specialized companies, for instance, the landscaping of of “Zabaikivya” or “Karavayevi dachi”. In several developed county centers (Berdychiv, Vinnytsia, Mohyliv, Rivne and Uman) such civilization achievements as electric lighting and telephone were already available, fire brigades worked as well. Centralized water supply, except for the provincial centers, functioned only in Berdychiv and Uman. In Berdychiv there was even a city sanitary doctor, who carried out an appropriate supervision and control. Cherkasy city was a little behind, where there was a telephone line, the electric power station was built in 1913. The construction of water supply system was only planned. Instead, the majority of the cities and towns did not have all of the above-mentioned civilization achievements. There usually were the telegraphs, sometimes the telephone lines (in Haisyn, Kaniv), the fire brigades / squads (in Nova Ushytsia,

Skvyra, Chyhyryn), fire convoys (in Kovel) or societies (in Kremenets, Ostroh), the electric power stations (in Balta, Zhmerynka, Lutsk, Proskuriv) (Ves' Yugo-Zapadnyj kraj, 1913, pp. 470–1078). Bila Tserkva and Uman differed significantly in the sphere of landscaping but in these towns everything was done on a private initiative. In Kremenets the local Epiphany fraternity set up the “city garden” with benches and fence and planned to transfer it to city property. However, the members of the city council did not find time to adopt the appropriate act, possibly, guided by considerations about the lack of money to maintain the green zone (CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 643, c. 1, pp. 22–24).

Instead, Chyhyryn “represented a sad picture... it looked neglected, disorganized... the streets were not paved, there was no lighting, no water supply, no sewerage; there was only a telephone line that connected some points of the county, but not available to ordinary mortals”; “Volodymyr-Volynskyi is currently lagging behind not only economically but also culturally” – it was stated in the directory of 1913 (Ves' Yugo-Zapadnyj kraj, 1913, pp. 651, 716). At the same time in Vasylkiv, the press was indignant that the central market square, where zemstvo, city and burgher councils were located, “the same as previously, it is swept only a few times a year, especially on the eve of major holidays or before the arrival of some great authorities”. In this regard, at the square there was accumulated “such a force of all smell that even a person accustomed to it cannot always pass through it without covering his nose” (Od vlasnykh korespondentiv, 1913, p. 3).

Gradually, the fight against an illegal production, which polluted the air and water bodies, such as soap and salt mills, warehouses where animal by-products were stored, became separate spheres of cities administrations' activity, as well as the introduction of strict rules for the proper sanitation of meat shops, stores and friedge warehouses. The flooding of the streets during the seasonal rains, primarily unpaved, was overcome by approving resolutions on the obligation of house owners to install gutters with drainage under sidewalks (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 343, 384–385, 449). Taking into consideration the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, even the supervision of prostitution had a sanitary component and was carried out under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the provincial government with the participation of the police and a doctor-inspector (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 598, pp. 2–10).

It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the XXth century city councils began to share experience on various issues of management and landscaping actively, for instance, the ways of construction of water supply system or electric lighting, street infrastructure improvement, the activities regulations of commercial and industrial facilities, etc.

The Conclusions. The analysis of the sources illustrates the following: during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries in the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine, with some exceptions, the activities to improve landscaping and sanitation were gradually intensified. At that time, especially at the turn of the centuries, local governments received many suggestions from individuals and organizations to implement, on various terms, such projects as water supply and electric lighting. However, bureaucratic obstacles, lobbying practices, or administrative interventions prevented the rapid transition from projects discussion and analysis to their implementation. Instead, the implementation of such initiatives as paving the streets, squares and sidewalks, landscaping, control of the sanitary condition of public places, fire safety, etc., required significant funds without a direct profit. Thus, on the eve of World War I the majority of the county centers of Right-Bank Ukraine, let alone small towns, had significant problems in the sphere of landscaping. In the general cohort there differentiated the county cities significantly (first of all Kyiv, then Zhytomyr, less

developed – Kamianets-Podilsky) and developed in trade and industry Berdychiv and Uman, a little less developed – Vinnytsia, Cherkasy, Rivne.

The results obtained and the available facts suggest the need for a more detailed study of such aspects of the problem as the lobbying impact of trade and industry on the activities of local governments in the implementation of large-scale infrastructure projects, a daily life of working-class suburbs, and etc.

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CHRISTIAN CLERGY IN THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVIVAL OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIXth – THE FIRST THIRD OF THE XXth CENTURY: MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Abstract. *The purpose of the research – to represent and analyze the latest studies on the history of cultural, educational, social and national organizing activities of the clergy during the period of the Ukrainian national and cultural revival of the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century. First of all, attention is paid to the coverage of the content of scientific works dedicated to the elucidation of the Orthodox, Greek-Catholic and Protestant clergy's contribution to the rise of the Ukrainian national movement and spiritual, religious revival. The study is based on a civilizational and socio-cultural methodology, a systematic scientific and conceptual approach to a historiographical analysis, the tools of which made it possible to achieve the priorities of scientificity and objectivity in the coverage of the historiographical facts, historicism and continuity in the formation of a historiographical narrative, interdisciplinarity and integration of historiographical conclusions. The scientific provisions are based on the principles of a confessional neutrality and worldview pluralism. **The research methodology** is inspired by the interpretation objectives of the historians' scientific achievements in analyzing the interactions of religious, ecclesiastical and cultural educational activities of the clergy of different denominations, clarification of their contribution to the spiritual revival of the Ukrainians. **The scientific novelty** of the presented study consists in the actualization, systematization and analysis of the latest historical researches, which deal with the cultural, educational activities of the clergy during the period of the Ukrainian national revival. To systematize the relevant historiographical narrative the thematic metaphorical concept of "Department of Historiography" has been introduced; the heuristic potential of modern historical studies for confessionally neutral and scientific interpretation of the place and role of the clerical factor in the Ukrainian national history has been considered. **The Conclusions.** In modern historiography the idea is traced that the religious, ecclesiastical and cultural educational activities of the clergy played an important role in the development and rise of the Ukrainian national movement during the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century.*

The process analysis of knowledge accumulation on the history of the clergy illustrates the following: historians focus on the study of cultural, educational, social work of the Orthodox, the Greek-Catholic and the Protestant clergy. It is on the basis of this principle that the historians are united into three so-called "Departments of Historiography". The historians consider the social mission of the Orthodox priests in a dualistic way, noting both their commitment to the Russian hierarchy as well as the national aspirations of some Orthodox priests to fight for the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy. The historians analyze the activities of the Greek-Catholic priests in the context of their orientation to an active socio-political activity, emphasizing the Ukrainian priorities of their ecclesiastical and national identity. Instead, the historians elucidate the initiatives of the Protestants in the context of the new socio-economic realities of the imperial era (ethics of capitalism), emphasizing the significant contribution of the Protestant pastors to the development of interreligious relations in Ukraine during the period under analysis. A positive feature of a modern historiography is the erosion of the Soviet atheistic historiographical paradigm and historians' refusal from the one-sided reception of the historical process. The fact is also important that the vast majority of historians, who specialized in religion and church, did not mechanically change their atheistic approach to a confessional one, but they still adhere to a rationalist research paradigm, forming scientific postulates on the priorities of scientificity, objectivity and a confessional neutrality.

Key words: Ukrainian national cultural revival, modern Ukrainian historiography, "Departments of Historiography", religion, church, clergy, the Orthodox priests, the Greek-Catholic priests, protestantism, spirituality, clericalism, religious and church revival.

ХРИСТІАНСЬКЕ ДУХОВЕНСТВО В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОМУ ВІДРОДЖЕННІ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XIX – ПЕРШОЇ ТРЕТИНИ XX СТОЛІТТЯ: НОВІТНЯ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – представити та проаналізувати новітні студії з історії культурно-просвітницької, соціально- та національно-організуючої діяльності духовенства в добу українського національно-культурного відродження другої половини XIX – першої третини XX століття. Увагу, насамперед, приділено висвітленню змісту наукових доробків, які присвячені розкриттю внеску православного, греко-католицького та протестантського священства в піднесенні українського національного руху та духовно-релігійного відродження. В основі дослідження – цивілізаційна та соціокультурна **методологія**, системний науково-концептуальний підхід історіографічного аналізу, інструментарій яких дав змогу досягти пріоритетів науковості та об'єктивності у висвітленні історіографічних фактів, історизму та наступності в побудові історіографічного наративу, міждисциплінарності та інтеграції історіографічних висновків. Наукові положення висунувано на основі принципів конфесійної нейтральності та світоглядного плюралізму. **Методологія** дослідження інспірована завданнями інтерпретації наукового доробку вчених-істориків щодо аналізу взаємовпливів релігійно-церковної та культурно-просвітницької діяльності духовенства різних конфесій, з'ясування їхнього внеску в духовне відродження українців. **Наукова новизна** представленої студії полягає в актуалізації, систематизації та аналізу новітніх історичних досліджень, які присвячені культурно-просвітницькій діяльності духовенства в добу українського національного відродження. Для систематизації відповідного історіографічного наративу введено тематично-метафоричне поняття "історіографічна катедра", розглянуто евристичний потенціал сучасних історичних студій для конфесійно нейтральної та наукової інтерпретації місця і ролі клерикального чинника в українській національній історії. **Висновки.** У новітній історіографії прослідковується думка про те, що релігійно-церковна та культурно-просвітницька діяльність духовенства відіграла вагомий роль у розвитку та піднесенні українського національного руху другої половини XIX – першої третини XX століття. Аналіз процесу нагромадження знань з історії діяльності духовенства свідчить, що вчені зосереджуються на вивченні культурно-

просвітницької, суспільної та соціальної роботи православного, греко-католицького та протестантського кліру. Саме на основі такого принципу істориків об'єднано на трьох т. зв. "історіографічних катедрах". Суспільну місію православних священиків історики розглядають дуалістично, відзначаючи як його ангажованість до російської ієрархії, так й національні устремління частини православних священиків щодо боротьби за автокефалію українського православ'я. Діяльність греко-католицьких отців історики вивчають у контексті їхньої спрямованості до активної суспільно-політичної діяльності, акцентуючи увагу на українських пріоритетах їхньої еклізіальної та національної ідентичності. Натомість ініціативи протестантів учені висвітлюють у контексті нових соціально-економічних реалій імперської доби (етика капіталізму), наголошуючи на помітному внеску протестантських пасторів у розвиток міжрелігійних відносин у тогочасній Україні. Позитивною ознакою сучасної історіографії є ерозія радянської атеїстичної історіографічної парадигми та відхід істориків від однобічного сприйняття історичного процесу. Важливим є й той факт, що переважна більшість істориків релігії та церкви не механічно змінила атеїстичний підхід на конфесійний, а все ж дотримуються раціоналістичної дослідницької парадигми, вибудовує наукові положення на пріоритетах науковості, об'єктивності та конфесійної нейтральності.

Ключові слова: українське національно-культурне відродження, українська новітня історіографія, "історіографічна катедра", релігія, церква, духовенство, православні священики, греко-католицькі священики, протестантизм, духовність, клерикальність, релігійно-церковне відродження.

The Problem Statement. Each period of the Ukrainian national history, phenomenon or event has its creators. In the academic narrative, they are called differently – passionaries, "awakeners", leaders and heroes. The Ukrainian history legitimized the postulate that the engines of social progress can be alternately both: a political elite as well as intelligentsia, who during different periods performed a historically determined mission. This was also during the imperial era of the Ukrainian national revival – in the place of the political struggle for the state independence, a spiritual and cultural revival was widely developed, which was headed by literary, scientific, artistic, pedagogical and clerical intelligentsia. The clergy, primarily of the Greek-Catholics, and to a lesser extent of the Orthodox and Protestant denominations, played an exceptional role in the constellation of cultural and national "awakeners" of that period.

In general, historical experience illustrates the fact that the role of one of the cementing enzymes of the Ukrainian nation was always played by a religious factor, because religion and spirituality were the basis of a cultural uplift during the so-called stateless periods of national progress such as the early New Age (restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy, the activities of Peter Mohyla, book publishing, etc.) and the era of a national cultural revival (a religious substantiation of the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy, a national educational activity of the Greek-Catholic clergy, the struggle for the autocephalous church, etc.). The interest in religious issues is growing at the present stage of the Ukrainian independence. The spiritual and religious intentions of a social dialogue acquire the status of an important component and a necessary basis for building a democratic society. Nowadays, once again during the national independence of Ukraine, the public demand for a universal recognition of the acquired locus of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is urgent and acute, and the civic position of giving it an equal status in the family of the Orthodoxy world sounds more confident. Such processes are quite natural, because the society is increasingly aware of the fact that religion and church are a necessary component of building the state and civic institutions. Religion and church play the role of a valuable semantic foundation of a national, cultural and spiritual revival.

In the modern historical knowledge, the history of religions and church life gradually acquires the status of a full-fledged subject of the study. This is, primarily, due to the democratization of a historical discourse, modernization of the methodology of the Ukrainian historical science on the basis of civilizational and socio-cultural tools, as well as getting rid of the Soviet stereotypes and atheistic stereotypes in reproducing the content of the Ukrainian national history. New functions of a modern historiography require systematization and understanding of the works on the church-religious life of Ukraine, which will significantly contribute to the actualization and rehabilitation of the essential role of religion and church in modern socio-cultural, socio-political and foreign integration strategies.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. In modern historical science, a large number of researches have been devoted to the functioning of denominations and the activities of the clergy in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian-Austrian period, the era of the Ukrainian national democratic revolution and the first years of the Bolshevik atheistic rule. At the same time, the historiographical understanding is much more modest. The following historians conducted the studies on the review of the modern researches on the cultural and educational activities of the Orthodox clergy: S. Hladkyi (1997), A. Kolodnyi and P. Yarotskyi (1999), O. Ihnatush (2004), V. Mesha (2008), P. Radko (2011), H. Nadтока and I. Horpynchenko (2013) and the others. The historiographical reviews of works, which deal with public initiatives of the Greek-Catholic clergy of the period under study are included into the publications of O. Turiiia (2001), I. Balias (2013), R. Deliatynskyi (2017) and the others. Some historiographical aspects of the activities of the Protestant pastors during the imperial era are presented in the studies of V. Liubashchenko (1996), O. Bezsonova (1998), R. Sitarchuk (2009) and the others.

At the same time, due to the democratization of a public life and the erosion of the atheistic scientific paradigm, nowadays historians have new opportunities to study a wide but academically sporadically updated layer of religious and church clerical history. The scientific space is replenished with new historical syntheses, which deal with the activities of the Orthodox, the Greek-Catholic and the Protestant clergy during the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century. This, in its turn, determines the importance of a historiographical systematization and understanding, and thus, actualization in the context of modern challenges.

The Purpose of the Article. The article deals with the historiographical analysis of the modern studies on the history of cultural, educational, social and national organizing activities of the clergy during the period of the Ukrainian national and cultural revival of the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century. First of all, attention will be paid to the presentation of scientific works on the history of the Orthodox, the Greek-Catholic, the Protestant clergy, as well as the clergy of the Ukrainian old believers.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Typical features of modern historiography, dealing with the study of the progress of the church-religious tradition of Christianity in Ukraine, is the formation of new historiographical schools, which can be called the Ukrainian Orthodox, the Greek-Catholic and the Protestant concepts. Some of the historiographical schools representatives are characterized by the legitimation of a confessional methodology, which leads to a somewhat engaged coverage of historical events, reveals the desire of the authors to recognize a particular denomination the main spiritual and institutional representative of the Ukrainian people (Mesha, 2008, p. 234). At the same time, the vast majority of historians, who specialize in religion and church, follow a rationalist approach, forming scientific postulates on the priorities of the modern methodology of a historical science.

Among the large array of publications the publishing projects “History of Religions in Ukraine” are of a theoretical and methodological significance for the coverage of the place and role of the Christian clergy in the national movement (A. Kolognyi (1997, 1999, 2001, 2008, 2002) and P. Yarotskyi (1997, 2001, 2002, 2008)) and “History of the Church and Religious Thought in Ukraine” (O. Kryzhanivsky, S. Plokhii (1994)). In these scientific syntheses there was initiated a systematic study of the interaction and mutual influences of religious church and cultural educational activities of the clergy during the process of a national cultural revival. On the basis of a rich set of thematic primary sources historians covered not only the social, confessional and legal status of the clergy, but also considered the clergy’s activities in a wide range of interfaith relations, studied the educational, scientific (theological) activities of priests. The image of the clergy appears in the whole set of contemporary religious ecclesiastical and socio-political contradictions.

At the same time, the majority of researches on the analysis of the social status, activities and significance of the priesthood in the development of the national life of the Ukrainians still specialize in accordance with three major Christian denominations. That is why, in our opinion, all existing studies should be systematized into three groups, which, according to the specifics of the topic, we will name “Department of Historiography” – the thematic and metaphorical term (in association with the church institutional idea of the department as a symbol of the bishop’s power and the unity of the clergy of a particular denomination). The departments of historiography combine scientific researches on the history of the Orthodox, the Greek-Catholic and the Protestant clergy of the period under study.

The first “Department of Historiography” represents the scientific works in which the place and role of the Orthodox clergy in the Ukrainian social and national processes of the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century were analyzed. Among the rich cohort of scientists, the priority in studying this topic belonged to such historians as: A. Boyko (2002), B. Boyko (2010), V. Borshevych (2008), S. Hladkyi (1997), S. Zhyliuk (2002, 2005), O. Ihnatusha (2004), A. Kyrydon (2005), A. Kolodnyi (1997, 1999), K. Krainiy (2000), O. Kryzhanovska (2001), V. Mesha (2007), H. Nadtoka (1998), V. Pashchenko (1993, 1994), V. Pererva (2002), A. Ratsilevyh (2005), V. Rozhko (2001, 2007), O. Sahan (2001), V. Sylantiev (2005), P. Slobodyaniuk (2000), Ye. Snida (2016), A. Starodub (2010), N. Stokolos (2003), Yu. Khytrovska (2001), N. Shyp (1997), P. Yarotskyi (1997) and the others.

The majority of historians, who analyzed the activities of the Orthodox Church, is characterized by the recognition of the involvement of the Orthodox clergy in the development of the Ukrainian national and cultural movement of the XIXth –beginning of the XXth century. Thus, in the researches of P. Slobodyaniuk and V. Mesha it is emphasized that during the period of a national revival Ukrainophile tendencies spread among the clergy of Ukrainian dioceses, the clergy’s resistance to Russification grew, which manifested itself in the modernization of educational and cultural activities of the church (Slobodianiuk, 2000; Mesha, 2007). Illustrating the relevant theses on the example of Volyn Orthodox clergy, O. Rybko wrote in the article that in 1917, at the meeting of the diocese the priests supported the autonomy of Ukraine, approved the introduction of the Ukrainian language and ethnography of the native land in theological schools (Rybko, 2013, p. 136). Emphasizing the involvement of the clergy of the Orthodox Church in revolutionary and social events, the clergy’s focus on the Ukrainization and democratization of the church sphere, the historians paid attention to the

factors, which put back the social initiatives of nationally conscious priests: the confrontation of the conservative wing of the pro-Russian clergy, misunderstanding of the ultimate social goal, destabilization of economic life, and etc. (Rybko, 2013, p. 139).

The historians emphasized that in the Ukrainian lands, during the imperial era, Orthodoxy developed in the forefront of the Russian Church. That is why, in historical syntheses a special place belonged to the understanding of the differences between the spiritual mentality of the Ukrainian and Russian clergy, which were manifested at the end of the XIXth century. In particular, O. Sahan wrote about this, who among the features of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy, singled out the priests' orientation to the idea of catholicity and the absence of a rigorous Caesaro-Papist tradition, the peace of an interfaith life, the integration of national rites into church ceremonies, etc. (Sahan, 2001, pp. 82–172).

The monograph “Confessional and Social aspects of the Development of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1875 – 1900” by V. Mesha is important for understanding the evolution of the Orthodox clergy's role in the socio-cultural processes of the last quarter of the XIXth century (Mesha, 2007). The historian, based on a rich array of primary sources, proposed a general portrait of the clergy of that period. Among the clergy's characteristics, he called a high level of education, the focus on democracy and catholicity in church government, which manifested itself in the election of priests, unwillingness to aggravate interfaith relations. The historian's assumption was also interesting: an insignificant popularity among the clergy of monastic asceticism was due to the mental characteristics of the Ukrainians, their cultural and historical development and the hybrid composition of the population. V. Mesha, like other fellow researchers, emphasized that the Orthodox clergy took an active part in a public, national and interfaith life and, despite the Russian jurisdiction, had a significant authority and ideological influence among the Ukrainians. The historians stated that the social status of the priest was determined by his functions during the pre-revolutionary era. The priest was a teacher of the faith, he satisfied the needs of his fold, a ruler of the parish, a keeper of jewels, a caretaker of church buildings. In addition, the priest was entrusted with numerous responsibilities of a secular nature, including notarial functions: keeping metric books, etc. (Kyrydon, 2005, p. 320).

An attribute of a modern historiography was the consideration of the activities of the Orthodox clergy in the context of the socio-cultural portrait of the intelligentsia of that period (Kasianov, 1993; Danylenko, 2013). The clergy was not homogeneous in terms of values and ideology. S. Danylenko wrote about this: “On the one hand, a part of the Ukrainian clergy grew stronger, who, after finishing the Russian school and breaking away from the masses, became very similar to the Russian clergy, increasingly distanced themselves from the people, faithfully served the tsar, and on the other hand – there grew the part of the Ukrainian clergy, who did not lose their national roots, signs of a national and religious mentality, showed interest in people's lives, the desire to promote a national and cultural revival” (Danylenko, 2013, p. 128).

In addition, the historian emphasized that a clear evidence of the national and cultural potential of the Orthodox clergy was the fact that many well-known politicians, educators, scientists and cultural figures originated either from priestly families or obtained a clerical education themselves. We should mention the following personalities among them: V. Domanytsky, P. Fylypovych, E. Borysov, S. Petliura, V. Blakytny, V. Holubovych, V. Sadovsky, E. Terletsky, O. Salikovsky, S. Yefremov, O. Lototsky, V. Durdukivsky and the others. The clergy's children, due to the possibilities of their parents, had a more open

access to education, and the Ukrainian element of a rural life contributed to the formation of a national self-consciousness, their own national “Ego” (Danylenko, 2013, p. 128).

Analyzing the activities of the Orthodox clergy, the historians stated that one of the clergy’s most important vectors was the spread of printed periodicals. We mean, primarily, the diocesan periodicals, such as the “Kyiv Diocesan Journal”, the “Chernihiv Diocesan Journal”, the “Poltava Diocesan Journal” and the others. Scientists such as A. Boyko (2002), L. Denysko (2001), and O. Chyrkova (1998) devoted the scientific researches to the study of the information package, authorship and content of the published materials. Of a particular informative value was the system catalogue of the religious Orthodox periodicals of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries compiled by L. Denysko. The religious Orthodox periodicals are available to the researcher in the funds of V. I. Vernadsky NLU (Denysko, 2001). The historians emphasized that at that time the content of the Orthodox Church’s press was largely subordinated to the ideological line of the Russian Empire and the national peculiarities of the Orthodoxy were ignored and silenced.

In recent historiography, the issues of a material support of the Orthodox clergy were also considered. Thus, I. Shuhaleva stated that at the end of the XIXth century the situation of both rural and urban parish clergy was difficult and largely depended on the donations of parishioners. Priests had three sources of income: church land, payment for needs and public maintenance, but the income from the sources was not always enough for the priest and his family (Shuhaleva, 2011, p. 69). We find interesting the description of a typical parish priest’s portrait, which was proposed by H. Stepanenko: “... has no stable material base, is in a constant care of bread for his, mostly large, family, oppressed by the state authorities and diocesan bishops, despised by a liberal society” (Stepanenko, 2004, p. 47). Priests interacted mainly with the peasantry. As V. Mesha wrote, the peasantry, being the main bearer of the Orthodox faith and the most massive participant in all social processes, became the main object of care on the part of the Orthodox clergy. This interaction was complex and contradictory both in form and consequences. Pastors were involved both into security and peacekeeping activities among peasants, and in the direct support of one of the sides in social conflicts, which weakened the authority of the church (Mesha, *Pravoslavna tserkva...*, 2008, p. 175).

During World War I the situation and opportunities for cultural and educational activities of the Orthodox parish clergy in the Ukrainian lands in the Russian Empire became more complicated. Priests, along with the fold, felt a full burden of the war. However, they did not stop educating people. They spread Christianity and preached the Orthodox morality. Thus, “The Diocesan Journal” of all dioceses (there were 9) published sermons of a religious and patriotic content. The journal called on the population to help the state during the war. Priests also acted as a kind of psychologists, took care of infirmaries, conducted spiritual, educational and explanatory agitative work (Stepanenko, 2004, pp. 49–50).

The historians also emphasize that the national liberation struggle of 1917 – 1921, although significantly influenced the socio-political changes in the the clergy’s state, did little to improve the material situation of the clergy. Instead, the Bolshevik government, in general, intended to liquidate the church institution by starting the case of requisitioning the church property (Shuhalova, 2011, p. 71).

A. Kiridon’s extensive research is devoted to the peculiarities of the activity of the clergy (“ministers of the cult”) during the Soviet era of the 1920-ies and the 1930-ies. The historian analyzed thoroughly the personnel and social composition of the clergy, considered the issues of the clergy’s education and training, drew attention to the fiscal system of the Bolsheviks,

who imposed enormous taxes on the clergy, both in cash and natural goods. The researcher emphasized that the marginalized position of priests was due to the official atheistic course of the state: “In the Soviet reality of the 20–30-ies of the previous century the clergy was faced with the need to solve quite difficult problems, in particular, concerning the determination of their place in the social structure, the functioning of parishes, the struggle for the masses in opposition to the communist ideology, the position concerning the course of the intra-church struggle, the provision of an elementary physical existence, etc.” (Kyrydon, 2005, p. 320).

In general, the cultural and educational activities of the Orthodox clergy of the Ukrainian national revival are quite widely reflected in modern historiography. Historians, without doubting the significant contribution of the Orthodox clergy to the spiritual, religious and cultural development of the Ukrainians of that period, nevertheless emphasized the significant influence of the Russian Orthodoxy, which eliminated the development of the national component in the Ukrainian Orthodox environment. At the same time, historians emphasized that the Orthodox clergy made significant efforts to spread the biblical truths, moral and ethical principles of the individual’s existence in the society, which resulted in a significant religiosity of the population of that period.

If in the segment of a socio-cultural activity of the Orthodox clergy the national intentions were not widely developed, more successful were the initiatives of the Greek-Catholic clergy of the western Ukrainian lands, who won the status of “awakeners” of the national revival. Thus, at the second “Department of Historiography” we united the scientific studies that represent the social status and cultural, educational activities of the Greek-Catholic clergy. These are historical works of such scientists as R. Deliatynsky (2017), A. Zayarniuk (2012), N. Kolb (2010, 2013), U. Koshet (2007), R. Lekhniuk (2017), V. Rasevych (2012), O. Turiy (1994, 2000, 2001, 2003), I.-P. Khyrnka (1993) and the others. In the field of view of the historians are the following issues: the social status of the Greek-Catholic clergy, their social, educational and cultural activities, the specifics of a spiritual ecclesiology and civic identity and etc.

The historians, first of all, drew attention to the fact that the peculiarity of the status of the Greek-Catholic clergy was their integration into an active social, cultural and educational life. One of the vivid illustrations of a secular context of the priests’ work was their activity in reading-rooms, educational institutions, participation in public events. N. Kolb noted that the priests were the founders and leaders of reading-rooms, took an active part in discussing socio-political and socio-economic issues. In the reading-rooms, the priests took care of both socio-political, cultural artistic education of the population. They developed a sense of patriotism, deepened the spirituality of the population, explained the importance of historical, cultural and artistic values. In addition, pastors organized libraries, poetry, theatre and music parties (Kolb, 2010, p. 330-331).

One of the key theses of the historiography of the Greek-Catholic church was the issue that it played an exceptional role in the formation of the Ukrainian national consciousness and became a catalyst for the development of the Ukrainian national movement in Western Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth century. O. Turiy, wrote about this, in particular. He drew attention to the historical origins and formal features of the church: “... different church and ritual affiliation under the conditions of underdeveloped national consciousness was the formal barrier that marked the boundaries between the Ukrainian – a Greek-Catholic and the Polish – a Roman-Catholic. And this factor in the daily life of the average Galician was much more important and had “a practical implementation” than any dogmatic postulates or jurisdictional connections” (Turij, 2003, pp. 68–69).

The historians paid attention to the special status of the Union Church in Galicia, which determined the exceptional mission of the Greek-Catholic priests in the development of a national revival – they performed the duties of “awakeners”, intensified a public life, involved the population into cultural, educational, national and political activities (Turij, 2000, p. 115). During the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century the place and role of the Greek-Catholic hierarchy changed: from cultural and educational initiatives to an active participation in the socio-political life of Galicia.

The above-mentioned historian, N. Kolb, noted that since the 90-ies of the XXth century the Greek-Catholic parish clergy had been successfully integrated into various spheres of life of the Galicians of that time, among which the historian singled out the following: a political activity (participation of priests in the organization of election campaigns, which was considered not only a civic but also a pastoral duty; the support for various political forces and social movements, which contained a significant image and reputational risks for the clergy); a socio-economic activity (priests were the founders of economic centers, warehouses, church shops, organized the publication of the magazine “Master”, they were the members of “The Dniester” society, helped the population in matters of preservation and acquisition of property, took care of the fate of emigrants, etc.); a cultural, educational activity (defending the equal position of the Ukrainian language, organizing spelling discussions, campaigning for the publication of religious books in the Ukrainian language for the people, teaching the basics of religion at schools, a patriotic upbringing of youth, work in reading-rooms of “Prosvita”, creation of choirs in parishes, books publishing of a spiritual, religious content, etc.). The result of such activities, as summarized by N. Kolb, was that “... the Greek-Catholic parish clergy formed a numerous and important component of the Ukrainian Galician intelligentsia, retained influential social positions. This position of pastors was caused by the fact that, in addition to caring for the spiritual and religious life of the faithful, they were given the task to be a leader – an active participant in the national and socio-political movement. This combination provided the clergy with a high authority and a considerable influence on the social processes, but put the clergy under conditions of particularly high expectations, meticulous and harsh assessment by both: the politically active part of the society and the average citizen. It was the socio-political, not pastoral activity of the presbyter that often became the main measure of his influence and authority in the community, determined the position of the clergy in the society” (Kolb, 2013, pp. 283–299).

A separate subject of historians’ researches was the topic of a spiritual and national identity of the Greek-Catholic clergy. The historians paid attention to the clergy’s duality and ambivalence. When it came to spirituality, priests were in two guises: they could both actualize their Orthodox origin and appeal to their Catholic affiliation. The position was different when it came to the national and political issues. The Union priests emphasized the peculiarities of the Orthodox Church tradition. This situation had a positive effect on the development of the Ukrainian identity and played the role of a preventive mechanism for the assimilation processes. O. Turij noted that the inclination to Latin jurisdiction (the risk of Latin influence and Polishization) was balanced by the glorification of the Eastern tradition, which, at the same time, lowered the risks of Russification. It was this position and ambivalence that allowed the clergy not to succumb to either the pro-Polish or pro-Russian appeals, and thus to form and spread among the population their own Ukrainian spiritual and cultural national identity (Turij, 2003, pp. 75–76).

Comparing the level of participation of the Orthodox and Union clergy in the public life of the Ukrainians, historians emphasized both similarities and differences. Among the

common features there were, first of all, awareness of the importance of the religious factor in the process of a national revival and the priority of spiritual and ecclesial dimensions over political and national ones. Instead, the differences indicated the level of participation in a public life, the scale of cultural and educational activities, the level of awareness of a national identity and the clergy's own mission in the promotion of the national movement.

In the context of interfaith relations, the historians also analyze the situation of the Greek-Catholic clergy in the Ukrainian lands that were the part of Russia, for instance, in Volyn. The scientific works by I. Balias (2013), B. Boyko (2010), S. Zhyliuk (2010), N. Stokolos (2003) and the others deal with this topic. The historians noted that after the Polish uprising of 1830 – 1831, in which the Russian government accused Uniate priests, the process of liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church in Volyn began. It was carried out in stages – from the destruction of the Basilian Order and the change of rituals of the Greek-Catholics to the abolition of the Union in 1839 (Balias, 2013, pp. 141–142).

As we can see, a modern historiographical tradition has accumulated a considerable material, which generally gives a holistic and comprehensive picture of a spiritual and cultural mission of the Greek-Catholic clergy in the development and rise of the Ukrainian national movement in Western Ukraine. The historians substantiated the postulate that it was the Greek-Catholic clergy, who fulfilled the historical mission of “awakeners” of the Ukrainian society, and the clergy's socio-cultural activities were the center of a spiritual, cultural, educational and social life of the region.

At the third “Department of Historiography” we have grouped the historical researches, which deal with the activities of the Protestant pastors and the clergy of other religious movements, such as the Old Believers. Despite the fact that Protestantism did not become widespread in the Ukrainian society of the imperial era, there are still many historical studies on this issue. Nowadays, there are several scientific schools for the study of the Ukrainian Protestantism, the leading centers of which are located in Kyiv and Poltava. They are represented by the historical researches of such scientists as O. Beznosova (1998), V. Voynalovych, V. Yelensky, O. Ihnatusha, A. Kolodnyi (2002, 2008), P. Kravchenko (2005), V. Liubashchenko (1996), H. Nadтока (1998), V. Pashchenko (1994), R. Sitarchuk (2001, 2005, 2009), N. Stokolos (2003), O. Utkin, P. Yarotsky (2002, 2008) and the others.

The historians analyzed the development of Protestantism in Ukraine in the expansive context of their enlightenment and culture, scientific, literary and social activities. The historians noted that during the second half of the XIXth century, late Protestant movements became widespread in Ukraine – pentecostalism, adventism, which, along with baptism, occupied a prominent place in the socio-cultural life of that period. The researchers noted the hostile attitude of the Orthodox Church of that period to the activity spread of the Protestant pastors. As R. Sitarchuk emphasized, “... The Orthodox-Adventist relations were marked by tension and mutual opposition. The Russian Orthodox Church considered the Adventist movement as the threat to the current political regime, whose it was an unofficial component the Russian Orthodox Church was, and therefore initiated the struggle against the new religious movement. At the same time, the Russian Orthodox Church took preventive religious and educational measures and appealed to the government to make an administrative influence on its competitors in the religious space” (Sitarchuk, 2009, p. 8).

The most massive wave of the Protestant missionary work was the Mennonites. A leading scholar on the history of the Ukrainian Protestantism, V. Liubashchenko, noted that the Protestant work ethic corresponded to the Ukrainian realities of the end of the industrial

revolution. The Mennonites had great achievements in streamlining production and intensifying an agricultural development. Their convincing success ensured the growth of authority among the population, was the best means of spreading the Protestant doctrine. The main activity of the Protestant preachers was missionary work (Liubaschenko, 1996).

The Conclusions. The analysis of the outlined historiographical heritage allows us to conclude that the modern stage of the national history development, which is characterized by modernization of methodology based on anthropological and civilizational approaches, pluralism and polyphony of theories, the opening of the access to the archival sources, recognition of the religious and irrational as the necessary components of a social life, initiated a new historiographical direction – the history of religions and churches in Ukraine. Its important component is the study and understanding of the status, activities and a social significance of the clergy of different denominations. The historians, analyzing the place and role of cultural and educational activities of the Christian priesthood during the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century, pay attention to the clergy's integration into the broad Ukrainian national movement. The thesis that as a result of the national revival the clergy gained their own national and socio-political identification sounds polyphonic. The historians, rejecting the Soviet skeptical and atheistic non-recognition of the church as a factor of a social life, testify that the clergy was one of the creators of the Ukrainian national cultural (religious) revival and played a significant role in the theological ideological and value preparation for the future struggle, first of all, for the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy. The historians emphasize that the level and strength of the influence of the Christian clergy of different denominations was different. The researchers emphasize the exceptional importance of the Greek-Catholic clergy in the formation of the Galician national political and spiritual cultural movements. It can be stated that the characteristics of the relevant historiography is the division of researchers into secular, who focus mainly on rationalist conceptual research priorities and the clergy, who in studying the history of their denominations, do not always avoid denominational commitment and Orthodoxy. At the same time, it can be assumed that the positive effect of this situation lies in the plane of synergetics and interaction, because having greater access to the church archives, the historians from among the clergy consolidate a significant factual material, publishing of which opens new subjects of researches for secular historians.

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SALT MINING IN GALICIA (1867 – 1900)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is a generalized study of rock and table salt mining in Galicia during the Austro-Hungarian period. To achieve this goal, general historical approaches to statistical interpretation of events and phenomena, mathematical methods of modelling have been used. 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 consists in a complex analysis of salt mining in some administrative territorial formations of Austria. The Conclusions. The development of salt deposits in Galicia along the north-eastern edge of the Carpathians had continued since the Middle Ages, but reached its prosperity during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the second half of the XIXth century the main producers of salt were the saltworks in Bolekhiv, Bochnia, Wieliczka, Deliatyn, Dolyna, Drohobych, Kosiv, Lacko, Lanchyn, Stebnyk and Kachytsia. In 1868 – 1880 the saltworks of Galicia, with the exception of Wieliczka (36 – 63 thousand tons) and Bochnia (15 – 20 thousand tons), produced an average of 4 – 7,5 thousand*

tons of salt per year. During the last quarter of the XIXth century 9 – 13 kg of salt was produced per 1 inhabitant, which was twice more than the natural needs of a human being for his consumption. About 50,000 tons of salt were used per year in Galicia. In addition, less than 23 thousand tons were used for livestock. The saltworks in Wieliczka and Bochnia were the largest salt producers. Wieliczka produced more salt than all other saltworks in Galicia (maximum in 1872 – more than 75,8 thousand tons). At the beginning of the 1870-ies there was the maximum of salt production, except for Lacko and Stebnyk, where there was a gradual increase in production during 25 years. During the years of 1868 – 1892, the saltworks of Galicia produced the following amount of salt (tons) per year: Bolekhiv – 5877; Bohnia – 14521; Wieliczka – 42697; Deliatyn – 4047; Dolyna – 4934; Drohobych – 4834; Kalush – 3832; Kosiv – 4329; Lacko – 6240; Lanchyn – 4032; Stebnyk – 6734. Two saltworks in Western Galicia (Bochnia, Wieliczka) produced 57% of all Galician salt production during 25 years, while nine saltworks in Eastern Galicia produced only 43%. The introduction of a salt monopoly in Austria-Hungary reduced its value and revenues to the Galician budget. If in 1832 salt exports brought in revenue of 1,4 million zol., during the 1890-ies – only 0,1 million zol. more. In 1892 the value of Galician salt was: rock salt – 4,5 million, table salt – 4 million zol. rynskykh. During the period of 1868 – 1892, almost 3 million tons of salt were produced in Galicia with a total value of 2,4 million zol. rynskykh. The average price was 0,8 zol. per 1 kg of a ready-made product. The share of Galicia in the salt industry of Austria-Hungary was 44% by volume and 43,5% – by value of products. The fact is striking, first of all, that the total monetary price of all salt products had been significantly underestimated since 1872, when its monetary price of all salt products amounted to more than 12 million zol. rynskykh, while in 1892 – it did not reach even 8 million. This price was caused by the Austro-Hungarian agreement of June 7, 1868, when the sale price of salt was lowered by 0,5 zol. rynskykh per 1 ton. In total, during 1868 – 1892 Galicia produced 2,997 million tons of salt (annually – 1,2 million tons) of all varieties worth 237 million zol. rynskykh or 9,5 million per year. Expenditures for the same period amounted to 22,6 or annually – 1 million zol. rynskykh. In general, the salt industry of Galicia was highly profitable – the income amounted to more than 210 million zol. rynskykh (8,5 million zlotys. rynskykh – per year).

Key words: salt, mine, brine, salt springs.

ВИДОБУВАННЯ СОЛІ У ГАЛИЧИНІ (1867 – 1900)

Анотація. Метою роботи є узагальнене дослідження видобування кам'яної та кухонної солей у Галичині Австро-Угорського періоду. Для досягнення мети використано загальноісторичні підходи статистичної інтерпретації подій і явищ, математичні методи моделювання. **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** полягає у комплексному аналізі видобування солей в окремих адміністративно-територіальних утвореннях Австрії. **Висновки.** Розробка соляних покладів у Галичині уздовж північно-східного краю Карпат тривала з середньовіччя, але розквіту досягла у часи Австро-Угорщини. У другій половині XIX ст. основними виробниками солі були солеварні у Болахові, Бохні, Велічці, Делятині, Долині, Дрогобичі, Косові, Лацку, Ланчині, Стебнику та Качиці. У 1868 – 1880 рр. солеварні Галичини, за винятком Велічки (36–63 тис. т) і Бохні (15–20 тис. т), продукували в середньому від 4–7,5 тис. т солі щорічно. На 1 мешканця в останній чверті XIX ст. вироблялося 9–13 кг солі, що удвічі перевершувало природні потреби людини на її споживання. Щорічно у Галичині споживалося близько 50 тис. т солі. Крім того, менше 23 тис. т використовувалося тваринництві. Найбільшими виробниками солі були солеварні у Велічці та Бохні. У Велічці продукувалося солі більше, ніж на всіх інших солеварнях Галичини разом узятих (максимум у 1872 р. – понад 75,8 тис. т). На початок 1870-х рр. припало максимальне видобування солі, окрім Лацко та Стебника, де впродовж 25 років відбувався поступовий ріст випуску продукції. Упродовж 1868 – 1892 рр. солеварні Галичини щорічно продукували (т): Болахів – 5877; Бохня – 14521; Велічка – 42697; Делятин – 4047; Долина – 4934; Дрогобич – 4834; Калуш – 3832; Косів – 4329; Лацко – 6240; Ланчин – 4032; Стебник – 6734. Дві солеварні Західної Галичини (Bohnia, Wieliczka) впродовж 25 років випустили 57 % всієї продукції солі Галичини, тоді як дев'ять

солеварень Східної Галичини – лише 43 %. Запровадження в Австро-Угорщині монополії на сіль, зменшило її вартість та надходження до бюджету Галичини. Якщо 1832 р. експорт солі приніс дохід у 1,4 млн. зол., до у 1890-х рр. – лише на 0,1 млн зол. більше. У 1892 р. вартість галицької солі сягала: кам'яної – 4,5 млн., кухонної – 4 млн зол. ринських. За період 1868 – 1892 рр. у Галичині виготовлено майже 3 млн т солі загальною вартістю 2,4 млн зол. ринських. Пересічно ціна складала 0,8 зол за 1 кг готової продукції. Питома вага Галичини у соляній промисловості Австро-Угорщини складала 44 % за об'ємом та 43,5 % – за вартістю продукції. Вражає насамперед суттєво занижена загальна грошова вартість всієї продукції солі, починаючи від 1872 р., коли грошова вартість всієї продукції солі становила понад 12 млн зол. ринських, в той час як у 1892 р. – не доходила навіть до 8 млн. Це було викликано австро-угорською угодою від 7 червня 1868 р., коли ціни продажу солі занижено на 0,5 зол. ринських за 1 т. Загалом, Галичина впродовж 1868 – 1892 рр. виробила 2,997 млн. т солі (щорічно – 1,2 млн т) всіх сортів на суму 237 млн зол. ринських або 9,5 млн на рік. Видатки за цей же період становили 22,6 або щорічно – 1 млн зол. ринських. Загалом, соляна промисловість Галичини була високоприбутковою – чистий дохід склав понад 210 млн зол. ринських (8,5 млн зол. ринських – на рік).

Ключові слова: сіль, шахта, ропа, соляні джерела.

The Problem Statement. Galician salt industry dates back several centuries. Nowadays, there is almost no complete economic history of rock salt and brine mining, their processing and production of table salt. The article focuses on a comprehensive analysis of salt production in Galicia during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, i.e., from 1867 till the beginning of World War I. This comprehensive analysis has been done for the first time.

The source base of the research consists of statistical yearbooks, manuals and reference books [“Handbuch des Lemberger Statthaltereis-Gebietes in Galizien für das Jahr” (1862), “Rocznik Statystyki Galicyi” (1887), “Rocznik statystyki przemyslu i handlu krajowego” (1888), “Polska gospodarcza” (1932), “Przemysl i handel” (1929), “Szematyzm Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi” (1877)], which provide the information on the geological conditions of salt deposits, construction and operation of salt mines and springs, statistics of mining, processing and production of ready-made products by saltworks. Distribution areas of table and potassium salt, technological and regional features of salt production, general features of the economy of salt production were covered in the monographs by M. von Kelb (1876), F. Buyak (1910), J. Semiradsky (1922), V. Klapchuk (2013). Some materials of salt production from the territories bordering on Galicia were given in the article by S. Orlyk and V. Orlyk (2019).

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive study of salt production in Galicia. To achieve this goal, general historical approaches to the statistical interpretation of the events and phenomena, mathematical methods of modelling have been used.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The development of rock salt and brine deposits has been going on since the Middle Ages. Salt production in Galicia reached its apogee during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At that time the general management of salt mining and production was carried out by the Department of saltworks of the National financial directorate in Lviv, which was subordinated to the Ministry of Finance (Szajnocha W., 1899, pp. 111–114).

In the XXth century salt production at saltworks of Western Galicia was carried out in Wieliczka and Bochnia.

Rock salt in Wieliczka and Bochnia was mined by vertical mines at depths of 80 to 400 m, for which a column and a chamber building were built. Manual drills were used for drilling wells, and combined blasting operations with compressed gunpowder cartridges were used for digging tunnels and blasting mining material and rock.

The salt from the mines was delivered to Wieliczka and Bochnia by horses, at other saltworks – by workers, and later by – steam engines. For transportation, movement of

people in mine, lifting of water and brine, and, at last, for mine ventilation there were used horizontal workings and mine columns, which were lined with wood, rarely – with stone. The wood was best suited for the salt mine, as it was eventually impregnated with salt, which made it fireproof and resistant to all influences. In Bochnia and Wieliczka the special insurance of chambers and clearing recesses created the so-called box fastening, which consisted of several transversely superimposed and respectively connected wooden beams. The box fastening was used to catch the mining layer. The above-mentioned boxes were filled with waste rock and soaked in salt water, which made them fire-resistant and durable. In Wieliczka, where all mine excavations significantly exceeded 1,5 million m³, box fasteners played an exceptional role in preventing the collapse of underground chambers and thus protecting the lives and property of the inhabitants of the ancient mining town of Wieliczka.

Filling purificatory saltface with empty rock had been considered since 1830, but due to various difficulties no results were achieved. At the turn of the centuries, the necessary work was carried out at the functioning salt mines and the work was done on filling in the old cavities. To avoid blockage of these cavities the embedded material was made of clay and sand. This material was brought to salt mines and by a cable car on specially made wells it was lowered into the mine and delivered to the cavities. In Wieliczka salt mines there were three transport, at the same time drainage, mine columns: named after Emperor Franz Joseph I, Empress Elizabeth and Emperor Joseph II; two descents into the mine: named after Crown Prince Rudolf and Emperor Franz; three ventilation mines: named after God's Will, Lois and Gursko.

The depth of the above-mentioned mines was: Emperor Franz Joseph I – 197 m; Empress Elizabeth – 298 m; Emperor Joseph II – 302 m; Crown Prince Rudolf – 204 m; Emperor Franz – 63 m; God's Will – 148 m; Lois – 141 m; Gursko – 183 m.

There were five salt mines in Bochnia: Floris, Sutoris, Regis, Campi and Trinitatis, the first three of which were used as ventilation and entrance, Campi mine – as a mine lifting column and the latter – as ventilation and elevator. The depth of the mines was: Floris – 275 m; Sutoris – 294 m; Regis – 70 m; Campi – 413 m; Trinitatis – 216 m (Szajnocha W., 1899, pp. 111–114).

Salt industries provided certain social and living conditions for their employees. Thus, at the turn of the centuries, the construction of houses for workers started, first of all in Wieliczka – 22 houses for 72 families and in Bochnia – 8 houses for 32 families. At some salt-producing enterprises there were consumer societies, in Wieliczka water supply system was built. There were also bathrooms and rooms with heating for workers. On the positive side, it should be noted the activities of various funds in the pension fund, such as: “Bruderladen”, “Stiftungsfond”, “Heiliger Geist Spitalsfond”, “Grubenbefahrungsfond” and the others.

Wieliczka was the largest saltwork in Galicia (in terms of production and market value, advanced technologies, etc.). From a geological point of view, the salt deposits in Wieliczka contained all three kinds of salt: rock, green and bronze (brown, gold). The first two types were used for food, the third one – for industrial purposes. The rock salt was the purest and contained up to 98,7% of sodium chloride. Deposits of these three types of salt were located alternately with a total thickness of layers up to 200 m (in some places up to 364 m) in a strip up to 3 km. In general, at the end of the 1860-ies, salt reserves in the suburbs of Wieliczka were estimated (in million tons): rock salt – 87,8; green salt – 18,4; bronze salt – 3,8 (Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 60).

The salt area near Bochnia was 3,7 km long with a width of 100 m and salt thickness of 200 m in the East and 400 m – in the West. Total salt deposits were estimated at 3 million tons there. However, it should be noted that the thickness of numerous salt layers was insignificant

and in some areas it reached 3 m only. Further to the East salt deposits were widely developed near Dobromyl, which was caused by specific geological conditions of the territory. From Nyzhankovychi and Dobromyl, i.e., between the San and the Dniester, there was a wide strip of salt mines and former and operating saltworks: Guysko, Kosmanytsia, Akmanytsia and Soltse near Nyzhankovychi; Lacko, Guchko and Tamava near Dobromyl; Khyriv, Stariava and Bereziv near Khyriv; Stara Sil and Shumyne near Stara Sil; Bachyne near Stare Misto (Клапчук В.М., 2013, с. 234).

Lacko saltwork was the only functioning saltworks in the region, which processed natural brine. It was located 2 km from Dobromyl. The layers of raw material reached 9 – 14 m and contained up to 24,2% of table salt. In addition, the composition of the raw material included small amounts of calcium sulfate (0,492%), magnesium chloride (0,1%), calcium carbonate (0,09%) and magnesium sulfate (0,07%) (Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 64).

To the East of Lacko there was the saltwork in Stebnyk, which belonged to the next salt formation between the Dniester and Stryi rivers and included salt deposits in the following villages: Koblo Stare, Blazhiv, Sprynka, Chereshava, Lukavytsia and Vykoty near Sambir; Stupnytsia and Silets near Dubliany; Uroch, Nahuyevychi, Yasenytsia Solna, Popeli, Banya Kotovska, Volianka, Tustanovychi, Uniatychi, Truskavets, Modrych, Kolpets, Solets and Stanelia near Drohobych; Ulychne near Stryi.

There were two saltworks in this region – in Drohobych and Stebnyk, the first of which produced table salt from natural salt solutions; in the second deposit there was salt of different composition, origin and aggregate composition. A two-meter layer of crystalline salt was located in Stebnyk at the depth of 46 m. From the depth of 51 m the second saline layer began, consisting of two layers – the upper (45 m thick), which was separated by a meter layer of sandstone from the lower layer – 18 m thick. Deeper from 113 m there was the third layer – a six-meter layer of green salt, and even deeper, from a depth of 122 m – the fourth layer, which was 97 m thick. Thus, the salt deposits in Stebnyk were 168 m, which exceeded the reserves of the world-famous Wieliczka (Klapchuk, 2013, pp. 241–242).

Near Morshyn, between the Stryi and the Limnytsia rivers, there were a number of salt deposits: near Morshyn – in Zhulyn, Lukavytsya Verkhnya, Ninov Verkhnyi and Dovhy; near Bolekhiv – Lysovychi, Voloske Selo, Tysiv, Turya Velyka, Bolekhiv, Trostianets, Solukiv and Sloboda; near Dolyna – Rakhynia, Turya, Novychka and Kadobna; near Rozhniatov – Rakhiv, Krekhovychi, Strutyn Verkhniy, Tsinyava, Rypne; Zahirne near Kalush.

At that time there were saltworks in Bolekhiv, Dolyna and Kalush. They can be attributed to a single group of salt, because their composition is similar and even annual production was more or less the same. During the last third of the XIXth century in Bolekhiv and Dolyna 5 – 7 thousand tons of salt were produced annually. In Kalush significant changes and increase in annual production were observed, especially during 1869 – 1876. After the fire of 1872, which destroyed the main building of the brewery, new technologies were introduced in Dolyna saltworks and since then it had been one of the best in Galicia. In Dolyna salt raw material (27% of pure salt) was mined at Barbara mine from the depth of 64 m.

In Kalush salt was represented by sylvin and kainite. This saltworks was first mentioned during the second half of the XVth century, and since 1809 it had been expanded and enlarged. The territory of the mines, pierced by numerous surface quarries, hindered the recovery of salt at the end of the XIXth century. However, although the recovery slowed down the volume of production, the saltworks had been constantly increasing its annual production since 1877 and in 1892 reached 4,76 tons of a ready-made product.

To the East of Kalush, between the Limnytsia and Bystrytsia Nadvirnianska rivers, there were a number of villages with well-known salt deposits: near Kalush – Adamivka, Novytsia, Uhryniv Seredniy and Staryi, Petranka; near Nebylov – Krasna; near Bohorodchan – Rosilna, Maidan, Lesivka and Khlibivka; near Solotvyno – Solotvyno, Dzvyniach, Zhuraky, Starunya; near Nadvirna – Markov, Maniava, Krychka, Hvizd, Babche, Molotkiv and Bytkiv. Between these villages, the rich deposits of potassium and magnesium salt in Rosilna, as well as the deposits of ozokerite in Dzvyniach and Starun, deserve special attention. The saltworks in Rosilna was one of the most productive in Galicia during the first half of the XIXth century, producing more than 3,000 tons of salt (during 1841 – 1851 – 3,4 – 3,5 thousand tons) (Klapchuk, 2013, pp. 242–243).

Between the Bystrytsia Nadvirnyanska and the Prut rivers, the deposits of raw salt were located in Nadvirna and Pniyya near Nadvirna; Deliatyn, Horysha, Shevelivtsi and Loeva near Deliatyn; Lanchyn, Krasniy, Sadzhavtsi and Ivanivtsi near Lanchyn; Otyniya and Oprashyna near Otyniya; Kamianka Mala near Kolomyia. Deliatyn deposit with the thickness of saline rocks up to 2000 m was considered the most powerful; raw salt could be mined from the depth of 16 – 20 m (Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 69). In Lanchyn the raw salt was mined from the depth of 53 m.

To the east of the Prut to the outskirts of Galicia there were numerous outcrops on the surface of saline rocks and raw materials: Zarichchya and Oslava near Deliatyn; Pechenizhyn, Molodiatyn, Markivka and Runhura near Pechenizhyn; Kniazhdvir and Sopiv in the outskirts of Kolomyia; Yabluniv, Maly and Velykyi Kliuchevy, Myshyn, Stopchativ, Ivanivka, Liucha, Bereziv Vyzhnyi, Banya Berezivska, Liuchky and Tekucha near Yablunov; Kosiv, Staryi Kosiv, Pistyn, Utoropy, Monastyrskie near Kosiv; Kosmach and Akreshory near Kosmach; Kutu.

Saltworks in Deliatyn, Kachytsia, Kosiv and Lanchyn functioned in Hutsul region. Until the middle of the XIXth century, in Kosiv and Deliatyn only government saltworks produced salt on a fairly large scale (up to 7,000 tons per year). However, three times more expensive salt was sold to peasants by speculators. For several days or even weeks, the locals were in long queues with their carts near the saltworks. This situation caused a general dissatisfaction because salt deposits were discovered in many other places but for the unknown reasons the deposits were forbidden to be used. In some period of time the saltworks in Utoropy and Lanchyn were restored. Large reserves of salt springs were discovered in the outskirts of Kosmach, Pistyn and Zhabye. But their use was insignificant. The restriction on the use of salt springs is confirmed by the fact that in 1810 in Eastern Galicia salt was mined at 20 of the 500 existing deposits, in 1860 – at eight deposits, and in 1875 – at nine deposits (Klapchuk, 2013, p. 252).

During the second half of the XIXth century the main salt producers were the saltworks in Deliatyn, Kachytsia, Kosiv and Lanchyn in Hutsul region. The biggest problem was at the saltworks in Deliatyn, where during 20 years the output fluctuated within 4 thousand tons or 60%, which was incomprehensible, because this saltworks was considered one of the best in terms of technology and production culture in Eastern Galicia. In general, Hutsul saltworks produced from 3 to 6 thousand tons of salt annually or up to 15 thousand tons totally. Taking into consideration the fact that in 1880 the population was about 157 thousand people, about 100 kg of salt was produced per one inhabitant. With an annual salt requirement of 3 – 3,5 kg per capita, it becomes clear that the rest of the salt was exported to other regions of Austria-Hungary or abroad.

Deliatyn saltworks did not function during 1841 – 1866. During 1871 – 1873 5,2 – 6,4 thousand tons of salt were produced there, but for unknown reasons since it had reduced production in 2 or 3 times (during 1886 – 1888 2,3 – 2,5 thousand tons of salt were produced).

According to M. von Kelb, Deliatyn gave “the richest tributaries of natural raw salt” (Kelb von M., 1876, pp. 149–156). At the same time, huge deposits of salt (up to 2000 m) were close to the surface there. That is why, its insignificant annual production was difficult to be understood. Since at the main mines – Francisco Carol and Elizabeth, raw salt was easily mined from the depth of 16 and 20 m with the volume of 18 – 22 thousand tons. In Lanchyn, salt deposits were smaller, and the saltworks, which had existed since the second half of the XVIIIth century, was completely rebuilt during 1874 – 1876. The saltworks used the natural raw salt of the main mine from the depth of 53 m. At both saltworks 80 and 60 workers worked for 12 hours daily, earning 600 – 800 zol. per year (CSHAUL, f. 146, d. 7, c. 726, pp. 18–19, 72–73). In 1862 “Franz-Josef-Salina functioned in Deliatyn and “Salineamt” functioned in Lanchyn under the leadership of Josef Haas. (Handbuch, 1862, pp. 203–205). M. von Kelb wrote about significant deposits of salt near Deliatyn (Kelb von M., 1876, pp. 135–156). 116 m³ and 106 m³ of brine, respectively, were extracted from Francis Charles mine and Elizabeth mine per day. In 1877 well-educated workers were employed at these saltworks (Szematyzm, 1877, p. 163).

838 m³ of beech, 3657 m³ of birch, alder and fir, 60 m³ of alder and aspen were used for salt boiling in Deliatyn saltworks; in Lanchyn – 106 m³ of oak, 524 m³ of beech, 6186 m³ of birch, alder and fir, 1646 m³ of alder and aspen (Rocznik statystyki, 1888, pp. 83 – 84; Klapchuk, 2013, p. 253). In 1897 the cost of a kilogram of salt was 1,5 kreutzer, and the selling price – 9 kreutzers (Gromadskyj golos, 1897, p. 10). Technical information on the activities of saltworks in Deliatyn and Lanchyn are given in Table 1 (Die Salinen Österreich, 1900, pp. 126–319).

Table 1

**Technical Information on the Activities of Saltworks
in Deliatyn and Lanchyn (compiled by the author)**

Information	Deliatyn	Lanchyn
Amount of Mines	2	1
Depth of Mines	16; 18	54
Pipelines for Raw Materials, m	Pipelines for Raw Materials	Pipelines for Raw Materials
Amount of Reservoirs for Raw Materials	4	2
Volume of Reservoirs, m ³	380,8	190,0
Amount of Furnaces for Salt Boiling	8	4
Warehouses Amount for Salt Storage	6	6
Length of Water Supply System, m	580	–
Duration of Salt Boiling, h	42,5	29
Costs for Salt Boiling:		
– raw materials, g kg	183219	148649
– firewood, m ³ ;	12378	9575
– metal, t;	2,9	2,4
– fireproof brick, pieces;	456	274
– ordinary brick, pieces.	4300	3420
Production of Salt per Worker, Working Day (12 hours), kg	12773	11251
Amount of Raw Materials per 1 ton of Salt, l	31359	32742
Average Salt Production per m ³ of Firewood, kg	472	474,2
Mining Raw Materials per Year, g kg	182489	148600
Amount of Workers	168	114
Salary Fund, kronas	71168	53048

It should be noted that the saltworks was destroyed during World War I and did not resume its activities in Deliatyn.

Kosiv production (3 – 5 thousand tons) was equal to the production of salt in Kalush. Since 1869, in Kosiv rock salt mining had started. The rock salt was for export to Russia mainly (Szajnocha W., 1899, pp. 71–72).

According to Lviv Property Directorate, during 1869 – 1878, an average of more than 500 tons of rock salt were mined in Kosiv annually (Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 71; Кляпчук В.М., 2013, p. 263).

In 1910 the saltworks in Lanchyn used only natural brine to produce salt, and the saltworks in Deliatyn and Kosiv used rich stocks of brine with the salt content of 25 – 60%, located in 22 underground barns. Of these barns, only 14 were used with a total volume of 61 thousand tons (Bujak Fr., pp. 73–74). In 1923, in Deliatyn the salt deposits were discovered at the depth of 2000 m; the layer thickness – 16 – 20 m (18 – 22 thousand tons each); an annual output could reach 5 – 6 thousand tons (Siemiradzki J., p. 150). In 1913 the salt mining was 4460 and 1451 tons at saltworks in Lanchyn and Kosiv (Polska gospodarcza, 1932, p. 279; Przemysł i handel, 1929, p. 955; SAIFR, f. 58, d. 1, c. 74, p. 4; SAIFR, f. 58, d. 1, c. 81, p. 14).

In some period of time, Kosiv rock salt mine began to use brine as a result of frequent landslides over mine shafts beneath all territory of Kosiv in the form of underground streets. Underground work caused subsidence and landslides of the surrounding mountains, which led to the formation of a small pond, which gradually expanded. The rock salt mining was stopped in 1870, but before World War I, when crystalline salt was discovered in one of the mines, the government allocated funds for the construction of a mechanical mill for its grinding (Пелипейко І., 1995). Salt mining was carried out until 1915, when water from the pond reached the mine. Later on it was pumped and evaporated in a brewery equipped with three iron boilers with a total area of 195 m² (Monografia powiatu kosowkiego, 1930, pp. 25–26).

In addition to the production of salt (mainly table and partly – rock salt), also there was also practiced the use of saline solution as a medicinal substance, for which the administration of the saltworks built a salt bath with several cabins, which could be used by workers and guests (Monografia powiatu kosowkiego, 1930, p. 26). With the permission of the Directorate excursions were organized to the dungeons at the depth of 300 m. A certain fee was paid for excursions (Gąsiorowski, H., 1933, p. 259).

In Kachytsia the only saltworks operated in eastern Galicia, but no statistics or information on the chemical composition of the local salt was found (Klapchuk, 2013, p. 264).

Economic Data of Saltworks Activity in Galicia. During the second half of the XIXth century the main salt producers were the saltworks in Bolekhiv, Bochnia, Wieliczka, Deliatyn, Dolyna, Drohobych, Kosiv, Lacko, Lanchyn and Stebnyk (table 2; picture 1–2).

In accordance with the amount of salt produced (table salt), the undisputed leader was the saltworks in Stebnyk, which produced from 5,5 to 7,6 thousand tons of salt during this period annually. The saltworks in Wieliczka (28,8 – 75,9 thousand, t) and Bochnia (9,1 – 20,1 thousand, t) were the leaders among the saltworks, which produced rock salt. In general, saltworks in Galicia produced an average of 4 to 9 thousand tons of salt per year or more than 102 thousand tons in total. In 1880 more than 13 kg of salt was produced per capita, in 1890 – 9,3 kg. With an annual salt need per capita of 7,3 kg, 480,220 quintals of salt were used in Galicia. 227619 quintals of salt were used for livestock needs.

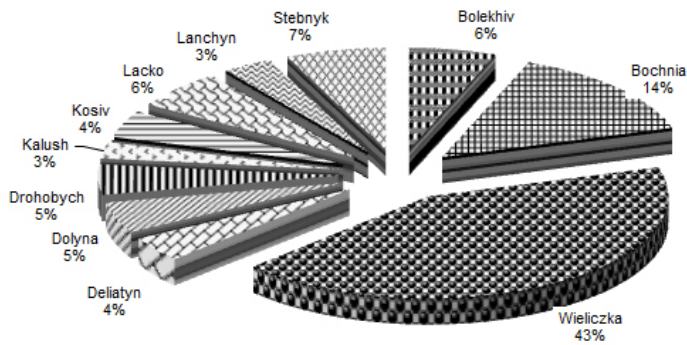
Thus, in 1890, 707839 quintals of salt were used by the Galicians as a food item and for feeding cattle (Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 108). The output of salt in the same year was 897907 quintals, which means that only 190 thousand quintals of salt were exported (Klapchuk, 2013, p. 269).

Table 2

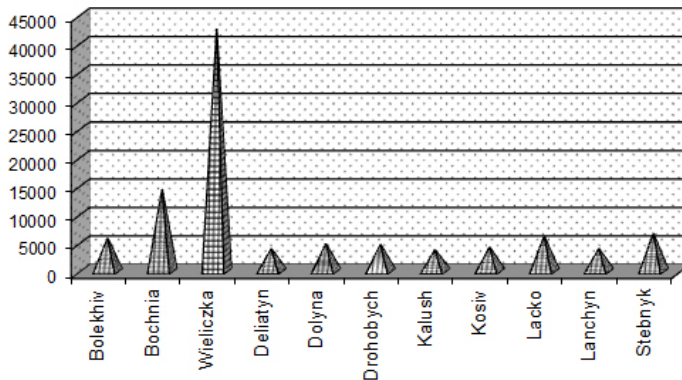
Production of Table Salt at Saltworks in Galicia during 1868 – 1892 (compiled by the author)

Saltworks	1868–1992, totally	Average Year Production Output
Bolekhiv	146935	5877
Bochnia	363038	14522
Wieliczka	1067430	42697
Deliatyn	101190	4048
Dolyna	123353	4924
Drohobych	120852	4834
Kalush	65146	3832
Kosiv	108220	4329
Lacko	156000	6240
Lanchyn	84671	4032
Stebnyk	168352	6734

The Reference: Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 56 – 57.



Picture 1. Salt Mining (t) at Main Saltworks (1868 – 1892)



Picture 2. Average Year Production Output in Galicia (1868–1892)

The largest salt producers were the saltworks in Wieliczka and Bochnia. In Wieliczka there was produced more salt than at all other saltworks in Galicia (maximum in 1872 – more than 75,8 thousand tons). At the beginning of the 1870-ies there was a maximum of salt production, except for Lacko and Stebnyk, where there was a gradual increase in production during 25 years. The biggest problem was at the saltworks in Deliatyn, where the output jumped within 4,000 tons or 60% during 20 years. It is not clear what caused this situation, as this saltworks was considered one of the best in terms of technology and production culture in Eastern Galicia.

Two saltworks in Western Galicia produced 57% of all Galician salt production during 25 years, while nine saltworks in Eastern Galicia – an average of 4 – 7% each or 43% – totally.

During the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, despite very primitive technical methods of mining and boiling, salt was an indisputable and great wealth of the whole region and population. Since the invasion of Galicia by Austria and the introduction of the salt monopoly, salt became exclusively the government's treasure, the subject of a tax value only, and was of no importance to the region and its population. In 20 years after the invasion of Galicia, 1,5 million zol. rynskykh were received for Galician salt. In 1832 the sale of salt abroad gave the income of 1,386 million zol. In 1891 the value of Galician salt sold abroad reached only 6 – 7 thousand zol. rynskykh (Klapchuk, 2013, p. 270).

To interpret this financial situation, we analyzed all aspects of salt production (a total cost of salt production, cost of production, selling price, total income, sales of all kinds of salt, domestic consumption, exports). The total cost of rock salt production, in parallel with the amount of its mining, was the highest in Wieliczka (239 – 4403 thousand zol. rynskykh per year). In 25 years the total cost of rock salt was 75 653 thousand zol. rynskykh or 3026 thousand zol. rynskykh per year. The value of Bochnia salt products was twice lower (858 – 1932 thousand zol. per year): in 25 years – 34 271 thousand zol. rynskykh or 1371 thousand zol. rynskykh per year. The lowest production amount led to the lowest profits at the saltworks in Kosiv. During 1868 – 1892, 250,8 thousand zol. rynskykh were received there of income, which amounted to 10 thousand zol. rynskykh per year.

During 1868 – 1892, among the saltworks where brine was mined, the largest revenues were received in Stebnyk – 15 million zol. rynskykh; Lacko – 14; Bolekhiv – 13,3.

Totally, during 25 years Galicia produced 2 997 million tons of salt (1,2 million tons per year) of all kinds at the price of 237 million zol. rynskykh or 9,5 million per year (Szajnocha W., 1899, pp. 54–55).

It is striking, first of all, that the total monetary cost of all salt products had been significantly underestimated since 1872, when the price of all salt products was more than 12 million zol. rynskykh, while in 1892 – the price did not reach even 8 million. Such a decline makes us think about prices that normalized the monetary value of all products. From the end of the XVIIIth century the monopoly sale prices of salt changed many times. Since 1868, the monopoly sale prices were usually based on the Austro-Hungarian agreement of June 7, 1868 and the laws of the Austrian monarchy and the orders of the Austrian Ministry of Finance. The above-mentioned agreement reduced the sale prices of salt for Austria by almost 5 zol. rynskykh per quintal. The above-mentioned agreement abolished the sale of salt for livestock needs.

Beginning in 1868, the selling prices of salt did not change radically in Austria. The prices changed after the introduction of the metric system (1875). The sale prices of salt of 1881 are given in Table 3.

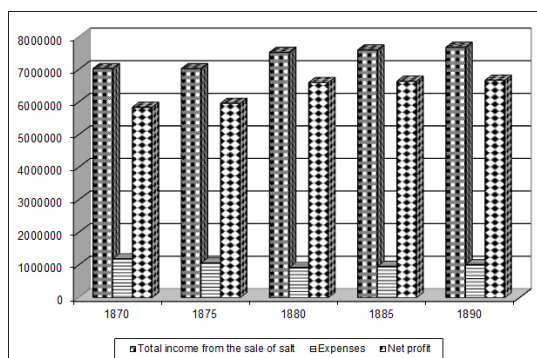
Table 3

Sale Prices of Salt in Galicia in 1881 (compiled by the author)

Producer	Kind of Salt	Price for 1 quintal, zol. rynskykh	
		For the country	For Russia
Wieliczka and Bochnia	Crystalline	17,25	–
	Mine Salt , in Lumbs (over 14 kg)	10,00	–
	Mine Salt, in Lumbs (less than 14 kg over 14 kg)	9,65	–
	Mine Salt, Ground, in Mound	10,00	–
	Green Salt, in Lumbs, (over 14 kg)	8,90	–
	Green Salt, in Lumbs, (less than 14 kg)	8,55	–
	Green Salt, Ground, in Mound	8,90	–
	Brown Salt, in Lumbs	8,50	–
	Brown Salt, Ground, in Mound	8,50	–
	Factory Salt, Grade 1	50	–
	Factory Salt, Grade 2	40	–
	Factory Salt, Grade 3	30	–
	Factory, Denatured Soda	0,94–1,04	–
	Mine Salt, in Lumbs	–	82
Green	–	72	
Wieliczka	Crystalline, Ground, Crumbs	–	65
Saltworks of Eastern Galicia	In Furnaces	9,0	–
	Grey	8,4	–
	In Mound	1,34	–
Kosiv	Rock Salt (0,5% less)	–	3,13
	Table Salt (1 % less)	–	1,79

The Reference: Rutowski T., 1887, p. 15; Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 81.

To calculate the net income from the Galician salt mines, the data on the cost of products and sales, i.e., a real income from the sale of manufactured salt, are also required. The statistical yearbooks of the last quarter of the XIXth century were used for the calculation. (Picture 3).



Picture 3. Financial Balance of Salt Mining in Galicia
(Compiled by the author; the reference: Szajnocha W., 1899, pp. 82–83).

The diagram illustrates the following data: from 1870 to 1880 the cost of salt production decreased due to reduced production of table salt during that period. Only since 1885 the cost of production increased with the production of salt simultaneously.

Totally, during 1868 – 1892, 2,997 million tons of salt were produced (annually – 1,2 million tons) of all grades at the cost of 237 million zol. rynskykh or 9,5 million per year in Galicia (Szajnocha W., 1899, pp. 54–55).

The expenditures for the same period amounted to 22,6 or 1 million zol. rynskykh per year. In general, the salt industry of Galicia was highly profitable – a net income amounted to more than 210 million zol. rynskykh (8,5 million zol. rynskykh – per year).

Due to the amount of salt production and its value, Galicia occupied a dominant position in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, producing 44% of all salt production of the monarchy.

The Conclusions. The development of salt deposits in Galicia along the north-eastern edge of the Carpathians had continued since the Middle Ages, but reached its prosperity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the second half of the XIXth century the main salt producers were the saltworks in Bolekhiv, Bochnia, Wieliczka, Deliatyn, Dolyna, Drohobych, Kosiv, Lacko, Lanchyn, Stebnyk and Kachytsia.

In 1868 – 1880, the saltworks of Galicia, with the exception of Wieliczka (36 – 63 thousand tons) and Bochnia (15 – 20 thousand tons), produced an average of 4 – 7,5 thousand tons of salt per year. During the last quarter of the XIXth century 9 – 13 kg of salt were produced per 1 inhabitant, which exceeded twice the natural needs of a human being for his consumption. About 50,000 tons of salt were used in Galicia per year. In addition, less than 23 thousand tons were used for livestock.

The largest salt producers were the saltworks in Wieliczka and Bochnia. In Wieliczka there was produced more salt than at all other saltworks in Galicia (maximum in 1872 – more than 75,8 thousand tons). At the beginning of the 1870-ies there was the maximum of salt production, except for Lacko and Stebnyk, where there was a gradual increase in production during 25 years.

During 1868 – 1892, the saltworks of Galicia produced the following amount of salt (t) per year: in Bolekhiv – 5877; Bohnia – 14521; Wieliczka – 42697; Deliatyn – 4047; Dolyna – 4934; Drohobych – 4834; Kalush – 3832; Kosiv – 4329; Lacko – 6240; Lanchyn – 4032; Stebnyk – 6734.

The two saltworks in Western Galicia (Bochnia, Wieliczka) produced 57% of all Galician salt production during 25 years, while nine saltworks in Eastern Galicia produced only 43%.

The introduction of the salt monopoly in the Austro-Hungarian reduced its cost and incomes to the Galician budget. If in 1832 salt exports brought in revenue of 1,4 million zol. rynskykh, during the 1890-ies the income was only 0,1 million zol. rynskykh more. In 1892 the cost of Galician salt reached the following sum of money: rock salt – 4,5 million, table salt – 4 million zol. rynskykh.

During the period of 1868 – 1892, almost 3 million tons of salt were produced in Galicia with a total cost of 2,4 million zol. rynskykh. The average price was 0,8 zol. rynskykh per 1 kg of a ready-made product. The share of Galicia in the salt industry of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was 44% of amount and 43,5% of the production cost. It is striking, first of all, that the total monetary value of all salt products had been significantly underestimated since 1872, when its monetary value of all salt products amounted to more than 12 million zol. rynskykh, while in 1892 – it did not reach even 8 million. This was caused by the Austro-Hungarian agreement of June 7, 1868, when the sale price of salt was lowered by 0,5 zol. rynskykh per 1 t.

In general, during 1868 – 1892 Galicia produced 2,997 million tons of salt (annually – 1,2 million tons) of all varieties worth 237 million zol. rynskykh or 9,5 million per year (Szajnocha W., 1899, p. 54–55).

The expenditures for the same period amounted to 22,6 or annually – 1 million zol. rynskykh. In general, the salt industry of Galicia was highly profitable – the net income amounted to more than 210 million zol. rynskykh (8,5 million zol. rynskykh – per year).

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**THE MILITARY HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE UKRAINIAN MUSEUM NETWORK FORMATION AND
DEVELOPMENT THE XIXth – AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES**

Abstract. The purpose of the study is to analyze the causes of the first museums' emergence and development in Ukraine at the turn of the XIXth – at beginning of the XXth centuries based on the military historical collections. The methodology of the research is based on the principles set and the cognition methods usage, the application of which was carried out with the reliance on the interdisciplinary approaches in order to discover the purpose of the research. The historical genetic, historical comparative, historical typological and historical systemic methods of the historical cognition were applied, as the scientific and source base of the article were developed on their basis. The scientific novelty is that for the first time a number of the political, socio-economic and cultural factors of the first museums' emergence on the territory of Ukraine on the basis of the military historical collections were investigated, due to a wide range of published and unpublished archival documents. It is established that most of these military historical collections do not quite correspond

to the content of the scientific term “collecting”, but they have become the basis of purposeful and systematic collection of objects of the museum importance, which preceded the military historical museums’ emergence. It is proved that these military historical collections were diverse, they presented the military paraphernalia, awards, portrait collections, family archives, book collections, things of daily use and, etc. **The Conclusions.** The amateur gathering at the turn of the XVIIIth – XIXth centuries in the field of traditional culture, it evolved into a scientific-based collection gradually. In the XIXth and at the beginning of the XXth centuries a rather large museums’ network emerged and functioned, owing mainly to the private initiative of individuals and numerous scientific, cultural, educational and church societies, committees, commissions, educational institutions, local self-government bodies.

Key words: military relics, museum, military historical collections, collectibles.

ВОЄННО-ІСТОРИЧНІ КОЛЕКЦІЇ У КОНТЕКСТІ ФОРМУВАННЯ Й РОЗВИТКУ МУЗЕЙНОЇ МЕРЕЖІ УКРАЇНИ XIX – ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати причини виникнення й розвиток в Україні на межі XIX – поч. XX ст. перших музеїв на основі воєнно-історичні колекції. **Методологія дослідження** вибудовувалася на підставі використання сукупності принципів і методів пізнання, застосування яких здійснювалося з опорою на міждисциплінарні підходи до розкриття мети дослідження. Базовими були такі методи історичного пізнання, як історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний та історико-системний, на основі яких опрацьовано наукову та джерельну базу статті. **Наукова новизна:** на основі широкого кола опублікованих і неопублікованих архівних документів досліджено низку чинників як політичного, соціально-економічного, так і культурного характеру, появи на території України перших музеїв на основі воєнно-історичні колекції. Встановлено, що більшість цих воєнно-історичних колекцій не зовсім відповідають змісту наукового терміна “колекціонування”, але саме вони стали основою цілеспрямованого й систематичного збирання предметів музейного значення, яке передувало виникненню військово-історичних музеїв. Доведено, що ці воєнно-історичні колекції були різноплановими, у них були представлені військова атрибутика, нагороди, портретні збірки, родинні архіви, книгозбірні, речі повсякденного вжитку тощо. **Висновки.** Аматорське збиральництво на межі XVIII – XIX ст. у сфері традиційної культури поступово переростало в колекціонування, що ґрунтувалося на наукових засадах. У XIX – на початку XX ст. виникла й функціонувала доволі численна мережа музеїв, завдячуючи переважно приватній ініціативі окремих осіб та численних наукових, культурно-освітніх і церковних товариств, комітетів, комісій, навчальних закладів, органів місцевого самоврядування, у віданні яких вони перебували. **Ключові слова:** військові реліквії, музеї, воєнно-історичні колекції, колекціонування.

The Problem Statement. The museums’ network emergence and rapid expansion in the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth century was due to a number of the political, socio-economic and cultural factors, which were a reflection of the common European process of society capitalist development, the democratization of all forms of spiritual life and the National Liberation Movements strengthening. The National Liberation Movements were widely spread and evident in Ukraine, whose people did not have their own statehood, being the part of two empires – the Russian Empire and the Austrian Empire (since 1868 – the Austro-Hungarian Empire). The educational intelligentsia was the main driving force, which instigated the national and cultural revival processes.

The paramount peculiarity of this process in the Dnieper Ukraine (Naddniprovyanshchyna) was observed in the Russian imperial government openly repressive policy towards the national minorities, the suppression of any ideas of the political independence, cultural and speech identity of the peoples that were the part of the Empire. The national and cultural upsurge process in Western Ukraine gained momentum, especially after the Revolution, which took place in 1848, and was called the “Spring of the Nations”.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. According to the topic's scientific development analysis carried out in the article, we make a conclusion that it was studied in fragments. Furthermore, there are no special complex thorough works devoted to the study of selection, the military artifacts preservation and use in family collections and the Ukrainian Cossack's elite collections nowadays. Hence, there is relevance and novelty of this article.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the first museums' emergence and development causes in Ukraine at the turn of the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries based on the military history collections.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Due to the education's development, the national history, ethnography, language, folklore scientific research; the local lore movement, numerous historical and cultural monuments collection and other factors, which caused an objective public need to create museum institutions as the multifunctional institutions, a kind of accumulator, researchers and promoters of the historical and cultural heritage, the strongholds of national, cultural and local lore movement on places (Piskova, 2005, pp. 6–9).

At the beginning of the XIXth century, the whole epoch of the university museums began, which kept in their funds, among the others, the military relics (Svintsitskyi, 1920, p. 89). In particular, Kyiv University Museum of Antiquities (eventually the Archaeological Museum) included, among other exhibits, Kievan Rus wartime monuments, discovered during excavations in the Old Town, including the Tithe Church and the Golden Gate. K. Lokhvitskyi, the archaeologist, obtained the materials during excavations in the historic center of the city and donated them to the university on the day of its grand opening, as a result, the materials were the basis of its funds. The archeologist was also the first head of the museum. Later on, the museum collection was replenished with the archaeological finds from other parts of the Dnieper region, where university professors conducted research (Federova, 1992, pp. 82–85).

According to V. Antonovych, the University Museum of Antiquities Head since 1873, M. Maksymovych's collection of antiquities was received, purchased from his descendants, who was the first rector of the university. It included a collection of the bronze arrowheads (272 units), which served as a scientific material for the first in Russian archeology systematic description of the types of such weapons (Antonovych, 1884, pp. 73–74). However, the museum did not complete the special military historical collections. Kharkiv University Cabinet of Antiquities collection was similar, which dates back to 1807 (now the Museum of Archeology and Ethnography of Sloboda Ukraine at V. Karazin Kharkiv National University), and the collections of other museums at educational institutions.

The military historical materials collections were in many museums of the Dnieper Ukraine (Naddnipryanshchyna) in the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries, regardless of their subordination. For example, in the Kyiv Art, Industry and Science Museum, which was opened in 1899, they were part of the archeological department headed by archaeologist V. Khvoyka. It was his archeological collection, which was previously exhibited in his private museum in Kyiv, in the amount of 4000 items that was purchased and donated to the city museum by patron N. Tereshchenko. The archeological department was later supplemented by materials from the private collections of numerous renowned figures: V. Antonovych, M. Bilyashivskyi, O. Bobrynskyi, V. Hiza, E. Znosko-Borovskiy, F. Kunderevych, V. Tarnovskiy and M. Tarnovskiy, J. Khainovsky, B. Khanenko, and others. Among the archeological exhibits were monuments of the military history. In addition, other museum's departments also kept such monuments. The historical department presented the weapons of later times, the Ukrainian officers' portraits, the Cossack's life objects etc. (Fedorova, 2013, pp. 125, 140–141, 143).

As museum collections were completed and the museum expositions of the period under study were built mainly on a systematic rather than thematic method, there were no separate collections and expositions on military history in Ukraine. This also applies to the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities Museum (founded in 1839) (Solodova B, 2004) and other museum institutions. According to some estimates, as at the beginning of the XXth century in Ukraine (together with the western Ukrainian lands as part of Austria-Hungary) there were more than 140 museums and museum-type institutions (Piskova & Fedorova, 2010, p. 119).

The museum's institutions profile specifics, their specialization in the content and thematic nature of collections and activities begin to be outlined as early as the second half of the XIXth century. The main part of the museum network was, using the modern museum studies' terminology, the general history and local lore profiles institutions. We are talking about the presence of collections that corresponded to a complex of sciences of various profiles and forms of human activity (history, archeology, ethnography, fine arts, literature, etc.). The historical museums also did not exist "in its purest form". Those museums that have their history from the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries, having a significant collection of monuments of the national history, in the future formed the basis of the leading historical museums, including the military history museums (Piskova, 2005, pp. 22–23).

Moreover, the museums' formation and development issue in the domestic historical retrospect cannot be considered, without taking into account that it was the private collecting that preceded the organization of museum work in Ukraine. Numerous museums and museum collections were formed primarily on the basis of the large private collections.

The private collecting in the Dnieper Ukraine (Naddniprovyshchyna) during the XIXth – XXth centuries. acquired a high level of development. It should be noted that it was the private collectors, who formed the military historical character collections, which became the basis of several large Ukrainian museums' collections. The vast majority of such collections were materials from the Cossacks and the Hetmanate times (Fedorova, 2015, p. 72).

In 1902, according to the will, a museum was opened on the basis of V. Tarnovskyi's collection, which was named the Museum of Ukrainian Antiquities (nowadays V. Tarnovskyi Chernihiv Historical Museum) (Fedorova, 2015, pp. 75–76, 78–83).

Another prominent collector of the national antiquities, O. Pol (1832/90), who came from the well-known Poletyk and Polubotkiv families in the Ukrainian history. During the 1850 – 1880-ies, he collected Zaporizhzhya Sich relics, antiquities and books related to the history of Katerynoslavshchyna and Ukraine. His collections included unique archeological finds of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages (mostly from Katerynoslavska Hubernia (Province)), from the ancient cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast (mainly from Kerch and Chersonesos Tavriya); the Scythian antiquities; Kievan Rus period monuments; the Zaporozhian Cossacks weapons and household items including the Cossack's sword of the XVIIIth century with the image of power signs – crossed maces and pennants and a symbolic inscription: "loyalty to the land and legends"; valuable mineralogical, numismatic and ethnographic collections; collection of old prints.

The Zaporizhzhya Sich monuments' collection numbered 281 items and was considered to be one of the best in Ukraine. It consisted of weapons, clothing, equipment, jewels, cradles, various utensils and more. Some of them were inherited from the ancestors, who belonged to the well-known Cossack noble families (Poletyky, Polubotky, Savychi, Malamy). O. Pol, the renowned collector, found most of the Zaporozhian antiquity objects during the archeological excavations or purchased them. In 1887, when Katerynoslav (nowadays Dnipro city) was celebrating its 100th anniversary, O. Pol opened a historical and archeological museum in a

separate wing of his estate, which consisted of seven departments. When the collector was free from work, he even himself conducted tours in it.

O. Pol bequeathed his collection to Katerynoslav in order it to be exhibited and kept at the Museum of Antiquities, noting 522 objects, which dated back to the Stone Age, 84 objects – the Bronze Age, 632 objects originated from the ancient Greek colonies, 356 objects – the Scythian period, 322 objects – Kyiv Knyaz' times, 242 of various weapons, and 276 items relating to ethnography, 281 items of Zaporozhian and Cossack antiquity and 2,060 coins of different times, peoples and civilizations.

Moreover, in 1893 O. Pol's private collection of antiquities catalog was published in Kyiv. Its compiler K. Melnyk-Antonovych provided a detailed description of 4,774 subjects, conditionally systematizing the research into nine sections. In the preface to the publication, she noted that, in addition to the objects described in this catalog, the museum included a large collection of art objects: paintings, engravings, antique porcelain, enamel, bronze, cameos, gems and the others. There were numerous collection of rare documents, ancient maps, collections of paintings, engravings and drawings kept works of many famous artists, manuscripts and autographs of famous writers, poets, statesmen and public figures, who came from Russia and Ukraine in the unique owner's library. They were supposed to be described in the second issue of the catalog.

In 1905 – 1906, the collector's wife, fulfilling his will, transferred the collection to the Katerinoslav O. Pol Regional Museum, which was founded in 1902 on the initiative of the Katerinoslav Scientific Society (nowadays the Dnipropetrovsk National Historical Museum named after D. Yavornytskyi) (Nikolaieva, 2011, pp. 183–190; Mashtalir, 2018, p. 16).

It should be noted the great merit in the museum's organization and replenishment of its collections D. Yavornytskyi, who, as a professor at Moscow University, moved in 1905 from Moscow to Katerynoslav and devoted his entire life to the museum. By this time, the museum already had the archeological collections, which were donated by Yavornytskyi, as well as V. Antonovych, K. Melnyk-Antonovych and the others. In 1905 the museum was replenished with some ethnographic and archeological collections collected for the exhibition prepared for the XIIIth Archaeological Congress in Katerynoslav. Most of the items came from the private collections.

According to the researchers, its funds continued to be replenished with various groups of museum objects, including the military-historical ones. There were forged guns of the XVth century, weapons and military clothing of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries among them (Kovalskyi, 1993, p. 106).

It is vital to mention a number of collectors' names, who had the military collections in their private collections and were involved in the collections' establishment, formation and activities of many Ukrainian museums in the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries. Count O. Bobrynskyi (1852 – 1927) was among them. Furthermore, he was engaged in archeological excavations. The Count researched about 1 000 mounds, mostly in Ukraine. The materials of these excavations formed the basis of a private museum organized by him in Smila, Kyiv region (nowadays Cherkasy region), where the Bobrynskyi family estate was located. Among the 6 000 monuments of this museum were the military historical materials, which dated back to the Bronze and Iron Ages, the Scythian and Cossack eras. O. Bobrynskyi donated individual monuments and collections to the scientific societies and museum institutions several times. In particular, in 1899 he donated to the Kyiv Art, Industry and Science Museum more than 600 archaeological finds (nowadays the National Museum

of History of Ukraine) (Piskova, 2005, pp. 82–83). In 1918, his Smilyan museum collection was requisitioned, part of it went to the Cherkasy T. Shevchenko Historical and Pedagogical Museum (nowadays Cherkasy Regional Museum of Local Lore).

One more leading figure, K. Skarzhynska (1852 – 1932) also collected the military historical relics. She built a separate house for the collection in her estate, located in Kruhlyk village (nowadays within the town of Lubny, Poltava region; the museum premises were not preserved). F. Kaminskyi, the famous Lubny archaeologist was the first head and curator of the museum (since 1882), who passed the results of his own archaeological research of the region to the museum.

The Cossack past was presented in almost all sections of the museum, built on a systematic (collection) principle. Weapons, household items, original portraits from the Rodzianok family, seven portraits of the Ukrainian Hetmans, a handwritten sample of the Cossack chronicle, sets of documents of family archives, etc. K. Skarzhynska's collections were presented at exhibitions during the VIth and VIIIth Archaeological Congresses, the International Exhibition of Costumes and Weapons in St. Petersburg in 1902. The latter exhibited ethnographic materials, 164 samples of weapons and household items of the XVIIIth – XIXth centuries.

In 1906 K. Skarzhynska presented her own collections to the Natural History Museum, which are still exhibited in Poltava museums (Vantsak & Suprunenko, 1995, pp. 41–70).

Due to K. Sarzhynska's collection, Poltava Museum became the best museum in Ukraine immediately. In 1915 the museum's funds were replenished by the collection of the Poltava Diocesan Antiquary. The Cossack's antiquities collections of the Natural History Museum formed in this way were systematized into the following sections: 1. The Kleinody. 2. The Weapons (firearms and cold steel). 3. The Household items. 4. The Clothing. 5. The Documents. 6. The Paintings. 7. The Things of Church Use.

In addition, there were a silver top to the mace of Nizhyn Colonel S. Kochubey; Hetman K. Rozumovskyi's letter addressed to Maxim Znachko in 1754 on his appointment as a military comrade; five squids of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries among them. There was a large group of weapons, which is almost completely preserved to this day. It included guns, mortars, pistols, rifles, sabers, scimitars, keleps. One of the guns, dated 1645, was cast in the foundries of the Tsardom of Russia (the Tsardom of Muscovy). P. Tysarevskyi donated the bronze mortar from the village of Storozheva (nowadays Chuhuiv district), the cast iron mortar from the village of Hryhorivka was presented by V. Zhuchenko. One of the keleps of the XVIth century was found at the site of the last S. Nalyvayko's battle in the Solonytsia tract near Luben city. One of the bone powder kegs has an exact date – July 27, 1727.

The Ukrainian clothing of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries was presented in the museum only in copies, which were made by K. Skarzhynska's order and the provincial museum. After 1917, the authentic shirt and robe of General Judge V. Kochubey arrived, a handkerchief, which was placed under the head of Hetman D. Apostol during his burial in 1834 in the church of Velyki Sorochyntsi. Today, the museum preserves several original belts of the XVIIth– XVIIIth centuries.

The collections received from the Poltava Diocesan Ancient Repository were of great historical value. They contained monuments, mostly donated to the temples by the Cossack officers. Among them are documents of the Cossack era, in particular tsarski charters for I. Mazepa's and A. Gamalia's estates' possession. The book collection includes such relics as the Gospel, on which Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi sworn in January 1654 at the Pereyaslav

Council; The Peresopnytsia Gospel of 1557 with the contribution of Hetman I. Mazepa dated April 16, 1701.

The Collection of the Ukrainian Hetmans and Cossack officers of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries portraits enlisted almost 40 units (but only 10 survived). A significant part belonged to K. Skarzhynska's collection, a part was collected in the villages and landed estates of Poltava Hubernia (province).

It should be noted that much of the Ukrainian Cossack's antiquities collection was lost as a result of the Bolsheviks' museum defeat, the evacuation, the Nazi's export, and etc. Some of the monuments were taken to the United States by the director of the museum K. Moshchenko, nowadays they are stored in the Bound Brook Museum (Moklyak, 2005, pp. 115–126).

The Russian imperial authorities paid considerable attention to the study on the military past since the beginning of the XIXth century. The demonstration of the power, steadfastness and armed force of the empire was formed into a kind of the ideological concept in which the Orthodox Church played a key role. Thus, during the first half of the XIXth century services dedicated to the Battle of Poltava, the war between France and Russia in 1812, etc., became a common event in the churches and temples.

We consider it expedient to refer to the history of military collections in Western Ukraine, which was after the last Rzeczpospolita partition (the Commonwealth) in 1795 as part of Austria-Hungary (Transcarpathia, Galicia (Halychyna) with part of Western Podolia and Bukovina). The private collections of museum significance and museum collections formed in the period under study became the basis of modern Western Ukrainian museum institutions.

In 1892, Lviv Historical Museum was founded, which was part of the city archival complex (archive, library, museum) and was subordinated to the commune of the city. From 1901 the director of the archive and its institutions, in 1906 – 1931 the director of the city museums was the well-known archivist and historian O. Cholovskyi. The museum was given the antiquities' collection, which was stored in the archives from the XVIIIth century and was even accounted for. Among the relics of the magistrate and Lviv shops, military historical monuments, including ancient cannons, were presented in it. According to the "Appeal" of December 22, 1892, signed by the President of Lviv, requested that the museum be given all the monuments related to the life of the city at different times. The list of such valuables also included weapons, uniforms and weapons of the old police and guards. Among the first founders of the museum were the following private individuals, who donated military monuments: J. Makan – a bourgeois sword of the XVIth century, a Tatar sword and a ganja (a wide Tatar dagger), excavated in Lviv; J. Grabinsky – a fragment of a cast iron cannon, found during the construction of the canal, and others. (Krutous, 2005, p. 175). Hence, in 1894 the museum took part in Lviv Regional Exhibition. 26 monuments of the XVIth – XIXth centuries were presented in the sections the "Municipal, guild, fraternal monuments" and the "Weapons". The weapons, armaments and uniforms were completed as a separate stock group. The archive, library and museum organized jointly exhibitions on various topics, including military history, which included other museum and private collections. For instance, the military exhibition, which was held in 1916 on the occasion of the city liberation anniversary; exhibition "Defense of Lviv 1918/19" in 1935; exhibition dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the November Uprising of 1830/31, etc. (Fedorova, 1995, pp. 96, 98).

Due to Lviv intellectuals and patrons help, one of the largest collections of weapons in Lviv was completed by King Jan III National Museum. The museum was opened in 1908. O. Cholovskyi presented the museum with its own collections, in particular, 24 portraits and

150 samples of weapons and military equipment of different times. Hence, he was the first one, who established the museum's collection of weapons. The museum's collection was constantly growing due to the subventions from the Austrian government, which were used to purchase items from individuals, as well as donations and gifts from the patrons, citizens and Lviv organizations. Thus, at the end of 1911, King Jan III National Museum purchased 15 samples of weapons, which dated back to the XVth – XIXth centuries and 33 samples of weapons of the XVIth – XIXth centuries; in 1912 – 1913 – the Polish portraits, which dated back to the XVIth – XIXth centuries, a collection of 33 paintings dedicated to the Polish army in 1807 – 1831, 99 old weapons, coins and medals (Petryk, 2016, pp. 93–94).

In 1914, the collection was supplemented by monuments from the collection of Lviv historian and art critic V. Lozynskyi, who bequeathed his collections (including the weapons, as well as the equipment of a horseman of the XVIth – XVIIIth centuries) to Lviv city of; as well as some items, which belonged to Professor V. Lukashevych (Petryk, 2014, p. 26) and others.

In 1915, a renowned collector, B. Orzechowicz, Doctor of Law at Lviv University donated his collections to Lviv Commune (Gmina), in which a collection of weapons was of utmost importance (Krutous, 1997, pp. 5–6). The collector created a private museum in the village of Kalnykiv, Mostyska Povit (County) in the the Orzechowicz's family ancestral estate. In 1915, when the Russian troops offensive took place during World War I, the village was in the confrontation zone. As a result, Orzechowicz's collection was under the threat of destruction. O. Cholovskyi, the director of the Archive and Lviv museums, carried out work on its rescue and transportation to Lviv personally (Petryk, 2014, pp. 24–25; Prokip, 2006, p. 120).

The transfer agreement was signed in 1919, thus, the owner of the museum collection donated it to Lviv commune (gmina). According to the agreement, B. Ozkehovych gave the city magistrate for his maintenance all his collections: the art gallery, engravings, sculptures, miniatures, museum furniture, a collection of ancient weapons, collection of glass and porcelain. One of the conditions of the contract stipulated that the entire collection was to be stored and exhibited forever as a single and inseparable and be called the "Boleslaw Orzechowicz Collection". At the donator's personal request, the collection's supervision and management was entrusted to O. Cholovskyi, the director of the Archive and King Jan III National Museum (Senkiv, 2007, p. 95).

It should be mentioned that the collection numbered 998 antiques, including 454 weapons at the time of transfer. According to the inventory, which was compiled by King Jan III National Museum employees in 1925 – 1926, there were already 563 weapons and armaments in the collection. However, B. Orzechowicz carried on replenishing the collection throughout his life (Terskyi, 2006, pp. 13–19; Prokip, 2006, p. 120).

According to B. Orzechowicz's will, made in 1927, his main successor was the Polish Scientific Society in Lviv. Today, most of the samples of ancient weapons from this collection are stored and exhibited in the Lviv Historical Museum and its branch – the Arsenal Museum.

Among the melee weapons there are:

the 15th-century belt sword made by the gunsmiths of the city of Passau in Bavaria;

a large two-handed sword "flamberg", made in Italy at the end of the XVth – at the beginning of the XVIth century;

sabers and court swords, which dated back to the XVIth–XVIIth centuries;

swords, battle axes, cleavers, knives and daggers from Iran, which dated back to the XVIII century, dagger-kukri from East India of the XVIIIth century, Indonesian dagger-cross of the XVIIIth century;

helmets, hauberks, cuirass, spears, crossbows, etc.

Valuable items of B. Orzechowicz's firearms collection include:

Marietta revolver pistol;

a pistol, made by master Johann Andreas I Kuchenreiter;

a pair of duel pistols, made by master F. Christian Schilling;

rifles and cannons (Prokip, 2006, pp. 122–123).

During the 1940-ies, after the Soviet power establishment in Western Ukraine, King Jan III National Museum, the Lviv Historical Museum and the Lubomyrskykh Knyaz Museum were united into a single institution, which was called Lviv Historical Museum, which operates till the present days. (Krutous, 1996, p. 5; Melnyk, 2004, pp. 50–52).

The Conclusions. Taking everything into consideration, the systematic military historical collections (e.g. the weapons) and thematic historical collections (in particular, the Cossacks' history) were completed in many private collections and museums of different subordination in this period. The weapons, which dated back to different periods were presented in the archaeological collections of educational institutions, including Kyiv and Kharkiv Universities. The military history monuments were exhibited in the science museums and monument protection societies: in the Kyiv Art, Industry and Science Museum, the Odesa Society History and Antiquities Museum, etc. The basis of their first stock collections were the private collections and gifts from the patrons.

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**STANISLAW DNISTRYANSKYI AND LVIV UNIVERSITY:
THE PROSOPOGRAPHIC RESEARCH**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to depict Professor Stanislaw Dnistrianskyi's scientific and public activity during his work at Lviv University and the Austrian Parliament, to determine the conceptual provisions substantiated by the scientist concerning the Ukrainian society's national state and historical legal perspectives. The methodology of the research is based on the general historical principles of systematization, scientific objectivity; the principles of historical and legal*

research and socio-historical methods (problem historical, historical systemic, problem chronological, historicaltypological, etc.) were introduced into the scientific circulation. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time a systematic work was done and dedicated to S. Dnistrianskyi's activities at Lviv University on the background of the major social events in Galicia at the end of the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth century. The Professor's participation in the Ukrainian struggle for the national university in Lviv is considered to be a separate scientific direction in the work. S. Dnistrianskyi's work has been presented in the State Council in Vienna in 1907 – 1918 and its relation to the main Galicia social problems of the studied time has been shown. The scientist's conceptual positions concerning the Ukrainian people's national policy and law, national self-determination, national-state prospects have been determined. The study expands the Ukrainian scientists' prosopography, whose careers have been connected with Lviv University. **The Conclusions.** S. Dnistrianskyi's activity was connected with Lviv University, where he was formed as a scientist and public figure, and the scientist's scientific work was implemented at the Department of Austrian Civil Law with the Ukrainian as the language of instruction, where he organized lectures and legal seminars on Civil and Constitutional law, expanded and created the Ukrainian legal terminology; defended the Ukrainian language rights in the educational process, based on the principles of the "Basic Austrian Law..."; together with M. Hrushevskiyi, S. Rudnytskyi and the others joined the movement for a Ukrainian university in Lviv. Furthermore, S. Dnistrianskyi combined work at the department with work at the T. Schevchenko Scientific Society (SSS), publishing activities, the Ukrainian lawyers' structures creation. During 1907 – 1918 he was an Austrian Parliament member, without leaving the work at the department. In the State Council S. Dnistrianskyi defended not only the Ukrainian university opening issue but also the other Ukrainian society's nagging problems at that time: the preparation and the elections' holding to the Austrian Parliament and the Galician Sejm; the national issue; the census in Galicia; the land reform and forest lands economic problems. During this period, the scientist introduced into the scientific circulation the theoretical and methodological principles of statistical research; the historical and legal bases of the policy and the norms of law; the historical bases of the Ukrainian people's self-determination and its national state prospects. S. Dnistrianskyi's activity study expanded the Ukrainian scientific prosopography of Lviv at the end of the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth century.

Key words: Stanislav Dnistrianskyi, Lviv University, Civil Law, SSSh, Ukrainian University.

СТАНІСЛАВ ДНІСТРІАНСЬКИЙ І ЛЬВІВСЬКИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ: ПРОСОПОГРАФІЧНЕ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – показати наукову та громадську діяльність професора Станіслава Дністрянського в період його праці у Львівському університеті та австрійському парламенті, визначити концептуальні положення, обґрунтовані вченим, щодо національно-державних та історико-правових перспектив української суспільності. **Методологія дослідження** базується на загальноісторичних принципах системності, наукової об'єктивності; принципах історико-правових досліджень та соціально-історичні методи (проблемно-історичний, історико-системний, проблемно-хронологічний, історико-типологічний та ін). **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше створено системну роботу, присвячену діяльності С. Дністрянського у Львівському університеті на фоні головних суспільних подій у Галичині кінця XIX – початку XX ст. Як окремий науковий напрям у роботі розглядається участь професора у боротьбі українців за національний університет у Львові. Представлено роботу С. Дністрянського у Державній Раді у Відні (1907 – 1918 рр.) і показано його ставлення до головних суспільних проблем Галичини досліджуваного часу. Визначено концептуальні положення вченого щодо національної політики і права, національного самовизначення, національно-державних перспектив українського народу. Виконане дослідження розширює просопографію українських вчених, чия кар'єра була пов'язана із Львівським університетом. **Висновки.** Діяльність С. Дністрянського була пов'язана із Львівським університетом, де він сформувався як вчений і громадський діяч, а наукова праця вченого проходила на кафедрі австрійського цивільного права з українською мовою викладання, де він організував лекційний процес і правничі семінари з цивільного і конституційного права, розширив та створив українську юридичну термінологію; відстоював права української мови у навчальному процесі,

виходячи із засад “Основного Австрійського Закону...”; разом з М. Грушевським, С. Рудницьким та ін. включився у рух за український університет у Львові. Працю на кафедрі поєднував з роботою в НТШ, видавничою діяльністю, творенням структур українських правників. Протягом 1907 – 1918 рр. був депутатом австрійського парламенту, не залишаючи праці на кафедрі. У Державній Раді відстоював не лише питання відкриття українського університету, а й інші актуальні проблеми української суспільності того часу: підготовка і проведення виборів до Австрійського парламенту і Галицького сейму; національне питання; перепис у Галичині; економічні проблеми земельної реформи і лісових угідь. У цей період вченим було введено до наукового обігу теоретико-методологічні засади статистичних досліджень; історико-правові основи політики і норм права; історичні підстави самовизначення українського народу та його національно-державних перспектив. Вивчення діяльності С. Дністрянського розширило українську наукову просопографію Львова кінця XIX – початку XX ст.

Ключові слова: Станіслав Дністрянський, Львівський університет, цивільне право, НТШ, Український університет.

The Problem Statement. S. Dnistrianskyi’s scientific and public activity is inextricably linked with Lviv University, where the scientist created his own school of the Civil Rights, advocated a separate Ukrainian university creation in Lviv. S. Dnistrianskyi took part in the National Movement, defending the Ukrainians’ rights being in the role of a deputy in the State Council in Vienna.

The purpose of the research is to study S. Dnistrianskyi’s scientific and public activities comprehensively, analyze of his work at Lviv University, Schevchenko Scientific Society (SSS), the Ukrainian Lawyers Association creation, the parliamentary work.

The Analysis of Historiography and Source Base of the Research. The article analyzed S. Dnistrianskyi’s unique publications, his speeches in the State Council in Vienna, the submitted appeals to the Senate of Lviv University, the Fund 26 materials (Lviv University) from the State Archives of Lviv region. In addition, the modern special editions analysis, devoted to S. Dnistrianskyi was carried out. Nowadays, the collective memory role in the Ukrainian historiography and the history of the national law is growing, which should reflect the university development science core stages, which belongs to Central and Eastern Europe intellectual area [Pomorskyi, 2020, p. 19; Kalakura, 2020, pp. 137–154]. However, Stanislav Dnistrianskyi’s scientific and socio-political activity is presented in modern publications only in fragments. In particular, the work, written by P. Stetsiuk (Stetsiuk, 1999) highlights the scientist’s activities as a constitutionalist; Polish researcher A. Redzik (Redzik, 2011, p. 448) submitted an encyclopedic article about S. Dnistrianskyi; Kyiv Publishing House published a bibliography of the scientist’s works (Akademik Stanislav Dnistrianskyi, 1999); small syntheses in the legal encyclopedia (Usenko, Voznyi, 1999, pp. 213–220) and the Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine (Isaievych, 2004, p. 445) were published about the scientist-lawyer. S. Dnistrianskyi’s activity is sporadically presented in general works concerning the history and law of the last third of the XIXth – the first half of the XXth century.

The Statement of the Basic Material. S. Dnistrianskyi’s activity is inextricably connected with Lviv University, where he evolved as a scientist and public figure. His work was aimed at the Austrian Civil Law Department organization and development at the University and a Ukrainian law school formation in Lviv. As a scholar, S. Dnistrianskyi belonged to the European legal tradition (graduated from the Law Faculty, the University of Vienna (1893); studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin; Doctor of Law since 1894; habilitated doctor – Das Wesendes Werlieferungsvertages – since 1899). From 1898 until the Austria-Hungary collapse in 1918, S. Dnistrianskyi’s scientific career was associated with the University of Lviv.

Due to the radical changes in the Habsburg Empire, where in the 60-ies – 70-ies there were the decentralization reforms, which led to the formation in 1867 of Austria-Hungary as a new state structure, the socio political processes in Galicia in the last third of the XIXth century took place under the influence of the above-mentioned situation (Grzybowski, 1959).

Hence, Galicia, as a province, was given considerable administrative and political opportunities, and in addition to the institution of a governor, the Sejm, the participation of elected representatives in the Austrian parliament, it was represented in Vienna as the only administrative unit of Austria-Hungary. The Polish political forces opportunities in the region, which were based on the traditional conservative principles and activities of the respective parties, increased, and the role of democratic structures and administration increased, regional and local, where mostly the Poles worked. The Polish political forces dominated Galicia clearly, creating “inconveniences” for the local Austrians, the Czechs, and the Jews, oppressing the Ruthenians (the Ukrainians) openly.

The Polish-Ukrainian confrontation was also expressed within the walls of Lviv University, whose administration Polonized the higher school. The Polonization process was especially active after 1869, when the Polish language received the official status in the region. At the same time, the Ukrainians sought to preserve and expand their rights in education. The students' participation in that process radicalized the Ukrainians demands, who felt discriminated against by the Polish leadership of the university. The national forces sought to increase the number of the Ukrainian departments (the department was considered “Ukrainian” when it was headed by a Ukrainian professor; the educational process was also conducted in Ukrainian) and to expand opportunities to teach in Ukrainian (Kachmar, 1999, p. 43)

On the 23rd of October in 1869, in connection with the decentralization reforms that “provided the Polish superiority”, Yulian Lavrivskyi, then the Sejm Vice-Marshal, spoke about the Ukrainian demands. Yu. Lavrivskyi's program was based on the confirmation by the Galician Sejm of the “same interpretation” of the language issue and the introduction of the so-called “Government languages” – the Polish and the Russian (the Ukrainian). Accordingly, the “government languages” were to operate in the university, ensuring its “Utraquist” character. In fact, Yu. Lavrivskyi only started a discussion about the bilingual nature of the university, which gave grounds for the Sejm leaders to create a special language commission headed by Count Vladyslav Badeni. The administrative commission was formed on a parity basis: it included seven Polish representatives and seven Ukrainian ones. On the 4th of July in 1871, Vienna presented an imperial decree on the “Utraquist” nature of the educational process at Lviv University. In particular, this document contained such phrases about the creation of a “free field for science” in Lviv Higher School and its development in “both regional languages” (Sukhyi, 2011, pp. 97–120; Sukhyi, 2013, p. 52).

The period of “obtaining docent” coincided with S. Dnistrianskyi at the time when in the mid-1890-ies even insignificant the Ukrainian national cultural movement achievements and the Ukrainians political demands strengthening were interpreted by the Poles as an encroachment on the “Polish Piedmont”. The Polish-Ukrainian agreements, known as the “new era”, also failed (Zashkilniak, 2013, p. 96; Chornovol, 2000)

At the same time, there was a clear structuring of the Ukrainian political environment – the Russian-Ukrainian Radical Party, the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, which defined the national priorities and tasks. Including influenced the situation at the university.

Prior to the “New Era”, four Ukrainian departments already functioned at Lviv University: two at the Law Faculty and two at the Philosophy Faculty (Philological Departments worked

at the Philosophy Faculty). According to the Polish-Ukrainian agreements, supported by the Viennese government in 1894, a “Department of World History with a Special Review of the History of Eastern Europe” (Department of History of Ukraine) was opened, which was headed by Mykhailo Hrushevskiy (Pyrih, Telvak, 2017, pp. 100–102).

Social tensions that were characteristic of Galicia at the end of the XIXth century grew into a national conflict within the university between the Poles and the Ukrainians. The antagonism of relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians at the university was intensified also because the latter tried to give the Galician higher school an exclusively Polish character. The confrontation affected student circles and professors (Sukhyi, 2011, pp. 97–120; Mudryi, 2000, p. 176).

The general state of ethnic confrontation at the university was marked by another trend – the democratization strengthening and the traditional Galician forces’ positions weakening – the aristocracy, the conservatives, the clergy and, at the same time, the entry into the political life of the lower classes – especially the peasantry. As a result, Lviv University students’ social condition also changed. If during the previous time of the university, the Ukrainians were dominated by people from priestly families, small tenants of lordly estates, etc., then at the beginning of the XXth century representatives of peasant families, the bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia clearly dominated. Some Ukrainians had experience of foreign earnings and invested their earnings in their studies. It was especially true among law students.

In 1898, S. Dnistrianskyi began his scientific career at the Austrian Civil Law Department with the Ukrainian language as the teaching language at Lviv University. S. Dnistrianskyi conducted lectures and legal seminars on Civil and Constitutional law, initiated the Ukrainian legal terminology creation and standardization, developed his own concept of state and law. Diverse scholar’s scientific works appeared at the beginning of the XXth century, for example, the “Family Law” (1900), the “Austrian Law of Obligations” (1901 – 1903), “On the Reform of Private Law in Austria” (1912) (Burdin, Nor & Boiko, 2016, p. 78)

While working at the department, S. Dnistrianskyi joined the discussion on the working language at Lviv University, defending the Ukrainians’ right of their own language in higher education. He argued his position with the provisions of Art No. 19 on the “Basic Austrian Law...” and even devoted to the above-mentioned issue the scientific work “The Ruthenian Language Rights at Lviv University” (Dnistrianskyi, w.y.).

Work at the department was complicated by the general university situation. In particular, during 1898 – 1910, only two Ukrainian teachers obtained the highest legal teaching qualification – habilitation at the university. During the same period, habilitated professors from other universities came to the university and nine local Polish teachers were habilitated. Since 1870, the Ukrainian Dr. Ivan Dobryanskyi superseded the Polish lecturer, V. Srokovsky at the Criminal Law and Procedure Department, after whose death the Ukrainian Dr. Petro Stebelskyi became its professor. However, there were the teaching staff problems with the replacement at the second department: the Ukrainian language as the teaching language Department – the Austrian Civil Law Department: after Professor Omelyan Lopushanskyi’s death in 1875, the department was left without a head. The university administration tried to present its candidacy and this provoked a negative reaction from the Ukrainians, hence, a long confrontation began between Lviv Ukrainian public and the University Senate. In 1882 – 1891 Professor Omelyan Ohonovskiy became a Professor of Civil Studies, but after his death, a conflict arose again. The Ukrainian public supported Mykhailo Zobkov, a Ukrainian lawyer from Bosnia, who presented his dissertation, but it was rejected by the University’s Senate. Later on, M. Zobkov defended his dissertation at the University of Zagreb. Eventually, the

University Senate decided to give Dr. Olexander Dolinsky, the Pole, a chance to take over, but the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation forced him to resign. Thus, for almost seven years the Civil Law Department management issue remained open (Kachmar, 2011, p. 9).

Finally, some changes occurred with S. Dnistrianskyi's appearance at the university. Owing to the administration, S. Dnistrianskyi became the habilitate doctor, which allowed him to become the first Associate Professor of the Austrian Civil Law, in 1901 – the Associate Professor, and in 1907 – ordinary Department's Professor. As a result, the Professor's status gave grounds to head the department.

Furthermore, S. Dnistrianskyi combined work at the department with the legal commission management work at the T. Schevchenko Scientific Society (SSS), the "Law Library" publication (1900 – 1909), was the "Legal and Economic Journal" editor-in-chief (1900 – 1912). S. Dnistrianskyi initiated the the Ukrainian-Russian Lawyers Society establishment (Kachmar, 2011, pp. 9–11).

However, there were no cardinal changes at the Austrian Civil Law Department with the Ukrainian language as the language of teaching. Only in 1908, Dr. Volodymyr Verhanovskiy became an Associate Professor of the department. In general, in 1913 – 1914 the Law Faculty teaching staff consisted of 31 people, 9 of them were the Ukrainians.

In addition, S. Dnistrianskyi while working at Lviv University shared Mykhailo Hrushevskiy's views, defended the national paradigm clearly, which was associated with the Ukrainian movement for their own high school. The national position of citizenship was also supported by Ukrainian deputies in Lviv and Vienna. The Ukrainian higher education movement began in 1898, when a deputy from Galicia, Danylo Taniachkevych, addressed the State Council in Vienna. In his speech, he highlighted that the Ukrainian society seeks to establish its own national university, and the professional staff needed already formed at Ukrainian departments at Lviv University. The deputy, in particular, emphasized the university's tasks, which was supposed to carry out its high cultural mission, develop science and the human potential of science. D. Taniachkevych pointed to the civilizational role of the university in Lviv and throughout the country (Taniachkevych, 1898).

Oleksander Barvinskyi and Yulian Romanchuk demanded the Ukrainian university opening in Lviv on the 21st of October in 1901 in the Austrian Parliament. They claimed that there were auspicious conditions in Lviv for the national university opening, but "There is not only the good will of the government on this issue, which meets only the needs of those peoples who have a large representation in the State Council" (Kachmar, 1999, p. 42).

The Ukrainian University Movement in Lviv was actualized by the national students. The students protests became the basis of the renowned secession, when students left Lviv University in whole groups and moved to other universities in Austria-Hungary – Vienna, Prague, Kosice, and the others. The movement gained mass character in December 1901 and ended in July 1902. Secession became an important stage in the struggle of national students for the Ukrainian higher education in Lviv and Galicia (Romaniuk, 1931, p. 134; Sukhyi, 2013, p. 67)

The Polish forces' attitude to the Ukrainian university opening issue in Lviv was not unambiguously defined. In particular, "Kurjer Lwowski" initially favored the Ukrainians, saying that the new Ruthenian university they planned to open in Lviv could not be a "threat to Polish culture" and that the presence of the two the Polish and the Ukrainian universities in Lviv would only promote the scientific competitiveness and science development ("Kurjer Lwowski", 1901; Sukhyi, 2013, p. 67).

As for the Polish university environment, Professor S. Stazhynskyi, who was also a member of the State Council in Vienna, argued that there was no formal reason to deny Ukrainians having their own university, arguing that they had the qualified staff. However, the Professor changed his position on this issue later (Kurliak, 1997, pp. 22–23).

The university problem was exacerbated by the political situation in Lviv. The Polish political structures in Lviv and Krakow, especially “vshekhpolyaky” (all the Poles), linked the university instability with the Ukrainian professors presence: S. Dnistrianskyi, Stepan Rudnytskyi (Shablui, 1999) and, especially, Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, who was treated as a “pro-Russian agitator”.

In Galicia, the Polish Paramilitary structures were formed among the youth, for example, the “Stsheltsy”, the “Sokols”, and the others, who were involved in the university student environment and transferred street aggression to the walls of the university.

In May 1903, the Poles held a “National Congress of Polish Politicians” in Lviv in order to defend the “Polish state of affairs” in Galicia, which was attended by about 800 participants (Mykhalskyi, 2002, pp. 74–75).

Accordingly, Galicia and Bukovyna Ukrainians held a “secret meeting” in August 1903, where they rejected the possibility of any compromises with the Poles (Zashkiliak, 2013, p. 97). As a result, the confrontation grew.

In 1907, Galicia held elections to the Austrian Parliament under a new election law. The Ukrainian university issue in Lviv was transferred to the higher Viennese offices. S. Dnistrianskyi became a member of Parliament and, accordingly, joined a new stage of the struggle for a Ukrainian university in Lviv.

On the 14th of February in 1907, S. Dnistrianskyi, as a member of the deputy group, proposed a draft resolution recognizing the need for the government to establish a separate Ukrainian university. All national leaders joined the demand, and the document was signed by Yevhen Olesnytskyi and Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytskyi (Promova, 1907).

At the beginning of 1908, S. Dnistrianskyi, as a member of a group of the Ukrainian deputies, initiated the joint meetings in the Austrian Parliament with the Slovenes, the Croats, the Italians, and the Romanians in order to work out a joint resolution on the university question

The document called for the creation of an independent “Ruthenian university” to be established in five years. The beginning of this process was to be the allocation by the government at the beginning of the new school year of all Ukrainian departments in a “separate educational and scientific whole” (Redaktsiina stattia Dila, 1908; Sukhyi, 1913, p. 70). Contemporaries of events, the Ukrainian politicians from Kyiv V. Stepanovskiy and L. Yurkevych believed that the project was hindered by the event in Lviv, in particular, the murder of Galician governor Andrzej Potocki by a student, Myroslav Sichynskiy, and a significant advantage of the Polish and pro-Polish forces in the State Council (Stepanivskiy & Yurkevych, 1908).

Another opportunity for S. Dnistrianskyi to exacerbate the Ukrainian university issue appeared in 1909, when the government’s proposal to establish a Law Faculty in Vienna with the Italian language as the language of teaching was discussed. S. Dnistrianskyi together with O. Kolessa submitted a similar request to government agencies to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv. However, on the 5th of February in 1909, the State Council session was closed, and the Ukrainian deputies request remained without consideration (Redaktsiina stattia “Ruslana”, 1909).

Some S. Dnistrianskyi’s and O. Kolessa’s demands from the document were presented once again in 1910 when considering the university issue in the State Council: the Ukrainian

deputies reminded of the drastic need to open a Ukrainian university constantly, while the Senate of Lviv University proposed to confirm by law “the Polish character of the university” (Sukhyi, 2013, p. 69). The position of the Ukrainians was the following: they agreed to a Polish university on the condition that a separate Ukrainian university be opened in Lviv.

S. Dnistrianskyi’s work “in university affairs” was used in the debate during 1910 – 1913. The Ukrainian representatives demanded that the Ukrainian departments be separated into a separate autonomous university institution, which would enjoy the right to examinations and habilitation; later it was to be transformed into a Ukrainian university (Levytskyi, 1926). The Poles claimed that such a national university for the Ukrainians could be established in Stanislaviv, to which the Ukrainian side disagreed strongly.

During the pre-war period, the project of establishing a Ukrainian university in a five-year perspective remained effective, and till that time, the Ukrainians defended its “Utraquist” character (Redaktsiina stattia “Dila”, 1912a).

The Polish position on the Ukrainian university was constantly changing and remained uncertain. In particular, during the pre-war period, they already stated that they would not help in the university establishment by training the Ukrainian personnel. The anti-Ukrainian position was shared by Lviv city authorities (Redaktsiina stattia “Dila”, 1912b; SALR, f. 26, d. 13, c. 537, p. 3).

The main evidence of the confrontation aggravation at the university was that Adam Kots, the Ukrainian student, who studied law and was a youth activist, was murdered by the Polish militants in 1910. The clashes between the Polish and the Ukrainian youth within the walls of Lviv University carried on during the following years.

The Polish professors in Lviv also took an anti-Ukrainian position. In particular, they formed a special group from among themselves, which in 1909 – 1912 held secret meetings at Professor S. Stazhynskyi’s apartment in order to prevent the “utraquisition” at Lviv University and “legislative support of its Polish character”. As a result, the Ukrainian politicians formed the “Interparty Committee for the Affairs of the Ukrainian University” in May 1912, which was to support the Ukrainian university establishment in Lviv (Zashkilniak, 2013, p. 105).

However, the Ukrainian university opening issue in Lviv was not resolved. S. Dnistrianskyi’s deputy activity during 1907 – 1918 concerned not only Lviv University issue, but also the issues concerning preparing and conducting elections to the State Council and the Galician Sejm, conducting censuses and detecting abuses during their implementation (Imprint, 1911), conducting land reforms, standardization of forest lands, etc.

A separate research area, which was suggested by S. Dnistrianskyi practice, was related to the national statistics, which he considered as a foundation for the socio-economic, legal and sociological research. The scientist identified the following statistics sections: the population statistics, the agricultural, the trade, the industrial, the labor, the school, the sanitary, the criminal and other types of statistics (Dnistrianskyi, b.r.).

Working in the State Council in Vienna, S. Dnistrianskyi did not leave the scientific work, in particular, during that period he defined the basic approaches to law and politics: he considered law as a norm of a public life, and considered politics a method that can guide this life. Hence, law and politics in his understanding were “inextricably connected”, and changes in public life had to be associated with the norms to which it is subject. According to S. Dnistrianskyi, politics was possible only where there were legal norms and where there was a need to further develop it (Dnistrianskyi, 2019).

The Conclusions. S. Dnistrianskyi played an important role among the Ukrainian professors of Lviv University at the end of the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries,

along with M. Hrushevskiy, S. Rudnytskyi and the others. Owing to S. Dnistrianskyi's scientific work, the Ukrainian School of Civil Rights was established, national associations of lawyers were formed, and the publication of special and periodical legal journals began. Furthermore, historical and legal research conducted by S. Dnistrianskyi at Lviv University allowed him to define the "Ukrainian statehood ideas", to substantiate the basis of self-determination as the Ukrainian people right, to reveal the content of historical, state and social synthesis in the social progress of the state and people.

S. Dnistrianskyi's public activity was aimed at the struggle for the Ukrainian university opening in Lviv; as a member of the State Council in Vienna, he influenced the solution of the national and social problems in Galicia.

The perspective for further research is to study S. Dnistrianskyi's scientific works on state and legal issues

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MARKIAN TERLETSKYI IN THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT OF GALICIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA DURING THE 20 – 30-ies OF THE XXth CENTURY

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze Markiyian Terletskyi's participation in the cultural and educational environment of Galicia (Halychyna) (1920 – 1930) and to highlight the main aspects of his activities in camps for the interned Ukrainian servicemen in Czechoslovakia, as well as in the Ukrainian educational institutions in Podybrad and Prague. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity; as well as the use of general scientific and special historical methods. Owing to the application of the biographical method, the author highlighted M. Terletskyi's activities and defined the place and role in the educational institutions of Przemyśl, Podybrad, Prague, Yavoriv and Stanislaviv (nowadays Ivano-Frankivsk), as well as in the Czechoslovak camps for the interned Ukrainian soldiers. The scientific novelty is that for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography, based on the analysis of a set of sources, M. Terletskyi's biography and his cultural and educational activities were reconstructed. The Conclusions. Having analyzed M. Terletskyi's multifaceted activities, we make bold to say that he was primarily closely associated with the socio-cultural environment in Przemyśl, which manifested itself in his pedagogical work in the Ukrainian schools primarily. M. Terletskyi's several years of multifaceted work in the camps for the interned Ukrainian soldiers in Czechoslovakia was aimed at raising their cultural and educational level primarily. The research and teaching work in the Ukrainian educational emigration institutions of the Czechoslovak Republic testified to his active civic position. After his return to Galicia (Halychyna), M. Terletskyi joined the native schools' activities. Based on the analysis of his pedagogical activity, scientific and pedagogical research, speeches at pedagogical meetings, meetings in educational societies, M. Terletskyi's role in the Ukrainian national school and education development was clarified.*

Key words: Markiyian Terletskyi, Galicia, Czechoslovakia, socio-cultural activity.

МАРКІЯН ТЕРЛЕЦЬКИЙ В КУЛЬТУРНО-ОСВІТНЬОМУ ПРОСТОРИ ГАЛИЧИНИ ТА ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНИ ПЕРШОЇ ТРЕТИНИ ХХ ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати участь Маркіяна Терлецького в культурно-освітньому просторі Галичини (перша третина ХХ ст.) та висвітлити основні аспекти його діяльності у таборах для інтернованих українських військових у Чехословаччині, а також – в українських освітніх установах Подєбрадів та Праги. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, а також використанні загальнонаукових і спеціально-історичних методів. Завдяки застосуванню біографічного методу автор висвітлила діяльність та визначила місце і роль М. Терлецького в освітніх закладах Перемишля, Подєбрад, Праги, Яворова та Станіславова (нині м. Івано-Франківськ), а також у таборах Чехословаччини для інтернованих українських воїнів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії, на основі аналізу комплексу джерел реконструйовано біографію М. Терлецького та його культурно-освітню діяльність. **Висновки.** Проаналізувавши багатогранну діяльність М. Терлецького, маємо підстави стверджувати, що він насамперед був тісно пов'язаний із соціокультурним середовищем Перемищини, і це проявилось у його педагогічній праці в українських навчальних закладах. Кількарічна багатопланова робота М. Терлецького у таборах для інтернованих українських воїнів у Чехословаччині була спрямована на піднесення їх культурного і освітнього рівня. Науково-викладацька робота в українських еміграційних інституціях ЧСР засвідчила його активну громадянську позицію. З поверненням у Галичину М. Терлецький долучився до діяльності рідношкільних установ. На основі аналізу його педагогічної діяльності, науково-педагогічних розвідок, виступів на педагогічних нарадах, засіданнях у просвітницьких товариствах з'ясовано роль М. Терлецького у розбудові української національної школи та освіти.

Ключові слова: Маркіян Терлецький, Галичина, Чехословаччина, культурно-освітня діяльність.

The Problem Statement. It is of utmost importance for the Ukrainian historiography in the Ukrainian state formation context to return to the orbit of the historical memory of those socio-political and cultural educational renowned figures, who acted and created in the stateless period, had a clear civic position and, in fact, preserved their identity and did not allow it to dissolve in another's sea. As the leading figure of Markiyano Antonovych Terletskyi (1885 – 1963) – a teacher, historian, cultural and educational figure – was known mostly to a narrow circle of the researchers, so it would be unfair that the name of this man, who was noted for the active citizenship and large-scale cultural and educational activities was lost in the vicissitudes of time.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. There was no professional research, devoted to M. Terletskyi's figure until now. Posthumous articles, written by L. Yasinchuk in American newspaper "Svoboda" (Yasinchuk, 1963) and S. Ripetskyi in "Vilna Ukraina" (Ripetskyi, 1963) the encyclopedic references (Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva, 2000; Steblii, 2012). The above-mentioned works include all information about the identity of M. Terletskyi, who, first of all, distinguished himself by his highly professional and public activity in the field of the Ukrainian schooling; carried out active educational activities in prisoner of war camps in Czechoslovakia, took an active part in the Ukrainian educational institutions' establishment in Podyebrady and Prague.

Markiyano Antonovych Terletskyi was born on the 1st of November in 1885 in the village of Polnyatychi in Yaroslav (Jaroslaw) region (Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland) in the family of a Greek Catholic priest. After his father's death, in 1886, together with his mother, Karolina Vakhnyanyn-Terletska, he moved to another village, which was called Dobra, where Fr. Roman Pasichynskyi, husband of Domicelia-Maria Vakhnyanin, mother's younger sister, was in the

parish. Markiyian Terletskyi received his primary education in Yavoriv. In 1896 – 1904 he studied at the Ukrainian Second Imperial-Royal Gymnasium in Przemysl (Spravozdanie, 1897 p. 51; Spravozdanie, 1898, p. 54). Hryhoriy Velychko, who became the first Doctor of Geography to defend his dissertation (1893) at the University of Lviv, was M. Terletskyi's Geography and History teacher in the first and second forms; in the sixth form – Denys Korenets, Ukrainian cultural and educational figure, teacher, historian, geographer, theorist, and practitioner of the cooperative movement. The Ukrainian language was taught by the well-known literary critic, poet, and translator Vasyl Shchurat, and the Polish language was taught by Kostya Horbal, a Ukrainian pedagogue, editor, publisher, and journalist. Having obtained a high-quality high school education, M. Terletskyi entered Lviv University successfully. During 1904 – 1908, while studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, he listened to lectures and attended practical classes, which were conducted by professors T. Wojciechowski, L. Finkel, A. Regman, B. Dembinski, S. Zakrzewski, M. Hrushevskiy, K. Studynskiy, Ol. Kolessa. Owing to the above-mentioned constellation of teachers, who provided productive and effective training, which guaranteed a high-quality educational level of knowledge and formed the relevant professional skills necessary for professional development. It should be noted that the years of M. Terletskyi's studies coincided with the time when the university students took an active part in Lviv's socio-political and socio-cultural life.

After graduating from university, M. Terletskyi began his almost decade-long teaching career in the Ukrainian schools in Przemysl. He first worked at the Przemysl Girls' Lyceum, where he conducted History and Geography lessons, as well as the Ukrainian language and Mathematics for first-graders (Zvit, 1909, p. 22), and the following school year he worked for 20 hours per week and taught History, Geography and the History of his Native Land (Zvit, 1910, p. 11). In addition, M. Terletskyi wrote a little research concerning Przemysl Girls' Lyceum formation and development. According to M. Terletskyi, "it was a modern humanistic school [...] adapted to the living conditions of the time" (Terletskyi, 1961, p. 288). This educational institution played a significant role in the women's education formation and contributed to the realization of women's right to education, professional realization and economic independence.

In May 1910, M. Terletskyi passed with flying colors the qualifying examination, which opened up the prospect of teaching in gymnasiums (Kalendarzyk, 1913, p. 182). The Tsisarsko-Korolivska Krayova (Imperial-Royal Regional) School Council appointed M. Terletskyi as the Deputy Teacher at the Ukrainian Boys' Gymnasium in Przemysl, where he taught History and Geography from the 15th of December to the 1st of February, by the rescript No. 46482, issued on the 18th of October in 1910. According to the same rescript, M. Terletskyi was granted vacation for the 1910/11 academic year and at the same time, he was appointed as a teacher at the Ukrainian Institute for Girls (Zvit Dyrektsiyi, 1911, pp. 26, 29). Hence, in the 1910/11 and 1911/12 academic years, Markiyian Terletskyi was a teacher at the Ukrainian Institute for Girls in Przemysl and taught History and Geography there (Zvit, 1911, p. 15; Zvit, 1912, p. 9).

In the 1912/13 academic year, M. Terletskyi was appointed as the History and Geography Teacher at the Ukrainian Men's Gymnasium in Przemysl. He combined work in the gymnasium with teaching at the Ukrainian Institute for Girls, where he conducted lessons until 1917.

In the 1912/13 academic year, having 20 hours per week, M. Terletskyi taught History and Geography at the gymnasium, and also headed the Teacher's Library. He was involved

in the extracurricular activities of the gymnasium actively, where he preferred to organize educational trips, excursions, etc. As a result, along with 13 high school students, M. Terletskyi climbed Mount Pikuy; visited the exhibition of home crafts in Kolomyia (1912), which was organized under the patronage of Emperor Franz Joseph I (Zvit Dyrektsyi, 1913, p. 26). Due to the conditions of the physical culture and sports movement intensification, sport became an expressive means of the youth national education. Together with teachers S. Kormosh, R. Shchyrba, A. Kokodynskyi, M. Terletskyi stood at the origins of the sports society “Syanova Chaika” (Przemysl), helped organize and conduct sports competitions, which gave students the opportunity to get acquainted and gain the necessary applied skills and test their strength and determine their physical qualities. In 1912 – 1913 he was “Syanova Chaika” Curator (Zvit Dyrektsyi, 1913, pp. 27, 38).

In addition, M. Terletskyi took an active part in the socio-cultural life of Przemysl. From January 1912 he became a member of Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Scientific Lectures Society, the Przemysl branch, the main purpose of which was to conduct a powerful scientific Ukrainian studies work among the Ukrainians. Every week, qualified lecturers acquainted students with current issues in many scientific fields: history, linguistics, astronomy, physics, etc. (Nove tovarystvo, 1912). As the students of the Ukrainian men’s gymnasium were supervised by professors M. Terletskyi and O. Avdykovich, they also attended the society’s lectures (Zvit Dyrektsyi, 1913, p. 76).

In 1914, M. Terletskyi took an active part in the celebration, which was dedicated to Taras Shevchenko’s 100th anniversary in Lviv, in particular, in the manifestation of Galician youth military-patriotic organizations, which was evidence of organizational and physical readiness of young people to fight for their own state. After the Shevchenko celebrations, together with seven high school students, he made an unforgettable trip around Ukraine: Kyiv, Kaniv, Katerynoslav, Zaporizhia, Bakhchisarai, Yalta, Sevastopil, Odesa. It should be noted that among M. Terletskyi’s students was Kost Chekhovych, later on a famous linguist, the Slavic scholar and literary critic (Terletskyi, 1938 a, p. 185; Zvit Dyrektsyi, 1916, p. 5).

Furthermore, M. Terletskyi joined the ranks of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USR) with the World War I outbreak and due to the limited number of troops could not get into the legion. In the autumn of 1914, in connection with the occupation of Przemysl by Russian troops, he moved to Graz (Austria) (Zvit Dyrektsyi, 1916, pp. 7, 8). In 1915 M. Terletskyi served in the Austrian army in Wiener Neustadt near Vienna. In August 1915 he returned to Przemysl, where he continued his teaching work (Arkhiv).

In addition, M. Terletskyi, during the National Democratic Revolution of 1918 – 1919 in the western Ukrainian lands, was a “horunzhyi” (cornet player) of the 8th Sambir Brigade of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA) as part of the artillery group “Hlyboka” (“Deep”), led by Wilhelm Mainl (Arkhiv, p. 1). At the beginning of the Polish operation in May 1919 (Haller’s army offensive), the above-mentioned art group, together with the Mountainous Brigade’s “kureni” (military units), was cut off from the main forces of the Third Corps and forced to cross the Czech border (Matskevych, 1958). As a result, they were disarmed and sent to an internment camp in German Yablunny (Jablunny). It housed 4,000 UGA soldiers, including 400 officers, 100 women and 120 children (Pavlenko, 1999, p. 185). In the camp M. Terletskyi worked in the Education Department, and in February 1921 he was elected as the secretary (Zvit z diialnosity Prosvitnoho kruzhka, 1921, p. 1). As one of the priority tasks of the department was to carry out cultural and educational work among the Ukrainian prisoners, M. Terletskyi took an active part in the national educational activities directly.

He conducted lectures on World History and Geography, including 36 lectures on higher and vocational education for the shooters and non-commissioned officers, and gave a series of lectures (on “The Universe Structure”, “The First Beasts and Plants”, “Journey through Switzerland”, “Rome”) with the help of the visualized slides, or as they were then called the “light pictures” (Kurs vysshoi osvity, 1920, p. 13; Yarema, 1920, p. 16). In front of the Drahomaniv circle listeners, the historian gave a lecture concerning “The idea of statehood in the life of the Ukrainian people” (Z kulturno-prosvitnoho zhyttia bryhady, 1920, p. 16). On the occasion of the second anniversary of Zluka, he delivered a speech at the solemn celebration in which he “explained in an accessible and interesting way the idea of the Ukrainian lands unity in all important phases of the historical development, starting with Volodymyr Velykyi (Volodymyr the Great)” (Z zhyttia v tabori, 1921, p. 19).

It should be noted that M. Terletskyi’s functional responsibilities in the camp included collecting memoirs of participants in the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918 – 1919), the result of which was the publication in the magazine “The Voice of the Camp” of historical research “Spomyny” (Memories), which are the so-called historical sketch of the battle route of the UGA under the command of General O. Grekov. M. Terletskyi was also a member of the editorial board of the camp publication, which was called the “Ukrainian shooter” (Zvit z diialnosti Prosvitnoho kruzhka, 1921, p. 3). Taking everything into consideration, M. Terletskyi’s camp activity outcome was his historical exploration-memory concerning the interned Ukrainian soldiers founding, cultural and educational life in the German Yablonne (Jablunny) (Terletskyi, 1958).

A certain normalization of the Czechoslovak-Polish relations, connected with the Czechoslovak-Polish disputes’ on the territorial settlement by the Conference of Ambassadors in July 1920, influenced T. Masaryk’s government attitude towards the interned Galicians. Trying not to advertise the privileges granted to them, which could not be hidden from the local population, and, hence, from the Poles, T. Masaryk’s government decided to transfer the camp inhabitants from the German Jablonny and Liberec to Josefov (in the old Austrian fortress) (Pavlenko, 1999, p. 188). As M. Terletskyi wrote in his memoirs: “In July 1921, in connection with the camp liquidation in German Yablunny, he was transferred for a short time to the camp in Josefov” (Arkhiv, p. 1).

M. Terletskyi’s subsequent years were connected with the activity in the emigrant cultural and educational life of Czechoslovakia, which in the interwar period became the center of the Ukrainian political emigration. As S. Plohiy mentioned the following: “Czechoslovakia was the only Eastern European country of the interwar period that not only declared democratic values but also tried to act in accordance with them” (Plokhii, 2016, p. 316).

Due to the war, a large number of young Ukrainians were unable to obtain or complete the secondary education. Specially for such persons, who did not have a general secondary education completion certificate, at the initiative of the Ukrainian Public Committee at the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Podyebrady was organized the so-called “Graduation Courses” (“Matyra Courses”), the completion of which gave the opportunity to continue their studies in high school. Associate Professor S. Komaretskyi was the direct supervisor of the courses. Ye. Ivanenko (Mathematics and Physics), I. Maistrenko (Natural Sciences) and M. Terletskyi (World History and Geography) were invited to the lectures, which began on the 15th of August in 1922. At the end of the course, the representatives of the Ministry of Education noted the students’ proper level of knowledge and teachers’ M. Terletskyi and I. Maistrenko high professional level (Try roky pratsi, 1924, p. 57). From August 1923 the courses were transferred to Prague. The

student of the course, Valentyn Simyantsiv, spoke warmly and with a deep gratitude about his teacher M. Terletskyi: "He taught in an even voice, as if calmly, but more than once the frost ran over his skin... The Professor told us about how the Poles destroyed our church, carried bricks to the river, washed away from her "schism" to already from the "purified" to build a cathedral. The impression of the narrator, the known and not new information, penetrated both into the heart and the brain – the goosebumps ran down his back. And the hand grabbed the sword, which had not existed for a long time" (Simyantsiv, 1973, p. 64).

M. Terletskyi's further activity was connected with his work at M. Drahomanov Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute in Prague. In June 1923, his first professors were appointed: S. Rusova, Ya. Yarema, M. Terletskyi, Ye. Ivanenko, M. Tkachenko, S. Rudnytskyi, V. Harmashiv, V. Simovych. (Ulianovskyi, 2002, p. 224). Immediately when the institute was founded, the question arose about the work of one of the central departments – the History of Ukraine. The draft curriculum conceptually defined that the following courses were to be taught here: the History of Ukraine, the History of Eastern Galicia, the History of the Cossacks, the Ukrainian Historiography, the Ukrainian Archeology, the Historical Geography of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Historical Epic, the Methods of History.

At the Professors' Council meeting on the 16th of June in 1923, Prof. M. Terletskyi had to conduct lectures on the History of Ukraine as well as to teach the following subjects: the "History of the East, Greece and Rome" and "General Slavonic Studies". However, at the next Council meeting on the 12th of July, M. Terletskyi stated the following: "the renunciation of the statements of the History of Ukraine". He preferred to occupy only the World History Department. The case concerning the History of Ukraine Department replacing was postponed. However, at the meeting that the above-mentioned main cathedral courses were approved (Ulianovskyi, 2002, p. 225).

From the 1st of August in 1923 to the 30th of September in 1926 M. Terletskyi was a Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History at M. Drahomanov Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute, taught the History of the East, Greece and Rome at the Historical and Literary Department (Mirnyi, 1934, pp. 79, 141). In December 1925 he headed a temporary Excursion Committee, the main task of which was to organize excursions to museums, libraries, scientific institutes, etc. (Mirnyi, 1934, p. 79; Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 173).

In July 1926 M. Terletskyi returned to Galicia after actually seven years in exile, where J. Pilsudski's new political course was implemented, which was aimed at the national minorities' state assimilation. In such a difficult period for the Ukrainian private schooling, M. Terletskyi indulged in the socio-cultural environment of the region organically and began his long-term pedagogical and socio-cultural activities there.

M. Terletskyi headed the gymnasium of the "Ridna Shkola" ("Native School") in Yavoriv from February 1927 to February 1929. The outcome, one of the articles in the magazine "Dilo" mentioned the positive gymnasium's development under his leadership (Dopysy: Yavoriv, 1927). One of Yavoriv Gymnasium graduates, Volodymyr Barahura, mentioned that "in a few years of ant work, full of dedication, the gymnasium has changed beyond recognition, it has become a real scientific institution of medium degree..." (Barahura, 1938, p. 63).

At M. Terletskyi's initiative, at the beginning of the 1928 – 1929 academic year, the "Renaissance" group began its work in the gymnasium, the main task of which was the anti-alcohol and anti-tobacco education of young people. (Velykohorskyi, 1938, pp. 11, 24). The historian and teacher took an active part in the cultural and educational life of Yavoriv, cooperated with the societies' local branches "The Teacher's Community", "Prosvita", "Silskyi

Hospodar” (“The Farmer”). It was important to establish a branch of the “Silskyi Hospodar” (“The Farmer”) in Yavoriv, the main purpose of which was to increase the peasants’ agro-technical level, improve their welfare, but also improve the economic development of the region, which due to the infertile sandy and loamy soils had low grain yields. M. Terletskyi was one of the initiators of the creation of an experimental land plot for the transplanting winter rye, on which he worked together with high school students. The locals joked and said the following: “There will be no famine now, because “pany” from the gymnasium set out with the agronom hazduvaty (rule)” (Dubrivnyi, 1984, p. 577).

M. Terletskyi’s further pedagogical work was connected with the Ukrainian girls’ gymnasium “Ridna Shkola” (“Native School”) in Stanislaviv, the head of which he was for three years (Vistry z “Ridnoi Shkoly”, 1929). One of the high school students wrote in her memoirs the following: “Respect, authority, high culture were noticeable to this man. Deep knowledge of the subject, a way of giving statements, so to speak, academically. We young students understood this from the first lecture. His every word was captured on paper, as if transcribed” (Lemkha-Lutska, 1985, p. 61). As the secondary schools’ representative, the Director of the gymnasium participated in the law discussion: “On the organization of the education system” of March 11, 1932. Thus, M. Terletskyi delivered a speech and heralded his ideas concerning the new school structure on the 10th of May in 1932 at a meeting of representatives of schools in Stanislaviv region. In his essay, M. Terletskyi not only acquainted the audience with the innovations that were supposed to be introduced in the new 1932/33 school year but also offered to take an active part in the new schools’ development, including vocational schools in the region. (Ridno-shkilna anketa, 1932). Furthermore, M. Terletskyi, under the pseudonym M. T. published an article “For teaching cooperation in the secondary schools” (M. T., 1931, p. 2), which raised the question of the need to introduce in high schools a course on the basics of cooperation for the economic knowledge formation, on the pages of the local Stanislaviv newspaper the “Ukrainian Life”. Unfortunately, M. Terletskyi was transferred to Yavoriv under the pressure of the Board of Trustees, the Main Board of the “Ridna Skola” (Native School) (Dopysy: Stanislaviv, 1932). M. Terletskyi, as a typical representative of the Ukrainian private secondary school, was closely connected with the activities of the society “Ridna Shkola” (Native School), took an active part in the Pedagogical-Scientific Congress of the “Ridna Shkola” (Native School) secondary schools teachers’, where he delivered an essay “Teaching the History of Ancient East and Greece in connection with the latest experiments and excavations” (Uchytelski Kraievi Zizdy, 1929), which was later published in the periodical the “Teachers’ Community” – “Ukrainian School” (Terletskyi, 1929). In his essay, the practicing teacher raised the issue of updating the World History curriculum, talked about the need to change the grid of hours to study the discipline in a particular class, emphasized the feasibility of publishing a new textbook, and so on (Terletskyi, 1929, pp. 17, 18).

M. Terletskyi took an active part in the First Ukrainian Pedagogical Congress organization and activities, which took place in 1935 in Lviv, where the Ukrainian school issue was discussed. He was the First Ukrainian Pedagogical Congress Deputy Chairman of the Committee Presidium (Pershyi, 1938, p.VIII, XVII).

As a member of the Main Board of UPT “Ridna Shkola” (Native School) (Zvychainyi zahalnyi zizd “Ridnoi Shkoly”, 1932), he became one of the initiators of the First Ukrainian Pedagogical Performance “Ridna Shkola” in Lviv, which was to show the development of Ukrainian schooling, upbringing and education in historical perspective and “to present the 350-year educational work of the Ukrainian people, initiated by the foundation of the first

primary and secondary school at the Stavropyhian Brotherhood in 1586” (Persha Ukrainska Pedahohichna Vystava, 1938, p. 3).

From September 1936 to August 1937, M. Terletsyki was a member of the “Ridna Shkola” (Native School) Commission, which inspected secondary schools, in particular, checked compliance with job descriptions by teachers, as well as studied the educational process organization, etc. and, if necessary, gave appropriate recommendations and pieces of advice (Stan i diialnist Ridnoi shkoly, 1938, p. 79).

M. Terletsyki was the “Ridna Shkola” (Native School) school officer in Lviv from January 1933 until the Soviet power establishment in Western Ukraine in September 1939, and during March-August 1939 he was an editor and actively developed the concept of the magazine “Ridna Shkola” (Native School).

Moreover, M. Terletsyki cooperated with the “Teachers’ Community” and was a member of its management, which defended the professional interests of high school teachers primarily, advocated the textbook’s publication in Ukrainian, and so on (Zahalni zbory Uchytelskoi Hromady, 1938; Z T-va “Uchytelska Hromada”, 1939). As a practicing teacher, M. Terletsyki was a member of the so-called historical section, at the Main Department, the main task of which was to publish textbooks on the history of Ukraine and World History (Terletsyki, 1935, p. 38). As a result, at one of the meetings, he delivered an essay “The History Textbooks in our High Schools”. In addition, M. Terletsyki published the article “The Ukrainian Private Secondary Schooling” in the professional edition of the society (Terletsyki, 1938 b). M. Terletsyki’s article included some information on the law “On the organization of the education system” issued on the 11th of March in 1932, which made significant changes in Rzeczpospolita (the Second Commonwealth) education’s system organization. According to the law, there was an artificial gap between the so-called third-level school curriculum and the gymnasium curriculum, which deprived school graduates of any opportunity to enter the gymnasium. M. Terletsyki noted that the private gymnasiums’ material component suffered. Obtaining new legal status by schools led to clearly regulated relations between the government, the concessionaire and the school administration. According to M. Terletsyki, strict adherence to state programs and teaching methods significantly limited the private schools’ individuality. M. Terletsyki believed that “a private school could be the best field for the new pedagogical and didactic attempts” (Terletsyki, 1938 b, pp. 33, 108).

The Conclusions. Taking everything into consideration, M. Terletsyki’s long-term activity analysis shows that there were the following priority areas in the study period: 1) the pedagogical work in Przemysl Ukrainian educational institutions; 2) the multifaceted cultural, educational and scientific-teaching work in prisoner-of-war camps in Czechoslovakia, as well as in the Ukrainian emigrant educational institutions of the Czechoslovak Republic; 3) wide and diverse pedagogical activity in educational institutions of Galicia. M. Terletsyki was the author of topical scientific and pedagogical works, conducted lectures, abstracts and information at pedagogical forums, meetings of educational societies and others. Hence, it is possible to claim that M. Terletsyki took an active civic position, occupied an important place in the Ukrainian socio-cultural space of Galicia and Czechoslovakia and played an important role in the Ukrainian national school and education development.

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VOLYN DURING WORLD WAR I: CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS THROUGH THE PRISM OF PROSOPOGRAPHY

Abstract. *The Purpose of the Research* is to characterize the prosopographic aspect of cultural, educational activities of the Ukrainian military and public structures in Western Volyn during World War I and to clarify the role of individual representatives of the Galician and local (Volyn) intelligentsia in the national life of the region. **The Methodology of the Research** was formed by the principles of historicism, systematization, general scientific methods of logics, an authorial objectivity, special historical methods (a historiographical analysis, a historical systemic method, a chronology method, a historical genetic method). **The scientific novelty** consists in the task to characterize the cultural, educational activities of Ukrainian military and public structures in Western Volyn during World War I and to clarify the role of individual representatives of the Galician, Naddniprianska and local (Volyn) intelligentsia in the national life of the region. **The Conclusions.** The peculiarity of the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen was its activity not only as an armed formation at the fronts of World War I, but also as a factor in the Ukrainian national movement. One of the tasks set by the USS (the USS – Ukrainian Sich Riflemen) was a national self-awareness both among the Sich members themselves and among the Ukrainians of the areas, where the Sich members fought during the hostilities. The national self-awareness was facilitated by the presence of prominent intelligentsia representatives. Owing to their efforts Volyn succeeded in the cultural and educational spheres in 1916 – 1918. The delegated Sich riflemen became selfless organizers of a socio-political life in the region and bearers of the Ukrainian national idea. The selfless work of the Galicians and residents of Naddniprianshchyna, such as: D. Vitovsky, M. Havrylko, M. Saevych, S. Sydorovych, I. Krypiakevych and the others, became the basis for the growth of the Ukrainian movement in Volyn during the interwar period and World War II.

Key words: Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Volyn, cultural and educational movement, Ukrainian schooling.

ВОЛИНЬ У РОКИ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ: КУЛЬТУРНО-ОСВІТНІЙ АСПЕКТ КРИЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ПРОСОПОГРАФІЇ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є охарактеризувати просопографічний аспект культурно-освітньої та просвітницької діяльності українських мілітарних і громадських структур на Західній Волині у роки Першої світової війни та з'ясувати роль окремих представників галицької та місцевої (волинської) інтелігенції у національному житті регіону. **Методологію дослідження** сформували принципи історизму, системності, загальнонаукові методи логіки, авторської об'єктивності, спеціально-історичні методи (історіографічного аналізу, історико-системний, хронології, історико-генетичний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше проаналізовано культурно-освітню та просвітницьку діяльність українських мілітарних і громадських структур на Західній Волині у роки Першої світової війни та з'ясувати роль окремих представників галицької, наддніпрянської й місцевої (волинської) інтелігенції у національному житті регіону. **Висновки.** Особливістю легіону Українських січових стрільців стала його активність не лише як збройного формування на фронтах Першої світової війни, а й як чинника українського національного руху. Одним із завдань, яке ставили перед собою усуси, – національне самоусвідомлення і серед самих січовиків, і серед українців тих теренів, куди вони потрапляли у ході воєнних дій. Цьому сприяла присутність яскравих представників інтелігенції. Саме завдяки їх зусиллям 1916 – 1918 рр. на Волині вдалося досягнути успіхів у культурно-освітній сфері. Делеговані січові стрільці стали самовідданими організаторами суспільно-політичного життя в краї та носіями української національної ідеї. Самовіддана праця галичан та наддніпрянців Д. Вітовського, М. Гаврилка, М. Саввича, С. Сидорович, І. Крип'якевича та інших стала підґрунтям зростання українського руху на Волині у міжвоєнний період та у роки Другої світової війни.

Ключові слова: Українські січові стрільці, Волинь, культурно-освітній рух, українське шкільництво.

The Problem Statement. World War I became the geopolitical turning point, which changed the fate of the states and nations. As Olexander Reynt expressed it figuratively: “World War I opened in the XXth century “Pandora’s box” of new horrors and terrible trials for the population of the countries, which were at war” (Reient, 2016). It marked the era of wars, revolutions, national liberation movements, which lasted for almost the entire XXth century. As paradoxical as it may sound at first glance, the Great War intensified the national and cultural life of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. Ukraine, in general, and Volyn, in particular, did not stay away from these processes. These areas were primarily related to the activities of the Sich Riflemen Legion.

The study of the national self-awareness forms, the development patterns of a national education under military conditions remains relevant for Ukrainian science and society even nowadays. The use of the experience of World War I under conditions of the modern Ukrainian-Russian hybrid war actualizes such studies not only in the theoretical but also in practical plane.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The first information, and later research on the activities of the USS, is known to be found in the works of such Ukrainian historians and intellectuals, who were directly or indirectly connected with the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, as I. Krypiakevych, D. Doroshenko, K. Levytsky. After the period of absence of this issue in the Soviet historical science, with the independence of Ukraine, the cultural, educational work of the riflemen formations in Volyn was analyzed by M. Bahriy (Bahrii, 2018), L. Bashniak (Bashniak, 2009), V. Bernadsky (Bernadskyi, 1995; Bernadskyi, 2012), H. Haidukevych (Haidukevych, 2005), O. Demyaniuk (Demianiuk, 2015; Demianiuk, 2007; Demianiuk, 2017), O. Kalishchuk (Kalishchuk, 2000; Kalishchuk, 2016), T. Kuzmenko (Kuzmenko, 2005),

M. Lazarovych (Lazarovych, 2003; Lazarovych, 2016a; Lazarovych, 2016b), P. Lepisevych (Lepisevych, 2003), M. Lytvyn and K. Naumenko (Lytvyn, 1990), I. Pater (Pater, 1996; Pater, 1998), O. and S. Soloviovy (Soloviovy, 1996). B. Zabrovarny (Zabrovarnyi, 1996), O. Kalishchuk (Kalishchuk, 2016), N. Klymenko (Klymenko, 2007), O. Rudenko (Rudenko, 2017), R. Fabryka (Fabryka, 1998) analyzed prosopography of the topic. Therefore, according to the research by V. Velykochyi, we state that for more than nine decades a considerable literature on the history of the Ukrainian riflemen has been accumulated and, at the same time, despite a considerable scientific interest, this history has gaps and perspective areas of the research (Velykochyi, 2012, p. 23). In our opinion, the topic of the activities of the USS in Volyn belongs to these researches.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the cultural, educational activities of the Ukrainian military and public structures in Western Volyn during World War I and to clarify the role of individual representatives of the Galician and local (Volyn) intelligentsia in the national life of the region.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In the summer of 1915, the Austro-Hungarian troops occupied Kovel, Volodymyr-Volynsky, Lutsk, and partly Kremenets, Dubno, and Rivne counties (povit). The front activities were located along the line Kremenets – Dytniachi – Dubno – Pereshiv – Khromiakovo – Bohuslavka – Kulykovychi – Chortoryisk – Bilska Volya – Loknytsia. Almost immediately after the occupation by the Austrian army, the territory of Volyn district (this is the name given to these lands) became the arena of the Ukrainian public organizations activity – the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian General Council and its subdivisions.

The national awareness of the population of these areas was an important and urgent matter. A low level of a national consciousness of the local Ukrainians was recorded by numerous testimonies of the Galicians, who arrived in sub-Russian Volyn. Dmytro Vitovsky, a well-known public figure, described the reaction of the people of Volyn to the question of who they were: “They stared at me, and some said that they were the Orthodox, the others – villagers, the others – masters, these – “peasants”, those – “the Russians”, and only one said – “malorosy” (Vitovskyy, 2002). So, as another Sich riflemen, Hnat Martynets, summed up, “The population is oppressed, tired, subdued and ignorant. There is one fun that the local population doesn’t call itself Muscovites. In short, a sad fate, and perhaps, only because we have long called ourselves “the Rusyns”. The only thing that hurts us is that everyone is afraid that he is a faithful son of our monarch, and is called a Ukrainian”. There is no coincidence that Ulas Samchuk much later characterized Volyn as “one that was Russified on the top and illiterate at the bottom, indistinct, “local”, “khokhlatsko-malorosiyska” (Samchuk, 1977 – 1978).

In 1916, the Ukrainians of Galicia took advantage of the opportunity to spread the national idea and educational activities (primarily through the opening of Ukrainian schools). The military conditions dictated the need to take the main burden of this issue on the shoulders of the Sich riflemen. In the educational work, members of the USS collaborated with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Bureau of Cultural Aid. However, it should be understood that without the support of the entire Ukrainian community, their efforts would have been in vain. Large material donations, which were collected in Galicia under the slogan “For Volyn Schools”, testified to the real interest and support of the Galician Ukrainians in the cultural and educational activities in Volyn (as well as, after all, in Transcarpathia).

It is worth mentioning that initially the Austro-Hungarian authorities gave permission for the activity of three recruiting commissioners in Volyn. They were: Dmytro Vitovsky

in Kovel, Mykola Saevych in Volodymyr-Volynsky, Mykhailo Havrylko in Lutsk. Only owing to their hard work, the first achievements in recruiting volunteers to the USS Legion, convincing the dependence on national awareness was it possible to increase the presence of riflemen in Volyn. “With great effort, convenience and struggle, we later managed to call many intelligent riflemen to Volyn. Ukrainian schools grew here like mushrooms after rain. Our riflemen-teachers taught children at schools and owing to their activity they soon gained the trust and affection among the population, not even among the Ukrainian one. Despite the need, hunger and cold, children rushed to their native school, and treated their teachers-riflemen and female-teachers the same way they treated their parents. And no matter how depressing military Volyn was, no matter how the heart pounded in the chest at the sight of ruined farms and fields with weeds – our native schools were always the healing balm that did not allow to despair and lose hope for a moment” (Stepovenko, 1918, p. 126).

The USS commissioners, who were sent to Volyn and started working under difficult conditions, deserve a special attention. Each of them was an extraordinary personality and deserves a separate story. Without their dedicated work, it would hardly be possible to get at least some results.

First of all, we should mention Dmytro Vitovsky, the person, who turned out to be an outstanding figure of the National Liberation Struggle in 1917 – 1921. D. Vitovsky (1887 – 1919) took care of the Ukrainian issue in Kovel region. The contemporaries characterized D. Vitovsky as a self-critical man, without any hint of ambition; only life circumstances put him on a leading position. “No one felt as accurate as he did, the one who had the feeling for the national interest and riflemen duty at the moment. And no one else could so eloquently figure the things out and convince everyone how to act. He was the conscience of the Riflemen” (Zaklynskyi, 1937, p. 67). At the same time, before leaving for Volyn the riflemen leadership was optimistic and assured the commissioners that the Austro-Hungarian command would give them a very warm welcome. D. Vitovsky was quite skeptical about such a statement, which did not particularly surprise the audience, because even then he had earned a reputation of being a “black crow” and a fierce pessimist (Zabrovarnyi, 1995, p. 249). However, the time confirmed his rightness and quite quickly, after arriving in Volyn, the riflemen were left with almost no means of existence, because there were high prices there and money literally “melted”.

Particular difficulties consisted in the fact that in Kovel D. Vitovsky was almost the only representative of the Ukrainians (CSHAUL, f. 353, d. 1, c. 7, p. 7). That is why, he sadly wrote in the letter dated February 13, 1916, that knowing the situation about Havrylko and having the information about the situation with Saevych, in his opinion, he found himself in the worst position. Though gradually, D. Vitovsky succeeded in having a mutual understanding with the local population. He visited the villages, got acquainted with villagers’ life, its needs, shortcomings and grievances, communicating with the peasants and spreading a national consciousness among them. “I roam through the villages like Makar in hell, I go to the village two or three times, even when there is no Wehrlustige” – he wrote to Koshovyi (Hirniak, 1937, 3, 10).

The lack of noticeable results depressed D. Vitovsky himself, and in addition, Lviv demanded him to report on the work that had been done. Being convinced that the results of his ant, but not demonstration work (as defined by I. Krypiakevych) (Andrysiak, 1932, 9) be sure to leave a mark on Volyn land, D. Vitovsky was not prone to unnecessary and loud reports. He was convinced that all this was superfluous, “because every note implies contraction, every firework confuses Galician readers, and every cry, whether of joy or pain, – is completely unnecessary, because it is unsuccessful” (Hirniak 1937, 5, 14).

Mykola Saevych was another commissioner, who was born in Staryi Uhryniv in Galicia, near Kalush. In the editorial office of “Chervona Kalyna” there are drawings by Osyp Kurylas, on one of which Mykola Saevych is depicted. The USSR member is depicted in the form of a clock, which reflects speed symbolically. He made a lot of efforts to ensure the functioning of Ukrainian schools in Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Vuykovychi, Rusnov, Byskupychi, Budiatychi, Zashkovychi and the others. M. Saevych wrote on this occasion: “Despite the need, hunger and cold, children rushed to their native school, and treated their teachers-riflemen and female-teachers the same way they treated their parents. And no matter how depressing military Volyn was, no matter how the heart pounded in the chest at the sight of ruined farms and fields with weeds – our native schools were always the healing balm that did not allow to despair and lose hope for a moment” (Stepovenko, 1918, p. 126).

Galician and Naddniprianski Ukrainian institutions provided a significant assistance in founding Ukrainian public schools. Two organizations were founded in Lviv to take care of schooling in the lands occupied by the Austria-Hungarian Empire: 1) the School Commission at the Teachers’ Community, which prepared the theoretical foundations for schooling. 2) the Bureau of Cultural Aid, which dealt with a technical management. ZUR, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Bureau of Cultural Aid for the Ukrainian population of the occupied lands appealed to the Ukrainian citizens to donate to Volyn schools because of a difficult financial situation of Volyn Ukrainians (monetary donations were transferred to “the book Part 9888 of “the Dniester” in Lviv, Ruska Street, 20 notifying at the same time by the card of the Bureau of Cultural Aid, Lviv, Bliakharska Street, 20 P floor). In the Ukrainian magazines, in particular, in “the Bulletin of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” and “Ukrainische Nachrichten”, “The list of donators to Volyn Schools” was published regularly.

The head of the Bureau of Cultural Aid, which was founded in August 1915, became I. Krypiakevych, a famous historian, who proved to be a talented organizer in this position. He announced the beginning of his activity in the letter to Volodymyr Doroshenko, dated September 10, 1915. I. Krypiakevych developed a special questionnaire for representatives of recruitment commissariats on conducting cultural and educational work among Volyn Ukrainians. At the same time, special attention was paid to the establishment of a whole network of the Ukrainian public schools. The best way to succeed in this issue, he considered the creation of school committees of the three most conscious local residents and the submission of petitions to the district command with a request to organize the school with Ukrainian as the language of teaching and the study of German, because such educational establishments caused the least objection from the Austrian authorities. Due to the difficult and uncertain situation in Volyn, there should have been as many such submissions as possible in order to get ahead of the Poles in this issue. As it turned out, this remark was quite correct, as evidenced, in particular, by the school case in the village of Sukhodoly, where the school with Polish as the language of teaching was established. According to M. Saevych, this happened due to the failure to submit a permit for the opening of a Ukrainian school in the areas with a mixed ethnic composition.

It is no coincidence that after the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine ceased its activities and at the same time the Bureau of Cultural Aid for the Occupied Lands was liquidated, the issue of Ukrainian schooling in Volyn was under threat. In the diary of the Ukrainian public school of Volodymyr-Volynsky in early September of 1918 there is the following entry: “From the time the school was founded until now, the school was maintained by the Bureau of Cultural Aid for the occupied lands of Volyn and Kholmshchyna. <...> Now our

schools are in a very difficult situation: the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine has been dissolved, and at the same time the Bureau of Cultural Aid has ceased its activities. The funds of the Bureau of Cultural Aid, which remained for school purposes, are such that they can suffice to meet the most urgent needs of the still functioning schools for barely 1 – 2 months”. The intensity of the development of Ukrainian schooling in Volyn is illustrated in the table compiled by I. Krypiakevych.

Table

VOLYN SCHOOLS (AUGUST 15, 1916)

DISTRICT	QUANTITY OF SCHOOL				In established	In prepared	Totally	Locals	Civilians from Austria-Hungary	Military from Austria-Hungary	Totally
	Established private	Prepared private	Military established	Totally							
Volodymyr	8	17	-	25	735	628	1365	14	3	-	17
Lutsk	2	5	9	16	450	600	1050	4	1	9	14
Kovel	3	10	1	14	234	500	734	1	-	3	4
Dubno	-	-	1	1	80	-	80	-	-	1	1
Kreminets	-	-	5	5	284	-	284	-	-	5	5
Totally	13	32	16	61	1785	1728	3513	19	4	18	41

The fact should be taken into account that these results were achieved under work conditions, which Krypiakevych described as follows: “... it (work) passed with passion and zeal, violently and widely, interrupted triumphantly between Skillley of distrust of the Austrian occupying power and Charybdis of Volyn peasant’s ignorance, and the work left the first grain of a national awareness in a quiet Volyn side” (I.K., 1932, 18).

A significant part of the school success in Volodymyr-Volynskiy belongs to its head master – Savyna Sydorovych. S. Sydorovych was born on April 5, 1895 in the town of Monastyrskye (nowadays – a district centre in Ternopil region). Her parents Osyp Sydorovych and Anna from the Lazarevych family came from the same town. Her grandfather, Teodor Sydorovych, was an artist, his profession was mastered by Savyna’s father, Osyp, who painted a number of churches in the villages and towns of Galicia – modern Ternopil region, Lviv region, Ivano-Frankivsk region and in the churches of the villages on the outskirts of Przemyśl (nowadays – the Republic of Poland). Her sister Maria became the wife of Ivan Krypiakevych. Unfortunately, a significant part of the grandfather’s and father’s works of art burned during the war in 1914, when the Sydorovych family house burned down completely.

In 1902 – 1905 S. Sydorovych went to the public (primary) school in Monastyrskye, in 1905 – 1906 – “school of exercises” at the state (“imperial-royal”) teacher women’s gymnasium, in 1906 – 1910 – the Sisters Vasylianky gymnasium, in 1910 – 1914 she studied in the teacher’s seminary of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society. In 1914 she passed the maturity exam in the seminary. During different years S. Sydorovych’s teachers were such well-known Galician teachers as Fr. Spyrydon Karhut, prof. Ostap Makarushka, prof. Leshchyi, I. Sitnytsky and the others.

During the period of studying at the Sisters Vasylianky gymnasium, she made friends with Iryna Hnatiuk, Volodymyr Hnatiuk's daughter. S. Sydorovych visited the house of the Hnatiuks family, who lived in T. Shevchenko street (nowadays – Vynnychenko street, 26). S. Sydorovych visited them during summer vacations in the Carpathians. The contacts with the family of the outstanding scientist had an impact on the formation of S. Sydorovych's personality. In 1915 – 1916 she worked in the NISh library and, on the instructions of V. Hnatiuk, she organized the Society's archives, which were destroyed by the war and the Russian occupation.

The period of S. Sydorovych's studying in Lviv was difficult: the Ukrainian youth had to determine their position concerning the events, which were taking place and the onset of which was expected. The community of Galicia self-organized actively – already in 1911 "Plast" was formed. In 1913 K. Trylovsky approved the charter of "Sich Riflemen", the number of organizational centers (groups) of "Sokil", "Sich", "Plast" structures reached significant proportions on the eve of the war. S. Sydorovych was an active member of "Sokil", which is confirmed, among other things, by a group photo of the Sokil movement of 1912. S. Sydorovych organized Plast structures actively, what senior Plast members mentioned about in their memoirs; she worked in the section of female students of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (sanitary courses, fundraising for the needs of the created legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen).

The name of Savyna Sydorovych occupied a worthy place among the female teachers, headed by Konstantyna Malyska at that time. The female teachers led the military patriotic movement among the cohorts of our national heroines – Olena Stepanivna, Sofia Haliechko, Pavlyna Mykhailyshyn, Hanna Dmyterko. Among those names the name of Savyna Sydorovych occupied a worthy place. Unlike her friends, she did not wear a military uniform and did not take up arms. But her life's feat in raising the Ukrainian spirit in Volyn, where it had been successfully trampled by the Russian tsar for centuries, is also surprising.

Here are some testimonies of contemporaries about the activities of a Ukrainian teacher in Volyn. "The first person we brought from Galicia was Mrs. Savyna Sydorovych, a young, talented and outstanding person, – Hnat Martynets wrote later. Her education far surpassed that of ordinary teachers, she had an extraordinary organizational and pedagogical talent and the ability not only to unite people, but also to maintain their respect both for the Ukrainian issue and for her authority". Further he pointed out that this intelligent, elegant, beautiful woman was an exceptionally industrious, diligent and hard-working person, who was engaged not only in education, but also in cultural and educational work among the public, to whom she devoted all her time. As a result, she quickly gained the love and respect not only of the Galicians, but also of the local Ukrainians. People, describing the dedicated work of S. Sydorovych, said: "She is so busy with school work and so passionate about all matters related to the people's organization that she does not think about anything else. For her, the material side of her mission is completely indifferent". It is no coincidence that Ye. Cheranovsky believed that if there had been an adequate number of such people in Volyn, the region would have been secured against the Polish encroachments in a few years.

As the head master of the Ukrainian school named after T. Shevchenko in Volodymyr-Volynsky, S. Sydorovych was the author of a draft report on the activities of the school, which consisted of the following items: 1. Ancient schools in Volodymyr-Volynskyi, written by I. Krypiakievych. 2. Chronicle of the school; 3. Teachers' meeting. 4. Science plan of the Regional School Council for Galician schools in 1892. 5. Facilities, equipment: a) library for teachers; b) library for students; c) visual aids; d) equipment for physical education. 6. Room

for having tea. 7. Statistics on the composition of students by ethnicity, religion, age, gender, social status. 8. Money report. The draft report's purpose, in addition to informing the public about how the money, transferred to the school was spent, was also to submit a science plan for other schools, as it was difficult to obtain it under military conditions.

Despite burdensome responsibilities, S. Sydorovych carried out much-needed public activities (as mentioned in the above description by H. Martynets). Thus, in 1918, a division of Sirozhupannyks arrived in Volodymyr-Volynskyi, created from the former Ukrainian prisoners of war, formed in the Austrian camp in Freistadt. This military unit was supposed to be the part of the UNR Army, but the Austrian authorities did not allow it for a long time. At the same time, close contacts were established with the school headed by S. Sydorovych. Joint concerts were held, the Festival on January, 19 (the Orthodox religious holiday – Jordan) on the Luha river, where a military band performed the Ukrainian carols.

After the hetman's coup, when even the officers of the division were disoriented, S. Sydorovych, after visiting Lviv and learning more about the activities of Hetman P. Skoropadsky, she did everything in her power to stabilize the situation in this division.

S. Sydorovych influenced the state of the educational process in the whole region; she made reports on the improvement of schooling; she communicated with people, visiting villages and conducting educational conversations with the people of Volyn. Peasants returning from the forced evacuation to the Russian provinces had some comfort in those conversations, no matter how difficult mode of life was. Many of those, who returned to their native land lived in dugouts, but even the best suburbs of Moscow they remembered as a terrible desert, and Moscow local population was hated by them.

Many members of the intelligentsia joined the formation of a national consciousness and national cultural revival of the Ukrainians in Volyn during World War I. The Ukrainian issue would not have been so successful without intelligentsia's participation. The Galician intelligentsia played an important role in creating the Ukrainian communities, preparing a cohort of well-known public and political figures, who made many efforts to develop schooling as the most pressing problem of the Ukrainians, an integral part of all-Ukrainian socio-political life. The USS Combat Command sent Sich riflemen and officers to Volyn, who graduated from a teacher's seminary or had, at least, a gymnasium education. In Volyn district, after more than a century break, during the school year of 1916/1917 up to a hundred Ukrainian private schools were opened. This success was achieved largely due to the work of teachers from among the military members. In total, from 1916 to the beginning of 1918, 150 – 250 schools with thousands of children were established in Volyn region, primarily, owing to the efforts of the USS members. Involvement of local teachers in the educational process was important for the further development of education and the Ukrainian movement in general. Having established a network of Ukrainian schools in Volyn together with the local population, the Galician intelligentsia illustrated the people of Volyn examples of dedicated work in this field.

The Conclusions. The peculiarity of the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen was its activity not only as an armed formation on the fronts of World War I, but also as a factor in the Ukrainian national movement. One of the tasks set by the USS members was a national self-awareness both among the Sich members themselves and among the Ukrainians of the areas where the Sich Riflemen found themselves during the hostilities. The formation of a national self-awareness was facilitated by the presence of prominent intelligentsia representatives. It was owing to their efforts in 1916 – 1918 that Volyn succeeded in the cultural and educational sphere. The dedicated work of the Galicians and Naddniprianshchyna residents, such as: D. Vitovsky, M. Havrylko, M. Saevych,

S. Sydorovych, I. Krypiakievych and the others, became the basis for the growth of the Ukrainian movement in Volyn during the interwar period and World War II.

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UKRAINIAN SCHOOLING BEFORE WORLD WAR I (BASED ON THE “DILO” MAGAZINE)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the state of the Ukrainian schooling before World War I according to the magazine “Dilo” (1910 – 1914). The methodology of the research is based on the principles of objectivity and historicism, as well as general and special historical methods, which helped to reveal the importance of the national education in the struggle for the Ukrainian university and national schooling in pre-war Galicia (Halychyna). The scientific novelty is that for the first time an attempt has been made to highlight the Ukrainians’ education system state before World War I, as the crucial factor in the cultural development of the Ukrainian ethnic group in the region, which contributed to the Ukrainians’ national self-assertion in the struggle for the political rights. The Conclusions. The Ukrainian schooling issue was the part of the National Liberation Movement in western Ukraine in Austria-Hungary before World War I outbreak. In general, the Ukrainian component of the educational process in Galicia was characterized by the authorities’ neglect of the Ukrainian language rights, which became one of the fundamental processes of the Polonization policy pursued by the local administrative apparatus. This approach manifested itself in schooling – the local officials made every*

effort to circumvent the current legislation and oppose the Ukrainian primary education system to the Polish one. The Ukrainians' complicated condition was facilitated by the fact that the Utraquism was forced in secondary school and the struggle against the possibility of opening a Ukrainian university complemented the difficult picture for the Ukrainians, which was provided by the private educational institutions' establishment became the partial way out of the above-mentioned problem.

Key words: schooling, Ukrainian university, Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, national school unit "Ridna Shkola", Polonization policy.

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ШКІЛЬНИЦТВО НАПЕРЕДОДНІ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ЧАСОПИСУ "ДІЛО")

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз стану українського шкільництва напередодні Першої світової війни за матеріалами газети "Діло" (1910 – 1914 рр.). **Методологія дослідження.** Методологічною основою дослідження є поєднання принципів історизму та об'єктивності, дотримання загальнонаукових і спеціально-історичних методів, що сприяло розкриттю значимості національної освіти у боротьбі за український університет та національне шкільництво у передвоєнній Галичині. **Наукова новизна** полягає у висвітленні стану системи освіти українців напередодні Першої світової війни, як важливого чинника культурного розвитку українського етносу регіону, що сприяло національному самоствердженню українців у боротьбі за політичні права в період бездержавності. **Висновки.** Питання українського шкільництва було складовою національно-визвольного руху на західноукраїнських землях в Австро-Угорщині напередодні Першої світової війни. Загальна картина української складової освітнього процесу в Галичині характеризувалася нехтуванням владними інституціями правами української мови, що стало одним із засадничих процесів полонізаційної політики провадженею місцевим адміністративним апаратом. Такий підхід проявив себе у шкільництві – місцеві чиновники усіяко старалися обійти чинне законодавство і протиставити українській системі початкової освіти польську. Насадження утравізму у середньому шкільництві і боротьба проти можливості відкриття українського університету доповнювали складну для українців загальну картину, частковий вихід з якої забезпечило заснування приватних закладів освіти.

Ключові слова: шкільництво, український університет, Українське педагогічне товариство, Крайовий шкільний союз "Рідна школа", полонізаційна політика.

The Problem Statement. The Ukrainian life daily presentation was depicted in the magazine "Dilo" during 1910 – 1914 was characterized by the struggle for the national identity, which was outlined by a wide range of requirements, for instance, the Ukrainian tables establishment in state institutions, the Ukrainian language observance in all spheres of life, a Ukrainian university grand-opening in Lviv, the electoral reform establishment and granting the Ukrainians autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The above-mentioned issues took place simultaneously with the European political situation aggravation and the Polish-Ukrainian relations, the Ukrainian-Moscofil confrontation, as well as the deepening of relations between the Ukrainians on both banks of the Zbruch River.

The Analysis of the Sources and Recent Researches. Numerous researchers focused on the history of Western Ukraine before World War I. The Ukrainian schooling formation in Western Ukraine, which was the part of the National Liberation Movement, become the scientific research object several times, written by the following authors: B. Stuparyk (Stuparyk, 1998) V. Stynska (Stynska, 2007), L. Vovk (Vovk, 2017), M. Barna (Barna, 2002), Z. Hipters (Hipters, 2006), I. Solyar, H. Sholota (Soliar & Sholota, 2019), N. Fedchyshyn, T. Magsumov (Fedchyshyn & Magsumov, 2019), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2015) and the others. The above-mentioned researchers reveal the schooling formation main stages in Ukraine from ancient times to the present, consider the creation and development of

educational institutions of various types and the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in their formation.

A number of studies in the Polish historiography are devoted to the educational process subject in Galicia (Halychyna). Among them are the works written by the following scientists: J. Świeboda (Świeboda, 1996), M. Stinia (Stinia, 2010), A. Meissner (Meissner, 2007), and R. Pelczar (Pelczar, 2015). Most researchers, used the statistical material when they covered the schooling in Galicia (Halychyna), were biased towards the Ukrainian education of the region.

According to the available literature, the above-mentioned topic is developed insufficiently and fragmentary. The magazine “Dilo” became the source base, which was the one and only Ukrainian magazine published daily in Galicia, which represented the interests of the stateless nation and became a powerful factor in the public opinion formation and growing the Ukrainians national consciousness. Due to the content’s analysis, we have a golden opportunity to reproduce the daily events of the Ukrainian past during 1880 – 1939 in the smallest detail. Furthermore, the magazine “Dilo” is an important source for research in politics, church, school, cooperation, science, education, art in Galicia and throughout Ukraine.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the Ukrainian schooling condition and its role in the Galician Ukrainians national identity formation. We will pay attention to the public schooling problems, which was widely covered in the columns of the magazine “Dilo” during the prewar period and highlight the Galician elite struggle, the national youth, for the Ukrainian university establishment in Lviv.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Ukrainian schooling became one of the main issues of the “Vichevyi Rykh” movement several times. On the 30th of January in 1910, the “Viche Rusyniv mista Lvova” (Organization of Ruthenians of the City of Lviv), headed by Ye. Ozarkevych, held a “viche” dedicated to the public schooling problem, highlighting the Ukrainian schools’ issue in Lviv (Viche Rusyniv mista Lvova, 1910). The National (Krayova) School Council was in charge of the schooling issues solution, as the division was made into Ukrainian and Polish as autonomous components, the public schools opening in communities where the number of the Ukrainian school-age children reached 40 people, the required number of the state teachers’ seminaries and gymnasiums establishment., The suggestion was made to support the private Ukrainian educational institutions opening, until the requirements became a reality.

According to the National School Council reports, there was a gradual increase in both: the number of educational institutions and the number of students, who studied there. Hence, during 1909 – 1910 there was the following number of public schools in Galicia 5,198 – 3,345 single-grade, 1,192 two-grade, 24 three-grade, 362 four-grade, 131 five-grade, 53 six-grade, 91 separate. The educational process for more than 1 million students was provided by 13 829 teachers, 613 communities received state subsidies for the new schools’ construction. The teachers’ seminaries comprised of 17 state institutions – 14 men’s and 3 women’s. The education process was conducted in Polish in 8 of them, 9 were considered to be utraquistic. There were 54 public gymnasiums, 13 real schools, 13 private gymnasiums with the rights of public schools, which enrolled 35 930 students, including more than 7000 Ukrainians in order to meet the secondary schooling needs (Halytske shkilnytstvo v shk. R. 1909/10, 1910).

In general, the picture of the Ukrainian component of the educational process in Galicia was characterized by Polonization phenomena introduced by the National School Council, which confirmed the following facts – the learning process in public schools was conducted in Polish with a small number of the Polish students, delay in transforming the 2nd-grade

schools with the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction, classrooms, which enabled the continuation of studies in gymnasiums, the absence of the Ukrainian 5th and 6th grade educational institutions, referral to work in Ukrainian schools of Polish teachers, who did not speak Ukrainian, but instead there were official transfers of Ukrainian teachers to Western Galicia (Slidamy Kraievoi Rady Shkilnoi, 1912). The above-mentioned facts and similar ones of the biased attitude towards the Ukrainian school system were reflected in the rubric "Our School is under the Yoke".

Due to the conditions, there was the urgent need for the Galician Ukrainians to enroll children in national schools and preschools, public and private ownership. For example, in 1911, the "Organization of Ruthenians of the City of Lviv" ("Viche Rusyniv mista Lvova") invited Ukrainian families to indulge into the learning process at M. Shashkevych City 4-grade Public School for boys and girls (Skarbkiwska Street, part 26), the Imperial Royal Men's Teacher's Seminary 4-grade Exercises School (Mokhnatskoho Street, part 8), the Imperial Royal Women's Teacher's Seminary 4-grade Exercises School (Sacramento Street, part 7), the Russian Women's Teacher's Seminary 4-grade Exercises School (Mokhnatsky Street, part 12), Borys Hrinchenko Public School (Dunina-Borkovskyyi St., part 30), T. Shevchenko 5-grade Women's Special School (Mokhnatskoho St., part 12), the Russian Women's Teachers' Seminary (Mokhnatskoho St., part 12), the Imperial Royal Academic Gymnasium (Leva Sapihi St., Part 8), the Imperial Royal Academic Gymnasium branches (Teatralna Street, part 22), Men's Trade School (candidates' registration in the "Prosvita" society, Rynok, part 10). At M. Shashkevych Public School the student contingent consisted of the children, who came from the workers' and artisans' poorer Ukrainian families. In order to provide students with the necessary school supplies and clothing, the directorate turned to the national institutions and concerned citizens for help. One of the most complicated school's issues was the unsuitable premises for the educational process, which was called nothing more than the "old and smelly rudera". Diverse appeals to the city authorities to provide a new home for the school were in vain (Yak lvivska ruska hromada dbaie pro bidnu ditvoru shkoly imeny Markyiana Shashkevycha?, 1910); (Miska shkola im. Markiiana Shashkevycha u Lvovi, 1913).

B. Hrinchenko Private Public School history began at the beginning of 1910 – 1911, where 46 Ukrainian children (22 boys and 24 girls) were enrolled for in the first grade in Horodok suburb. The School Committee was established, headed by Professor V. Biletskyi, in order to ensure the functioning of the school. During the first school year, almost 4,5 thousand kronas were collected for the school needs, and a thousand kron less was spent. In 1912 the Private School Committee made a decision on to build a separate educational building. The solemn dedication of the new premises took place on the 19th of October in 1913, B. Hrinchenko Private 4-grade Public School was located in a separate two-story wing of the company "Dniester" buildings (Horodotska street, part 95 and part 97) (V pryvatnii narodnii shkoli im. Borysa Hrinchenka na horodetskim peredmistiu u Lvovi..., 1910). King Danylo Private School was the second private school in Zhovkva suburb of Lviv, where studies began in the fall of 1912 (Shkola im. korolia Danyla, nova ukrainska narodna shkola na zhovkivskim peredmistiu..., 1912). Kn. Lev Public School, the third private educational institution was planned to open in Lychakiv suburb on the 1st of September in 1914 (Narodna shkola im. kn. Lva, 1914).

According to the regional law issued on the 12 of June in 1907, two languages were used while providing some instructions during the teachers' training: the Polish and Ukrainian

languages. Therefore, the National (Krayova) School Council demanded that the Ukrainian Private Women's Teachers' Seminary of the Russian (Ukrainian) Pedagogical Society (UPT) directorate switch to Ultraquism in order to acquire the "publicity right". The answer was unequivocal: "The Russian Pedagogical Society Department has always applied and applies the principle: to detain the purely Ukrainian character of the school, even if it comes to renounce the publicity right" (Proch z utrakvizmom! 1910).

The Ukrainians remained the only nation in the Austrian state that did not have a single state Teacher's Seminary. In 1912, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society and the National (Krayovyi) School Union came up with the idea of founding Men's Private Teacher's Seminary, which was opened in September, 30 students were enrolled in the first year. The educational institution was located at the following address: Horodotska street, part 95 at the beginning of 1913 – 1914. Hence, two schools were situated in the same building: B. Hrinchenko Public School and Men's Private Teacher's Seminary (Pryvatnyi ukrainskyi muzheskyi uchytskyi seminar u Lvovi, 1912).

In Kolomyia the private Ukrainian Women's Teacher's Seminary of the UPT began its educational process in November 1910. There were enrolled 122 students. At the same time, the local branch of the UPT opened a similar Men's Seminary (Pryvatna zhinocha semynaryia RPT in Kolomyia, 1912); (Ruskyi muzheskyi pryvatnyi seminar v Kolomyi, 1912). The Women's Teacher's Seminary, the private educational institution, was opened in Ternopil in 1913 – 1914 (Ternopil (Pryv. ukr. seminar uchytskyi), 1913).

In 1911 there were 114 industrial and 17 trade schools in Galicia (Halychyna), none of which was Ukrainian. Inequality could also be seen in the students' division on the basis of nationality as there were no statistics on the Ukrainians (Fakhovi shkoly v Avstrii ta v Halychyni, 1912). The exception was the Ukrainian Trade School of the "Prosvita" society, where studies began in the autumn of 1911 under Professor R. Zalozetskyi's leadership (Ukrainska torhovelna shkola Tovarystva "Prosvita" u Lvovi, 1912). According to the magazine "Dilo", insufficient attention was paid to the peasant children's possibility to study in lower agricultural schools, which were funded by the state and provided pupils with a decent knowledge-base in order to form a good master. The story connected with Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi's gift of 16 mortuaries of land with a courtyard building in Korshevo (near Kolomyia) to the "Silskomy Hospodariu" (The Farmer) in order to establish an agricultural school, turned out to be negative for the Ukrainians. As a result, society failed to start the establishment procedure of the educational institution for several years and tried to sell the land, which was donated by the metropolitan (Z Pokutia (Korshivska fakhova shkola i "Silskyi Hospodar"), 1914).

There were 8 Polish schools of housewives in order to provide agricultural education for girls. Despite the fact that they were founded mainly on private initiatives, their funding was based on subventions from local and state budgets. Understanding the importance of this issue for the Ukrainians led to the establishment by the "Prosvita" society of Women's Economy School in Uhertsy Vyniavski, Rudky Povit (county). The grand opening of the school took place on the 7th of November in 1912 (Shkoly zhinochoho gospodarstva v Halychyni, 1912). Furthermore, some magazine's publications concerned studies at the National (Krayova) Weaving School in Hlyniany, the Regional (Krayova) Pottery and Tile School in Kolomyia.

Taking everything into consideration, control over secondary education in Galicia (Halychyna) became a crucial factor in the future human resources formation of the local government. Hence, the Poles used all possible methods, including the fact that in 1867 the

Polish language was introduced as the main language with the help of which the learning process had to be carried out at secondary schools, to slow down the process of creating a strong stratum of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. "This policy has, among the others, the purpose: to strengthen the position of the Poles as a nation that represents the state in Galicia, and as long as I can delay the arrival of the wave when the Ukrainian people become so strong that they can successfully start the struggle to be on their territory in Eastern Galicia, he represented the state" (Polska polityka v oblasti serednoho shkylntstva, 1913).

The National (Krayova) School Council's educational policy often focused its efforts not on improving the quality of education, but on preventing the establishment of state Ukrainian gymnasiums so that the number of non-Polish gymnasium students did not exceed one third.

During 1910 – 1914, the magazine "Dilo" supported and popularized the development process of the Ukrainian secondary (public and private) schools actively, which opened its doors to students of various categories and contributed to the education of nationally conscious Ukrainian youth. In particular, the magazine reported on Ukrainian gymnasiums in Belz (private gymnasium, founded in 1912) (*Nova ukrainska gimnazyya*, 1912), Busk (M. Shashkevych private gymnasium, founded in 1910), with the publicity right, certificates' recognition by the state, (1914) (*Pryvatna ukr. gimnazyyi v Busku... oderzhala pravo pryliudnosti...*, 1914), Vashkivtsi (private gymnasium, founded in 1912) (*Ukrainska pryvatna realna gimnazyya na Bukovyni povstaie... u Vashkivtsiakh*, 1912), Vyzhnytsia (state) *Pro vyzhnytsku gimnazyyu*, 1913), Hlyniany (private gymnasium course, founded in 1912) (*Ukrainska gimnazyya v Hlynianakh*, 1912), Horodentsi (T. Shevchenko private women's peasant gymnasium, founded in 1909, with the publicity right from 1911) (*Z Horodenty (V spravi pryvatnoi ruskoj gimnazyyi)*, 1910), founded in 1912 (*Persha zhinocha selianska gimnazyya v Horodentsi*, 1912), Dolyna (M. Shashkevych private gymnasium, founded in 1911, with the publicity right from 1913), (*Dolynska ukrainska gimnazyya oderzhala pravo pryliudno sty na shk. r. 1913 / 14, 1914*), Drohobych (private gymnasium course, ceased to exist in 1914) (*Na pryvatnu gimnazyyu v Drohobychy zlozhyly vid 1. XI. 1911 r. do 12.VII.1913 r. Dobrodii*, 1913), Kitsmani (state, utraquist gymnasium) (*Ts. k. derzhavna gimnazyya v Kitsmany*, 1911), Kolomyia (state gymnasium) (*Ruska gimnazyya v Kolomyi*, 1912), Komarno (private gymnasium course, founded in 1911) (*Ukrainskyi kurs gimnazyyialnyi v Komarni*, 1912), Kopychyntsi (private gymnasium, founded in 1908, with the publicity right since 1913), Zbarazhi (private gymnasium, founded in 1910, with the publicity right since 1913) (*Pravo pryliudnosti*, 1913), private female Bazilian sisters servants gymnasium with the publicity right) (*Private women's gymnasium SS Vasylyianok in Lviv in r. 1910 / 11, 1911*), Przemyśl (state (Peremyska ruska gimnazyya in shk. r. 1909/10, 1910), private women's lyceum (*Ruskyi Instytut dlia divchat in Peremyshly vede vid dovshykh lit zhinochy litsei...*, 1910)), Rohatyn (private with the right publicity) (*Pravo pryliudnosti*, 1914), Stanislav (state and women's private), Ternopil (state gymnasium), Turka (povit (county) state, utraquist gymnasium) (*De-shcho iz statystyky gimnazyyi*, 1914), Chernivtsi (state, utraquist gymnasium) (*Ukrainski gimnazyyi na Bukovyni*, 1912), Chortkiv (M. Shashkevych private gymnasium, founded in 1911, with the publicity right from 1913) (*O gimnazyyu v Chortkovi*, 1911), Yavoriv (private gymnasium, founded in 1907, with the publicity right from 1913) (*Pravo pryliudnosti*, 1913).

The Bursa educational institutions (institutes, orphanages) remained the inextricable part of the educational process organization, which provided the students' life outside of the school for a modest fee (for a certain percentage free of charge). The rubrics "Bursa Competitions",

“Bursa and Institutes Competitions”, “Education and school” were announced about the admission conditions. The newspaper’s editorial board put emphasis on the importance of institutions and also covered problematic issues that required an appropriate response from the Ukrainian community. In particular, due to the insufficient funding of bursa institutions (institutes, boarding schools), there were unsuitable premises, poor nutrition, use of physical force against pupils by abbots or instructors. “Intelligent, ideological and moral education of youth” was the Men’s Institute “Kobzar” priority (Lviv, Raya street, part 4) (Vykhovuiuchy muzheskyi instytut “Kobzar”..., 1914).

The Ukrainian societies, which were responsible for organizing and supporting national schooling and teaching, were replenished with several structures. Thus, on the 9th of February in 1910, the National (Krayova) School Union “Ridna Shkola” (NSU) was established, which was supposed to promote the Ukrainian private public and secondary schools establishment. In mid-February, the NSU meeting passed resolutions requiring the authorities to ensure the Polish and Ukrainian secondary schools equal treatment, requiring the Ukrainian gymnasiums’ establishment in povits (counties) with the Ukrainian population predominantly, and opposing joint Polish-Ukrainian gymnasiums under the joint leadership. The NSU depended on voluntary donations, which did not cover the necessary expenses from year to year, so in 1911 the idea of a “sotkovyi fund” was popularized. Due to the “sotkovyi fund”, each Galician Ukrainian had to donate 1 “sotyk” everyday, which provided about 1 million Krons a month for the private schooling needs. Other projects were also discussed, for example, during 1912 – 1913 the NSU took care of 11 private secondary schools, for the maintenance of which almost 163 thousand Krons were collected, but the expenditures on the private secondary schools exceeded 284 thousand Krons (Zaviazanie “fнду sotkovoho” u Lvovi, 1911).

In December 1913, the Regional Commission for the defense of Ukrainian schooling and Ukrainian teachers, headed by S. Baran, began its work. The Commission called to counteract the school polonization process, to create county structures, to document the facts of violations and to appeal them in a lawful manner, involving Ukrainian ambassadors (Proty polskoho pokhodu na nashe shkilnytstvo, 1914).

The “Shkilna Pomich” (the School Aid) Society in Lviv, which took care of the students, who studied at the city folk schools, continued its long history. During 1910 and 1911, the society spent 2,794 krons on food, clothing, shoes, and school supplies, and the poorest students’ treatment. The institution’s management stated that “nowadays, given the growing number of Russian children in public schools, both city and private, we must limit the scope of our activities exclusively to the public school, which brings together children of the poorest sections of Lviv population” (“Shkilna Pomich” u Lvovi, 1912).

The Russian Pedagogical Society (RPS), which was founded in 1881, began operating in parallel with the NSU in February in 1910. Their tasks, especially in the field of the private schooling, were often duplicated and not clearly differentiated. In February 1912, at the RPS general meeting amendments were adopted to the statute, which approved the name of the institution as the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (UPS), and turned the branches into “circles” The UPS circle became an independent unit and was fully responsible for the maintenance of the Ukrainian school, the stock exchange, and the protection of its territory. The main branch of the society was reorganized into the “Circles Union” (Reorganizatsyia Ruskoho Tovarystva Pedagogichnoho, 1912).

The Ukrainian gymnasiums and universities establishment, measures to abolish Utraquism and the opening of separate Ukrainian and Polish educational institutions remained decisive

in the of the secondary and higher schools Ukrainian Teachers Society activities of "Teacher's Community", founded in November 1908 and headed by M. Hrushevskiy. The most difficult educational problem was the struggle for the Ukrainian university establishment in Lviv, the cause of which was recognized as one of the most "burning issues of the cultural and socio-political life of the whole Ukraine" (*Za ukrainskyi universytet*, 1912).

In 1910, against the background of a positive government decision on the possibility of establishing an Italian law faculty in Vienna and renewing the efforts of the Poles to legislate the Polish character of Lviv University, the Ukrainians intensified their efforts to open the Ukrainian university in Lviv. Thus, on the 14th of March in 1910, the Ukrainian students held a "viche" within the university premises under the slogan "Long live an independent Ukrainian university in Lviv". The reaction of "all-Polish" academic youth was predictable, their main aim was to defend the "Polishness" of Lviv University in any possible way (*Demonstratsiya ukrainskykh studentiv u lvivskim universyteti*, 1910).

The Polish-Ukrainian student confrontation intensified in May 1910 with the educational institution's Polish blockade outbreak and the Ukrainian students' obstruction in accessing the educational process. The Student Council passed a resolution on the 20th of May in 1910, claiming that the blockade of the university by "all-Polish" students took place with the university's leadership tacit consent while calling on the Ukrainian public to fight together for a national university (*Viche ukrainskoi molodizhy u Lvovi...*, 1910).

The culmination of the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation took place on the 1st of July in 1910, when the Ukrainian students gathered for another unauthorized Senate Viche in one of the university auditoriums. In response, the Polish students began blocking, building barricades. As a result, there was a clash with the use of weapons. A. Kotsko, a law student, was fatally wounded by one of the bullets. The Commission of Inquiry tried to shift the blame onto the Ukrainian students, 128 of whom were detained by police. On the same day, the Polish students walked the streets of Lviv beating windows and signs at the Ukrainian institutions. The outcome of the Polish evening Viche was the following: they recognized Professors M. Hrushevskiy and S. Dnistrianskyi as the Ukrainian radicalism ideological instigators and demanded their dismissal from the university (*Vshekhpolskyi mord na universyteti*, 1910).

The arrested students, as a result of these events, were released from the remand prison in September for trial. 101 Ukrainian students were charged with accusations but none of the Polish student was blamed. The "Trial 101" began in the premises of Lviv Regional Criminal Court on the 14th of February in 1911 and was found exceptional in the chronicle of the Austrian judiciary (the mass political trials remained a characteristic feature of the Russian judicial system). All suspects were found guilty of public violence and imprisoned: 5 persons for three months, 68 – for a month, 26 – for 14 days, two students had to be trialed separately. Lawyers V. Okhrymovych and V. Starosolskyi appealed against the court decision, but the decision of the Cassation Tribunal upheld the verdict of the first instance. (*Vyrok polskoho sudu na ukrainskykh studentiv*, 1911); (*Sprava pomyluvania obzhalovanykh v protsesi 101...*, 1912).

The Conclusions. The general picture of the Ukrainian component of the educational process in Galicia was characterized by Polonization phenomena, which was supported by the National School Council. Special attention was paid to the Ukrainian public and private educational institutions of different levels. The Ukrainian societies were responsible for the national schooling organization and support and were replenished with new structures – the National School Union "Ridna Shkola", the "Pomich Molodi (Youth Aid) Society, the Regional Commission for the defense of Ukrainian Schooling and Ukrainian Teachers.

The culmination of the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation in the struggle for the Ukrainian university establishment was the murder of student A. Kotsk at the university. The consequence of these tragic events was a lawsuit against the Ukrainian students, which in the press was called the “Trial 101” (according to the number of defendants). As a result of many years of struggle, a draft imperial letter was adopted, which provided for the opening of the Ukrainian university by the 1st of October in 1916.

The authorities’ neglected the Ukrainian language usage in the educational process became one of the basic acts of the Polonization policy pursued by the local administration. The planting of Utraquism in secondary schools and the struggle against the possibility of opening the Ukrainian university complemented the difficult overall picture for the Ukrainians, which made it difficult to establish private educational institutions. It should be noted that owing to the Galician Ukrainians education’s system formation issue coverage on “Dilo” magazine pages gives us a splendid opportunity to a better and deeper understanding of its content.

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INSTITUTE OF KYIV PROVINCE COMMISSIONER
(MARCH – NOVEMBER OF 1917):
TO THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION (1917 – 1921)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to elucidate of the place and role of the institute of Kyiv provincial commissioner in the system of a local government in Ukraine under conditions of the revolutionary events of 1917; to characterize the normative legal bases of the institution of Kyiv provincial commissioner activity. Having used **the methodological basis** of the research: the dialectical, axiological, historical philosophical, system structural, functional, formal legal, comparative legal and historical legal methods, the problem of transformation of imperial institutions of autocratic power in Ukraine during the Ukrainian revolution has been researched and generalized on the basis of the new archival materials (1917 – 1921). **The Scientific Novelty.** The authors have studied the socio-political conditions, which prevailed in Ukraine at the beginning of 1917; have elucidated the development of events in connection with the reform of local government institutions; have described the legal acts, which regulated the power transition, in particular, in Kyiv province; have highlighted the political and legal status of the new institution of power – Kyiv provincial commissioner of the Provisional Government; have provided unique biographical information about the last imperial governor, Count Olexiy Ignatiev, and his successor, the first Kyiv provincial commissioner, the head of Kyiv provincial zemstvo, Mykhailo Sukovkin. **The Conclusions.** In the article it has been asserted that the introduction of the institute of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government, whose legal status was regulated by both current imperial legislation and new legal acts of the Provisional Government, transformed the system of the imperial local authorities, which took place peacefully. The introduction of the institute of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner had to ensure the continuity of power, to prevent the destructive processes of the state government mechanisms, to preserve the territorial integrity and governance of the regions of the former empire. However, under conditions of the growing national liberation movement, the newly appointed leader could not keep the situation under his control, which under conditions of further development of the Ukrainian revolution put on the agenda the change in the model of a public administration and local government.

Key words: Kyiv Provincial Commissioner, the Provisional Government, Kyiv Province, Count O. Ignatiev, M. Sukovkin.

ІНСТИТУТ КИЇВСЬКОГО ГУБЕРНСЬКОГО КОМІСАРА
(БЕРЕЗНЬ – ЛИСТОПАД 1917 р.):
ДО ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ (1917 – 1921)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкриття місця та ролі інституту київського губернського комісара у системі місцевого управління в Україні в умовах революційних подій 1917 р., характеристикі нормативно-правових засад його діяльності. Застосувавши **методологічний інструментарій**: діалектичний, аксіологічний, історико-філософський, системно-структурний, функціональний, формально-правовий, порівняльно-правовий та історико-правовий методи, досліджено й узагальнено на основі нових архівних матеріалів проблеми трансформації імперських інститутів самодержавної влади в Україні періоду Української революції (1917 – 1921 рр.). **Наукова новизна.** Автори дослідили суспільно-політичні умови, які склались в Україні на початок 1917 р., висвітлюючи розгортання подій у зв'язку з реформуванням інститутів місцевої влади, охарактеризували нормативно-правові акти, що врегульовували процес передачі влади, зокрема у Київській губернії, розкрили політико-правовий статус нової інституції влади – київського губернського комісара Тимчасового уряду, подали унікальні біографічні відомості про останнього імперського губернатора графа Олексія Ігнат'єва та його наступника – першого київського губернського комісара, голову київської губернської земської управи Михайла Суковкіна. **Висновки.** У роботі стверджується, що запровадження інституту київського губернського комісара Тимчасового уряду (правовий статус якого регламентувався, як чинним імперським законодавством, так і новими правовими актами Тимчасового уряду) здійснювало трансформацію системи органів імперської влади на місцях, яка відбулася мирним шляхом.

та мало забезпечити наступність влади, унеможливити деструктивні процеси руйнації державних механізмів системи управління, зберегти територіальну цілісність та управління регіонами колишньої імперії. Проте в умовах наростаючого національно-визвольного руху, новопризначений очільник не зміг утримати ситуацію під контролем, що в умовах подальшого розвитку Української революції, поставило на порядок денний зміну моделі державного управління та системи місцевих органів влади.

Ключові слова: кийвський губернський комісар, Тимчасовий уряд, кийвська губернія, граф О. Ігнат'єв, М. Суковкін.

The Problem Statement. The decentralization reform of the management system in modern independent Ukraine, as a component of the entire system of state power reform, the new principles formation of interaction between different levels of government and a local government determine a socially important and scientifically relevant analysis of the historical experience of the beginning of the XXth century, when the Ukrainian society faced similar challenges related to the social transformations in the context of the revolutionary changes in the imperial state model.

The Ukrainian national democratic revolution of 1917 – 1921 and the liquidation of the autocracy in Russia initiated the changes in the socio-political, social, cultural and educational life of the Ukrainian provinces of the former Russian Empire. These changes, primarily, concerned the principles of the state system, including the system of a local government and administration. The imperial institutions of the state power, as the personification of the monarchy, needed to be reorganized, and imperial officials, direct representatives of the Crown in the provinces – governors, had to be dismissed immediately and substituted by new officials to take seats in new institutions of power. The formation of new institutions of power, the constitutional registration of their authority took some time. Under such circumstances, the question arose of maintaining power control at the local level, ensuring the effectiveness of the state mechanism of power under such terrible conditions, to prevent the collapse of the state, not to allow the destructive processes to cover all spheres of the society. The new revolutionary government needed an effective system of a local government. One of the components of this process was the introduction of the provincial commissioner institute of the Provisional Government.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The functioning of the imperial system of a local government during the liquidation of the autocracy, the transfer of power in towns, cities, provinces to the new revolutionary administration and new officials is a poorly studied problem in Ukrainian historiography. The historians, studying certain issues of the history of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917 – 1921, partially elucidate the problems of the imperial administrative institutions, which functioned under conditions of the autocracy overthrow (Ishin, 2012; Kozachenko, 2017, p. 3). In this context, the research of S. Kamenyeva, the director of the State Archives of Kyiv region, deserves a special attention “Kyiv province was handed over... Kyiv province was taken ...” (from the documents of the State Archives of Kyiv region) (Kamenyeva, 2017). In this research the author, making a review of the fund “Office of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government” (f. 1716), stored in the State Archives of Kyiv region, for the first time elucidated and analyzed the organizational and legal aspects of the power transition in Kyiv province in March of 1917 and described the administrative institutions formed the same year. The influence of the revolutionary events in Russia in February of 1917 in the Ukrainian provinces was elucidated by M. Kovalchuk in the article “The February Revolution of 1917 in the Ukrainian

province” (Koval’chuk, 2007), in which the author on the basis of publication of new and little-known archival documents, memoirs, recollections of contemporaries, the materials of periodicals, analyzed the course of the revolutionary events in February – March of 1917 in the regions of Ukraine. In the research by T. Matviyenko (Matviyenko, 2010), on the basis of materials of the State Archives of the Russian Federation, there were characterized the attitude and relations of zemstvos of Ukraine concerning appointments by the Provisional Government in local bodies of the government of the provincial and county commissioners. A number of authors did the researches on the functioning of local authorities in 1917 at various levels. Among them there are the works of L. Dolbunov, V. Kornilov, N. Chorna, which deal with the activities of Kharkiv Provincial Commissariat (Dobrunova, Kornilova, Chorna, 2001); the research of T. Vintskovsky, who studied the history of local authorities and administration of the Ukrainian Central Council of Kherson province in March of 1917 – April of 1918 (Vintskovs’kyy, 2002); V Adamsky, who elucidated the activities of Yampil district commissioner in March of 1917 – April of 1918. In a separate group it is necessary to single out the researches, which are of a scientifically narrative character, written on the basis of memoirs or materials of periodicals and do not contain proper analytical conclusions and generalizations (Cheremukhin, 2017; Posledniy gubernator, n.d.).

At the same time, the researchers did not pay a proper attention to the evolution of provincial imperial authorities, the relationship between different government agencies, their place and role in governing Kyiv province. The lack of the researches on the evolution of provincial imperial authorities, their place and role in governing determine the social importance and scientific novelty of our research.

The source basis of our research is the archival materials and published regulations of Imperial Russia and the Provisional Government. The materials, which are stored in the State Archives of Kyiv region (further – SAKR), constitute the main part of the archival sources on the stated issues. We used the cases stored in Fund 1716 of SAKR – “Office of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government, Kyiv” (1917). In Fund 1716 – The Office of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government there are represented the circulars of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government, the lists of employees of the Office of the Provincial Commissioner, the estimates, the information on the payment of salaries to employees of the Office, the correspondence on violation of mandatory regulations, the correspondence with the Ukrainian Central Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the correspondence on the cultural, socio-economic life of the province, the establishment and control of various administrative institutions in the province, etc.

The purpose of the research consists in elucidating the place of the institute of Kyiv provincial commissioner in the system of a local government in Ukraine under conditions of the revolutionary events of 1917; in characterizing the normative and legal bases of its activity.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The emergence and functioning of the institute of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government is closely connected with the local government system of the Russian Empire, in particular, the institute of Kyiv Civil Governor and Kyiv Provincial Administration.

At the beginning of the XXth century there was a county-provincial general-governor’s administrative territorial system of government in the Russian Empire. In the Russian Empire the Ukrainian lands were divided into 9 provinces (Kyiv, Podilsk, Volyn, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Mykolaiv, Tavria), which were the part of the three governorships-general. The province was headed by a governor, who was appointed by a personal imperial

decree and subordinated to the governor-general. In accordance with the regulations of the Russian Empire, the governor was a representative of the Emperor at the local level and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the head of which determined the activities of the head of the province. The direct authority of the governor included a general supervision over the activities of all state and self-governing bodies of government and administration of the province; he had to be present and to be at the head of various provincial committees, commissions. According to “Kyiv Province Commemorative Books”, Kyiv governor headed the provincial statistical committee, the provincial administrative committee, the provincial forest protection committee, the provincial prison guardianship committee, the provincial public health committee, the provincial committee for the affairs of zemstvo, the provincial committee for the affairs of small credit, the provincial committee of guardianship (curation) over the national sobriety, the provincial land management commission, the provincial commission of national provision, the provincial commission on the population census, the order of a public guardianship, the provincial guardianship of shelters for children, the provincial presence in city affairs, the provincial presence in peasant affairs, the provincial presence for zemstvo duties, the provincial presence for military service, the provincial church-building presence, the provincial presence for income tax, the provincial presence for society issues, the provincial presence for factories and mining issues, The Red Cross Society, the Society of Pigeon Sports Enthusiasts. Kyiv governor was also the guardian of the public library and a member of the provincial presence in the issues of the Orthodox clergy and the Equestrian Society. The direct superior of the governor was the governor-general, who performed control and police supervision over life in the provinces, which were the part of the governorship-general. The governor performed his authority and administration through his office, which was headed by the secretary (Nikolaychuk, 2018, pp. 112–113). The vice-governor was the second most important official after the governor, who substituted the governor during his absence and controlled the records of the provincial government – a collegial body of a local government, which according to the “Institutions for the Administration of the Provinces of the All-Russian Empire” (November 7, 1775), carried out the general management of the province (Nikolaychuk, 2018, p. 75).

In fact, the governor of Kyiv headed the province by means of the provincial government, but he was not independent in making decisions. As the modern historian D. Nikolaichuk noted, “being subordinate to the Emperor and the Senate directly, the provincial government was a local representation of the central government of the Russian state, which became the main organizational and administrative body of the province” (Nikolaychuk, 2018, pp. 112–113).

On January 1, 1917, Kyiv province consisted of 12 counties (Kyiv, Berdychiv, Vasylkiv, Zvenyhorod, Kaniv, Lypovets, Radomyshl, Skvyra, Tarashcha, Uman, Cherkasy, Chyhyryn) and was in the rear zone of the front army (during World War I). The governor of Kyiv was subordinate to the Chief of Supply of the armies of the South-Western Front. From September 11, 1914 (after the liquidation of Kyiv, Podilsk and Volyn governorships), Kyiv governor was directly subordinate to the commander of Kyiv military district.

Kyiv province was headed by Oleksiy Mykolayovych Ignatiev, the count, master of ceremonies, who had been the governor of Kyiv since August 19, 1915. Count O. Ignatiev studied at the Faculty of Law at St. Petersburg University, after graduating from which he began his service in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (served as the Attache of the Russian Embassy in Constantinople) in 1897. During the period of 1898 – 1902 he served in Preobrazhensky Regiment of the Life Guards. According to the formulary list before the appointment of Count O. Ignatiev to the

governor of Kyiv, he gained a considerable experience in the civil service in various departments: the work in diplomatic missions (the Attache of the Embassy in Constantinople (1897), the Ensign of Preobrazhensky Regiment (1898), the Attache of the Embassy in Rome) and the positions in local governments and the provincial administration (a chamberlain (1901), a master of ceremonies (1903), Uman County leader of the nobility (1902 – 1908), Riazan Vice-Governor (1908 – 1909), Podilsk Vice-Governor (1909 – 1911), Podilsk Civilian Governor (1911 – 1915)) (State Archives of the Kiev Oblast, f. 1, d. 315, c. 250, pp. 13–19).

Count O. Ignaliev was the last civilian governor of Kyiv. His name is associated with the liquidation of the institute of the governor in Kyiv province, as the imperial institution of power in the Ukrainian provinces within the Romanov Empire.

On March 15, 1917, the Provisional Committee headed by M. Rodzianko, formed by the State Duma, which was entrusted with the functions of the Cabinet of Ministers, and Petrograd Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies announced the formation of the Provisional Government of Russia. Duke G. Lvov became the head of the Provisional Government of Russia and the Minister of Internal Affairs, an experienced Zemstvo figure and the chairman of the All-Russian union of zemstvo and cities (Milyukov, 2002, pp. 40–41). On the same day, the Emperor signed the Manifesto on the abdication in favour of his brother, Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich Romanov, thus giving the State Duma the exclusive right to establish a new constitutional order in Russia and determine the place of the monarchy (Payps, 2005, p. 420). When Grand Duke also abdicated on March 16, it meant the end of the autocracy – Russia became the republic.

The stormy news in the capital almost did not reach Kyiv – the leadership of Kyiv Military District intercepted the telegraph reports on riots in Petrograd. The generals were afraid of the repeat of Petrograd events in Kyiv. The city newspapers also diligently pretended that nothing extraordinary was happening in the capital of the Empire. For instance, when the situation in Petrograd reached its peak, and in a few hours the Empire collapsed, the newspaper “The Kievlyanin” reported on the news from the front, provided the information on the food crisis in France, paid attention to the meeting of the House of Commons in London, mocked on the report “New Germany” of the former German Minister, Bernhard Dernburg, reprinted the article about the railway in Baghdad (because it was built) from the American scientific journal. As if, by the way, the newspaper mentioned the introduction of bread and flour cards in Moscow, and also generously filled the columns with advertisements and the railway schedules. Meanwhile, Kyivans were having fun at Contract Fair in Podil, which lasted until March 12. One could buy something interesting or visit a cultural programme there. In addition, there was an unofficial “bridal fair” – provincial parents specially brought their daughters in the hope of getting acquainted with a respectable groom. When the head of the South-Western Railway, Erast Shubersky received the telegramme from Petrograd from the State Duma deputy Oleksandr Bublikov with the message that the power belonged to the State Duma, Kyiv newspapers reprinted the telegramme in the evening issues (Tsalyk, 2017). Kyievans, like the vast majority of the population in the Ukrainian provinces, as in the whole Russian Empire, welcomed the revolution with enthusiasm. “This telegramme was spreading around the city at the speed of an electric spark”, a lawyer, Oleksiy Goldenweiser recalled. – Everyone was on the phone tonight, reading, listening, rereading and asking” (Tsalyk, 2017). Mykhailo Rudnytsky, a literary critic, remembered the atmosphere of elevation, even the euphoria that gripped Kyiv at that time. “The first blows of the revolution are intoxicating, – he wrote. – In the streets, people kiss each other like at Easter and in the evenings Khreshchatyk is overcrowded, even on those days when

for some reason the lights are not lit. We live easily, like on clouds – and often we do not see the ground” (Tsalyk, 2017). Thus, the establishment of the new government in the province was peaceful and bloodless. In Kyiv, the change of the tsarist power also took place peacefully. On March 16, 1917, on the initiative of the city council and zemstvo organizations, the Executive Committee of Kyiv Council of the united public organizations was established, which was headed by M. Stradomsky, a comrade of the mayor. The Executive Committee decided to coordinate its activities completely with the actions of Petrograd Provisional Government. Kyiv Governor, Count O. Ignatiev did not show any intention to oppose the new government – without any obstacles on his part, the executive committee appointed its representative (Koval’chuk, 2007, p. 92). Despite the general elevation, caused by the news of the revolution in Russia and the overthrow of the autocracy, order and calm were maintained in Kyiv. The formation of the people’s militia began (Koval’chuk, 2007, p. 93). Thus, in March 1917, the civilian governor of Kyiv, Count O. Ignatiev, handed over his power to the new revolutionary government. On March 16, 1917, Count O. Ignatiev telegraphed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Petrograd: “In Kyiv ... peace has not been disturbed so far. The population is calm. Workers continue working. [At] the meeting of representatives of public [and] professional, workers’ organizations, which took place on March 1 (14) [in] the City Duma, the appeal was made [to] the population with a call to remain calm. It was published today together with the announcement of the chief of the military district. [At] meetings [in] higher education institutions, the resolutions were also made to remain calm” (Koval’chuk, 2007, p. 210). And already on March 17, 1917 the member of the committee of ministers, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Provisional government, Duke, G. Lvov in the telegramme to the heads of provincial zemstvo administrations noted that “to establish order within the country and for the defense of the state, to ensure the uninterrupted operation of all governmental and public institutions, – the Provisional Government (PG) has deemed it necessary to dismiss the Governor and Vice-Governor from office temporarily. The leadership of the province is temporarily entrusted to the heads of provincial zemstvo administrations as provincial commissioners of the PG with all the rights granted by the current laws of the governor, and with you retaining the leadership of the provincial zemstvo administration” (Dodonov, 2004, p. 24).

On March 17, 1917, the city council of workers’ deputies appeared in Kyiv. The constituent assembly was attended by 230 delegates from the labour collectives of 80 Kyiv factories, plants and workshops. The vast majority among them were the Russian social democrats (the mensheviks) and the socialist-revolutionaries. Kyiv Council of workers deputies acted as a representative body of the city proletariat, and immediately delegated its representatives to the executive committee of the council of the united public organizations (Manilov, 1928, p. 5). The Ukrainian community of Kyiv, having received the news about the revolution, on March 17, 1917, appointed from its membership the Ukrainian Central Rada to lead the national movement under the new political conditions (Hrushevskyyi, 1989, p. 129). A well-known Ukrainian historian, a public and political figure M. Hrushevsky, who at that time was in exile outside Ukraine, in Moscow, was elected the Chairman of the Central Rada in absentia. On March 22, the first appeal of the Central Rada to the Ukrainian people appeared, urging them to remain calm, to unite in political societies, the Ukrainian cultural, educational, economic organizations, and “calmly, but resolutely” to demand from the new Russian government to meet the national needs of the Ukrainian people – first of all, to give Ukraine the autonomy (Smolii, 1996, p. 38). It was in the very struggle for a national territorial autonomy, as M. Kovalchuk notes, in which the Central Rada of Ukraine considered the main meaning of its further activity (Koval’chuk, 2007, p. 93).

On March 19 (March 7), 1917, Ukraine received the order from Petrograd to dismiss temporarily from office all imperial governors and vice-governors – governance of the province passed to the heads of provincial zemstvos, who were to act as commissioners of the Provisional Government (Koval'chuk, 2007, p. 93). On the same day, Count O. Ignatiev handed over his authority to govern Kyiv province to M. Sukovkin, the head of Kyiv provincial zemstvo: "Taking into consideration [...] the order of the Minister of Internal Affairs, I ask Your Excellency to accept from me the administration of Kyiv Province. I ask you to accept the assurances of a full respect and true devotion" (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 18, p. 1) – the former Kyiv governor, Count O. Ignatiev addressed the newly appointed Kyiv provincial commissioner.

After leaving Kyiv on May 16, 1917, Count O. Ignatiev was appointed an authorized (representative) of the Russian Red Cross in Romania. Later he was in the army of General M. Yudenych, who opposed the Bolshevik government in 1919. But after the defeat O. Ignatiev emigrated to France, where he organized the Orthodox church and the Russian cultural center in his house (Koval'chuk, 2007, p. 93).

According to the decision of the Provisional Government of March 4, 1917, the first Kyiv provincial commissioner, who took over the powers of Kyiv governor and Kyiv vice-governor, was to be the chairman of the provincial zemstvo administration (Dodonov, 2004, p. 24). On January 1, 1917, Kyiv provincial zemstvo was headed by Mykhailo Akinfyovych Sukovkin (1857 – 1938).

Mykhailo Sukovkin came from a noble family. He was the brother of Kyiv Governor Mykola Sukovkin (he was the head of Kyiv Province from 1912 till 1915), the son of the head of the Committee of Ministers, a secret adviser of Akinfin Petrovych Sukovkin. The new head of Kyiv province, in the past the head of the provincial zemstvo administration, belonged to big landowners (more than 3,5 thousand acres of land in Kyiv province, 750 tithes in Nyzhnyi Novgorod province). Mykhailo Sukovkin went to the Lyceum of Alexandria, after finishing which in 1877 he was enrolled in the office of the Committee of Ministers. The following year he was enrolled in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and sent to the disposal of Kyiv, Podilsk and Volyn Governor-General, Duke O. Dondukov-Korsakov (*Pamiatnaia knizhka Imperatorskogo Aleksandrovskogo Litceia na 1880 god*, 1880, p. 135). In 1866 Mykhailo Sukovkin was enrolled in the Ministry of State Property (*Aleksandrovskii litcei (Sankt-Peterburg)*, 1880, p. 109). In 1887 he was appointed the official on special assignments under the steppe Governor-General H. Kolpakovsky. In 1890 he worked in the Ministry of Finance. In 1891 he was appointed a member-estimator of Moscow branch of the noble land bank (*Gosudarstvennyi Dvorianskii Zemelnyi Bank*, 1893, p. 60). From 1898 till 1906 he occupied simultaneously the position of Kyiv county leader of the nobility, an honorary judge of Kaniv district and the chairman of Kaniv-Vasylkiv Congress of mediators. In 1907 Mykhailo Sukovkin began his service in the local self-government bodies as the head of Kyiv provincial administration for zemstvo affairs. Since 1911 with the introduction of an elected zemstvo in the Western region, he was elected the chairman of Kyiv provincial zemstvo council. In March 1917 he was appointed Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government (*Inspektorskii Otdel Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantcelarii*, 1916, pp. 1472–1473).

After the dismissal from the position of Kyiv provincial commissioner, Mykhailo Sukovkin's bureaucratic career received rather controversial reviews by researchers. Thus, in 1918 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary of Pavlo Skoropadsky Ukrainian state

to Turkey. Being on a diplomatic mission, he defended the idea of a “united and indivisible Russia”. Thus, he officially stated to the Turkish government and all diplomatic missions in Istanbul that “Ukraine was and is the part of Russia. He issued the order to keep the records in Russian at the embassy” (Strel’s’kyy, n.d.). The main purpose of Mykhailo Sukovkin’s mission in Turkey, according to the Ukrainian researcher M. Prykhodko, was to resolve the issue of the annexation of the Crimean peninsula to Pavlo Skoropadsky Ukrainian State. “Since the Crimean issue is long overdue for the resolution in the Ukrainian metropolis, but for this Ukraine needed allies, one of which M. Sukovkin unquestionably considered Turkey, which had already withdrawn from the war, but sought revenge at the expense of smaller and weaker countries” (Prykhod’ko, 2018, p. 67). Among Mykhailo Sukovkin’s achievements at the diplomatic service, modern historians single out the signing of the Agreement with Vice Admiral Amet (the representative of the Allied Navy in the East), which recognized the right of Pavlo Skoropadsky Ukrainian State to the Black Sea Fleet (Strel’s’kyy, 1999, p. 37). Another Ukrainian researcher V. Holovchenko, analyzing the diplomatic activities of M. Sukovkin, notes that the latter tried “to use the potential of the Turkish Sultan Mohammed V for a political pressure on the countries of the Fourth Union in order to weaken the occupation yoke on the Ukrainian statehood, as well as in matters of building relations with the Crimea, and more precisely on the issue of joining the territory of the Crimean Peninsula to the Ukrainian State” (Holovchenko, 2004, p. 562).

Mykhailo Sukovkin, being the head of Kyiv provincial zemstvo council, happened to be an effective administrator and an active participant in a socio-political life. M. Hrushevsky mentioned about Mykhailo Sukovkin as a “rather good bureaucrat”, who “claimed the role of a mediator between Kyiv and Petrograd” (Strel’s’kyy, n.d.). At the same time, despite the existence of two other political centers in Kyiv (the Ukrainian Central Rada, the Council of Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies), M. Sukovkin gained popularity among Kyivans, especially among the Ukrainians. D. Doroshenko, a historian, a publicist, a member of the Ukrainian Central Council recollected: “The importance of the Central Council grew day by day. Even then, it could be seen that it would soon become the highest regional authority in Kyiv. Now it is the matter of establishing the highest regional government in Ukraine, a kind of the Ukrainian governorship. I remember that V. Koroliv recommended the candidacy of M. Sukovkin, and I can’t say that this candidacy did not meet sympathy at that time. During the first weeks and months of the revolution, M. Sukovkin was a very popular figure among the Ukrainian citizens” (Dobzhans’kyy, 2008, p. 384).

After coming to power in Kyiv province, the newly appointed provincial commissioner was to perform the authorities, which belonged to the governor of Kyiv. The legal status of the institute of the provincial commissioner acquired a legislative form only on September 19, 1917, when “The Temporary Regulations on the Provincial (Regional) and County Commissioners” were issued and approved. Therefore, for almost half a year, Kyiv provincial commissioner had three political centres in Kyiv (Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government in Kyiv, Council of Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies, the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR)) and having a legal basis to head Kyiv province, he was forced to be guided in his activities by the non-abolished imperial legislation. According to “The Provisional Regulations” (1917), the provincial commissioner, like the governor, was the representative of the highest state power in the province “supervising the exact and local observance of laws, decrees and orders of the Government by a local government and self-government” (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 16, p. 27 v.). Unlike the governor, the provincial commissioner was

required to have a higher education (preferably a legal one) (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 16, p. 27 v.). The provincial commissioner was appointed by the Provisional Government on the proposal of the Minister of the Internal Affairs. “The Temporary Regulations on Provincial (regional) and County Commissioners” (September 19, 1917) defined the following powers of the provincial commissioner of the PG: to distribute among the population the normative legal acts of the PG and other higher bodies of the state power (Article 4); to supervise the activities and records of all provincial and county institutions of the civil department, except for courts, institutions of the State Control, the State Bank and higher education institutions (in other educational institutions the supervision of the provincial commissioner was not the subject to the educational part) (Article 5); in case of violations in the institutions under his control to impose the disciplinary sanctions on responsible officials (Article 9); to supervise the execution of court decisions on administrative cases (Article 10); to supervise provincial and county public, administrative institutions (Article 12); to submit proposals to the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the budget for the management of the provincial and county commissioners (Article 14); to provide the Ministry of Internal Affairs with reports on the state of affairs in the province (Article 15) (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 16, pp. 27 v.–28). Despite the desire of the population to have “new people” in leadership positions, in the counties, in addition to the newly established institution of county commissioners, the imperial system of administration actually remained. The authorities of county commissioners in Kyiv province were performed by the heads of county zemstvo, to whom the relevant unorganized (imperial) institutions of the county were subordinated (Kamenyeva, 2017, p. 149).

In addition to abolishing the institution of Kyiv governor, the position of Kyiv vice-governor was abolished. According to “The Provisional Regulations” (1917), the position of assistant provincial commissioner was introduced. Thus, the materials of the State Archives of Kyiv region testify that the introduction of the position of assistant to Kyiv provincial commissioner took place on June 8, 1917, when Z. Morgulsky issued an official certificate and granted the right to use the powers “as a former vice-governor” (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 1, p. 57). At the same time, due to the increase in a document flow, Kyiv provincial commissioner of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was allowed to have two assistants (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 1, p. 4). Under Kyiv provincial commissioner his office functioned, which was headed by the secretary, on the analogy with the office of Kyiv governor (SAKO, f. 1716, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 55–56).

In fact, the post of Kyiv provincial commissioner functioned until the end of September 1917, when M. Sukovkin, the provincial commissioner, voluntarily resigned and left Kyiv, realizing his inability to perform his powers in Kyiv and the province. “The further [the Central Rada – *the authors*] took an increasingly left-wing course”, D. Doroshenko recalled, and soon Sukovkin realized that he, a man of more moderate social views, was not on the right track with the Central Rada. In the summer of 1917 he resigned as a provincial commissioner of Kyiv region” (Dobzhans’kyy, 2008, p. 384). Legally, the position of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government functioned until the introduction by the Ukrainian Central Council in December 1917 of the institute of provincial and county commissioners of the UCR, which replaced actually the previous institution of the central government without changing anything in the activities, because in practice commissioners of the UCR continued to be guided by “The Provisional Regulations on Provincial (Regional) and County Commissioners” of the Provisional Government of September 19, 1917 (Kozachenko, 2017, p. 3).

The Conclusions. Thus, the introduction of the institute of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government (the legal status of which was regulated by both current imperial legislation and new legal acts of the Provisional Government) transformed the system of imperial local authorities, which took place peacefully. The introduction of the institute of Kyiv Provincial Commissioner of the Provisional Government had to ensure the continuity of power, to prevent the destructive processes of the state government mechanisms, to preserve the territorial integrity and governance of the regions of the former Empire. However, under conditions of the growing national liberation movement, the newly appointed leader could not keep the situation under his control, which under conditions of a further development of the Ukrainian revolution put on the agenda the change in the model of a public administration and local government.

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AGRARIAN REFORM OF P. WRANGEL IN THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE (1920)

Abstract. The purpose of the article – to reveal that P. Wrangel’s agrarian reform was widely understood as a system of measures that influenced the socio-economic situation in the countryside, the socio-political activity of the peasantry. **The research methodology** is based on such principles of historical knowledge as scientificity, historicism, objectivity, system analysis, etc., as well as on the application of general scientific, special historical study methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the following: it has been justified that P. Wrangel did not limit his agrarian reform by the redistribution of land among peasants. He considered as its cornerstone the intensification of agriculture as an industry, improving the material wealth of peasants, transforming the peasantry into a leading social class. Being aware of the need for quality changes aimed at intensifying agriculture as a sector of the economy, P. Wrangel worked in this direction. In our estimation of efficiency of this work, in our opinion it is necessary to consider the conditions under which it was carried out. Despite the adverse circumstances, P. Wrangel’s agrarian reform in southern Ukraine was fruitful. Its conduct, firstly, testifies that the Commander-in-Chief took care of improvement of land management, improvement of agro-technical cultivation of land, provision of peasant farms with agricultural machinery, seed

fund, working cattle, etc. Secondly, the measures taken by the government officials did not seek to exacerbate the authorities' relations with the peasantry. On the contrary, every effort was made to minimize confrontation in the countryside. Thirdly, the agrarian reform was based on the principles of state protectionism of the peasantry. **The Conclusions.** Among the clear achievements of P. Wrangel's agrarian reform there were the following results: 1) the pro-peasant character of agrarian legislation and agrarian reform in general, aimed at preserving livestock, including breeding stock, providing peasant farms with agricultural machinery and equipment, seeds etc.; 2) the complimentary attitude of the peasantry of the South of Ukraine to the activities of the White civil authorities during the sowing, harvesting, normalization of lease relations, intensification of the agrarian sector as an economic sector; 3) during the time of implementation of agrarian reform in the South of Ukraine, 3145 peasants became the real owners of the land, which was confirmed by the relevant legal documents, according to which 66 725 des. of land were secured into a private ownership. None of the governments that took part in the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 achieved this.

Key words: Ukrainian revolution, peasant revolution, Southern Ukraine, Ukrainian peasantry, agrarian reform, P. Wrangel.

АГРАРНА РЕФОРМА П. ВРАНГЕЛЯ НА ПІВДНІ УКРАЇНИ (1920 р.)

Анотація. Мета статті – розкрити, що аграрна реформа П. Врангелем розумілася широко, як система заходів, що впливали на соціально-економічне становище на селі, суспільно-політичну активність селянства. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на таких принципах історичного пізнання, як науковість, історизм, об'єктивність, системний аналіз тощо, а також на застосуванні загальнонаукових, спеціально-історичних методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає в обґрунтуванні того, що аграрну реформу П. Врангель не обмежував перерозподілом землі між селянами. Її наріжним каменем він вважав інтенсифікацію сільського господарства як галузі, збільшення матеріальних статків селян, перетворення селянства у провідну соціальну верству. П. Врангель, усвідомлюючи необхідність проведення якісних змін, спрямованих на інтенсифікацію сільського господарства як галузі економіки, працював у цьому напрямі. Оцінюючи ефективність цієї роботи, потрібно, на наш погляд, зважати на умови, за яких вона проводилася. Попри несприятливі обставини, аграрна реформа П. Врангеля на Півдні України була результативною. Її проведення, по-перше, засвідчує турботу Головнокомандувача про поліпшення землеустрою, підвищення агротехнічного обробітку землі, забезпечення селянських господарств сільгоспінвентарем, насіннєвим фондом, робочою худобою тощо. По-друге, вжиті урядовцями заходи не спрямовувалися на загострення стосунків влади із селянством. Навпаки робилося все для того, щоб максимально мінімізувати конфронтацію на селі. Потретьє, аграрна реформа ґрунтувалася на засадах державного протекціонізму селянству. **Висновки.** З-поміж однозначних досягнень під час проведення П. Врангелем аграрної реформи були такі результати: 1) проселянський характер аграрного законодавства та аграрної реформи загалом, спрямований на збереження поголів'я худоби, зокрема племінної, забезпечення селянських господарств сільгосптехнікою та реманентом, насіннєвими фондами тощо; 2) компліментарне ставлення селянства Півдня України до заходів органів цивільної влади білих під час посівної, жнив, з унормування орендних відносин, інтенсифікації аграрного сектору як галузі економіки; 3) під час проведення аграрної реформи на Півдні України реальними власниками земель, що підтверджувалося відповідними юридичними документами, стало 3145 селян, за якими закріплювалося у приватну власність 66725 дес. землі. Жоден із урядів, що брали участь в Українській революції 1917 – 1921 рр., не досяг подібного.

Ключі слова: Українська революція, селянська революція, Південь України, українське селянство, аграрна реформа, П. Врангель.

The Problem Statement. The period of 2017 – 2021 in Ukraine is the jubilee on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. Despite its centuries-old past, the interest of scientists and the public to this phenomenon of a national history does not subside.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The analysis of the historiographical heritage dedicated to the revolutionary topics (Verstiuk, 2003, pp. 5–12; *Revolutsiynyi protses 1917 – 1920 rokiv*, 2014, 62 p.) shows that there is a constant public inquiry into its thorough scientific understanding (Kornovenko & Zemziulina, 2018; Farenii, (2019; Farenii, 2014; Holec, 2011; Bernstein, 2018; Sumpf, 2017).

The purpose of the article – to reveal that P. Wrangel’s agrarian reform was widely understood as a system of measures that influenced the socio-economic situation in the countryside, the socio-political activity of the peasantry.

The Basic Material Statement. First of all, it concerns the agrarian issue and the ways of its solution, which, given the urgency of this socio-economic and socio-political problem, the peasant character of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 (Kornovenko, 2014; Kornovenko, 2017) was proposed by all the participants in the revolutionary events of that time. The White Movement of Southern Russia, represented in 1920 by the Russian Army of P. Wrangel, was no exception. Due attention has been paid by the foreign and Ukrainian historical science to the White Movement of the South of Russia, and the agrarian reform of P. Wrangel (Kornovenko, (2008). At the same time, not all aspects of this multifaceted theme have been fully covered. In view of this, it is relevant to study the nature and effectiveness of Wrangel government’s measures to resolve the agrarian issue in the south of Ukraine. The authors of the article aim at investigating the state of land tenure/land use, agro-culture in the South of Ukraine and the changes that occurred in agriculture as a result of Wrangel’s agrarian reform in 1920.

The territory of Southern Ukraine (Berdiansk, Dnieper, Yevpatoria, Melitopol, Perekop, Simferopol, Feodosia, Yalta counties), controlled by the Russian Army, corresponded to the former Tavriya province, amounting to 60 thousand square kilometers, where 3 million of people lived, including refugees and military servicemen. ‘In the north, Alexandrovsk was the extreme point; in the east – Berdiansk and Mariupol; in the north-west – the Dnieper. Arable land was abundant’ (Cherkasov-Georgievskiy, 2004). According to statistics, the middle figure in agriculture of the then Ukraine became a middle-aged man. Already at the beginning of 1919, middle households made up 60 per cent of the total population (*Istoriya grazhdanskoj voyni v SSSR*, 1959, p. 35). The social structure of the peasantry underwent significant changes since 1920, compared to the pre-revolutionary 1916. First of all, it concerns Tavriya province, a region where the percentage of wealthy households had traditionally been high. It is clearly demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1 (Rybalka,1987)

Changes in the size of crops in peasant farms in Ukraine

Years	Groups of holdings by size of crops (%)						
	Seedless	Less than 1 des.	1,1 – 3,0	3,1 – 6,0	6,1 – 9,0	9,1 – 11,0	More than 11 des.
1916	17,3	7,0	17,1	20,4	13,2	25	
1920	10,2	8,5	26,6	27,1	13,1	4,9	9,6

Thus, over 5 years, including 4 years of the revolution and the civil war, the number of idle farms decreased by 7,1 per cent with allotment up to 1 des. – increased by 1,5 per cent; with a share from 3,1 to 6,0 – by 6,7 per cent; with an allotment from 6,1 to 9,0 – by 0,1 per cent; the total number of affluent farms decreased by 10,5 per cent, as well as differentiation

into those who own 9,1 – 11,0 des. land (4,9 per cent) and more than 11 des. – 9,6 per cent. Thus, the poor peasantry made up 18,7 per cent of the total number of peasant households.

In addition, despite the increase in the amount of land in individual peasant farms, in the southern counties of Tavriya province, which had previously been under the command of A. Denikin, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the South of Russia (hereinafter – AFSR), land use and tenure were not secured. There was a lot of unused land that belonged to big savings, thus forming a distributive land fund.

Equally interesting is the statistics on the supply of farms with live and dead inventory, which is an important indicator both to determine the state of the industry and the level of welfare of the peasants. According to the information contained in the agricultural censuses, in 1917 there were 15,4 per cent of the farms in the Ukrainian provinces without cattle, and in 1920 – 7,9 per cent; without working cattle – 44,8 per cent and 34,1 per cent respectively; without cows – 35,1 per cent and 27,2 per cent; without inventory – 43,5 per cent and 24,9 per cent (Rybalka, 1987, p. 40). Thus, during the revolution, the number of farms without cattle decreased by 7,5 per cent, without working cattle – by 10,7 per cent, without cows – by 7,9 per cent, without equipment – by 18,6 per cent. Thus, the peasantry, in particular Tavriya province, levelled off in their wealth, becoming middle-class.

The situation of landlords was another. By no means idealizing their owners, let us note that they were, at least before the revolution, a powerful agricultural complex, having a commercial character and producing goods and for export. In 1920, one mention remained from their former potential. The large landed estates were hit twice. On the one hand, they became the object of the destruction by the Soviet power, which upheld the principles of nationalization, and on the other hand, – by the peasants, who were enriched by landlords' equipment and lands. In addition, the revolution, in particular the peasant one, made serious adjustments not for the better, in terms of hiring and selling labour in the countryside, in rents that could not be normalized.

A striking example of the economic situation of the landlords of Tavriya province is the fate of the estate of Falz-Fein's "Askania-Nova". Of the 400 horses left 1, out of 120 camels – 72, from 1000 oxen – 60, from 300 cows – 3, from 200 pigs – 67, from 45,000 sheep – 5000. Areas of arable land fell sharply: from 4370 des. 415 farms were sown on the farm's farmland. The situation with the acreage in the Karabon's estates (from 2550 inhabitants to 180 persons) and Zheliabin's (from 1945 to 120 inhabitants) was similar. Thus, less than 8 per cent of the farmland was processed (Wrangel, 1992, p. 99).

Considering the state of land tenure and land use in the South of Ukraine, P. Wrangel considered agrarian as the main direction of the government's internal policy in the economic sphere. The Baron was aware that, given the "specificity of ethnographic, economic conditions, amidst general turmoil and crisis", it was not realistic to resolve the agrarian issue in full. He had no doubt that any variant of agrarian reform would surely be the object of criticism. On the other hand, as the content of the memoirs of the general testifies, there was no sense in delaying innovative rural activities (Wrangel, 1992, p. 99). Therefore, the Commander-in-Chief chose the optimal solution, in our opinion, both economically and politically: to cut down the Gordian knot, which became an agrarian issue. Agrarian reform, in his opinion, would improve the economic situation of the peasants, gain their support in the fight against the Bolsheviks, stabilize the food market, thus solving the problem of providing the population and the army with food, feed.

The purpose of the reform, the basic provisions of which were to be elaborated and implemented, was stated by the Baron clearly and concisely: "... to raise, put on the feet of

a labouring but strong peasantry, to organize it, to unite it and to bring it to the protection of order and statehood” (Wrangel, 1992, p. 100). The political future of the white regime was clearly linked to the peasantry and its private land ownership. In particular, he emphasized: “I outlined a number of measures aimed at giving as much land as possible to private property to those, who invest in it. A small peasant-owner owns an agricultural future ... a great tenure outlived its age” (FonDrejer, 1921, p. 106).

The above data show that P. Wrangel’s reasoning about the subject of an agrarian reform had a real economic basis. They were consistent with those processes that took place in the countryside during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, which, apart from the national democratic one, had a distinct peasant character. In fact, the peasant became the active subject of the that-time history of Ukraine, and the central figure of the countryside of the Ukrainian provinces, including the South, was the middle peasant.

P. Wrangel’s conception of the principles on which agrarian reform should be based was presented in its final form in a letter addressed to the Head of the Civil Administration of the Council under the Commander-in-Chief of the AFSR G. Glinka on March 20, 1920. The content of the document is overflowing with Commander-in-Chief’s concerns of the situation in agriculture – the ‘main activity of the population’. First of all, it is a concern that due to the confusion of the ‘concept of ownership and the concept of actual ownership’ there is a real threat of underachievement. For the same reason, the formation of strong one-man farms is hampered by the intense degradation of landlord farms, which will generally lead to the complete decline of the agricultural sector of the economy.

In this regard, P. Wrangel considered as necessary to take urgent steps to regulate land use/tenure in the South Ukrainian counties. G. Glinka, as the head of the Civil Department, was charged with the immediate creation of the ‘Central Land Commission’ and within a month to develop a plan for an agrarian reform, the procedure for its implementation on the ground through the mediation of county land commissions, which were formed and operated in each county on the same basis as ‘Central Land Commission’. The composition of the latter was co-opted by representatives of the Zemstvo Governments, delegates of peasants, specialists in agrarian issues.

Legislation of the Wrangel agrarian reform was published in the old style on May 25, 1920. This package of documents included the following: “Notices to the Government on Land Issue”, “Land Orders”, “Rules on the Transfer of Orders to the Government, Treasury, State Land Bank and Landowners appointment to the property of the owners who cultivated it”, “Provisional Regulations on Land Institutions” (CSAPOU, f. 57, op. 2, d. 428, 85 p.; Wrangel, 1992).

A government message explained the essence of agrarian reform: land – to the owners who work on it. It was determined by the goal of P. Wrangel’s Government: 1) to protect land management in the form in which it was formed at the time of innovation; 2) transfer to the landowners the agricultural lands, state-owned and privately owned; 3) to create in the countryside proper conditions for economic development and growth of prosperity, so that the peasants do not suffer from encroachment, uncertainty.

It was also said about the mechanism of implementation of agrarian reform: the land was alienated from the former owners, however, behind them land was preserved, the size of which, depending on regional features, was determined by local land institutions, which included peasants. The government only approved their decisions. The report identified the categories of land subject to and not alienable. The latter included: 1) lands acquired

through the Peasant Land Bank, which did not exceed the established rate; 2) cuts and areas allotted for farms; 3) church and parish holdings, estates and high-cultural lands; 4) lands of agricultural research and educational institutions; 5) possessions not exceeding certain sizes.

The alienated lands were secured to those peasants who cultivated them at the time of exit and the law and the message. The size of these lands was determined by local land institutions, but could not be less than the norms set by the Peasant Land Bank. Such distribution was enshrined in an act recognizing indisputable possession. On its basis, documents were issued that finally secured the right to own land for new owners after payment of all its value to the state. The lands, though without immediate delimitation, were transferred to lifelong, hereditary property for redemption, so that they could reach economically sound owners capable of cultivating it (CSAPOU, f. 57, op, 2, d, 428, pp. 75–79).

Wrangel's agrarian legislation corresponded with the then legislation of the Directorate of the UPR and foreign countries. In particular, the positions of protection of the Institute of Private Property in 1920 were and figures of the Directorate of the UPR. Thus, according to N. Kovaleva, the opportunity to regulate the problems of agrarian reform in a new way The Ministry of Land Affairs (hereinafter – the MLA) was granted in spring 1920 (Kovalyova, Kornovenko, Malynovsky, Mykhailiuk & Morozov, 2007, pp. 142–145). The beginning of the Polish-Ukrainian offensive stimulated the development of a new agrarian law. The Council of People's Ministers made an attempt to establish land ownership almost a month after the beginning of the Polish-Ukrainian offensive – on June 3, 1920, promising to start selling state land to individuals in an appeal to the population.

The MLA, awaiting the final decision of the Cabinet of Ministers, proposed to approve the use of private and public lands by the working peasantry and to reorganize the bodies of local land administration. Amendments to the law on January 18, 1919 became the subject of discussion created on May 31, 1921 by a joint commission of land and military ministries. In August this year, the discussion was attended by representatives of Ukrainian soldiers, who were interned in the Polish camps of Kalisz and Wadowice. In Kalisz, two proposals were made: securing small land holdings to private land use and preserving life-long private use only for private plots and houses. In order to eliminate the Bolshevik agitation against the UPR, it was decided to issue a law on additional allotment of a military personnel to land not in emigration but in Ukraine (after approval by Parliament).

The main provisions of Wrangel's agricultural legislation were also consistent with the practice of resolving the agrarian issue in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. For example, on February 25, 1919, the Government of Yugoslavia approved and published the 'Preliminary Decree on the Preparation of Land Reform'. Its principle, as in the legislation of P. Wrangel, was based on the principle of alienation. The parcels of land were relegated to small and landless peasants in norms that could be handled by the peasant family on their own. According to the contents of the document, the land, the size of which exceeded 100 jutars (60 des. – *Authors*) (Imshenetskiy, 1919), were subject to alienation. The Decree of February 20, 1920, supplementing the preceding one, was directed to support agriculture, taking into account the circumstances of the transition period. Behind it, large estates came under the control of the state and, if necessary, the state management (Kachinskiy, 1922, p. 74). In this way, as the contents of the above documents show, the Yugoslav authorities sought, on the one hand, to eliminate the land deficit in peasant land tenure and, on the other hand, – to maintain large, exemplary farms while supporting the development of the agricultural sector of the economy.

In Greece, the law of 27 February 1920 alienated public and private land ownership. The agrarian reform was carried out in the interests of small and medium peasants, who were granted the right to expand the area of their lands through the purchase of additional plots for money. The Greek government, like P. Wrangel, also relied on the peasants, the basic class of statehood. This could be used by both sole owners and peasant associations. For the latter conditions were more favourable. Thus, in particular, individuals paid for the acquired holdings at once, and collective farms were given loans at low interest for a long term (from 3 to 5 years) and instalments in payment. The size of the land being purchased was determined by consumer and labour characteristics (Ter-Pogosyan, 1922, p. 43). The local land councils in Southern Ukraine also took into account the quality of the soil and the level of economic power of the peasantry during the land division, as did the Greek authorities.

The law of the Government of Bulgaria of May 19, 1921 began an agrarian reform, on the basis of which, as in the agrarian reform of P. Wrangel, the principle of alienation of surpluses of large land tenure for a fee was also based. Ex-owners or those who did not specialize in agriculture, there were no more than 40 decares (the size of the city, about 0.5–0.8 des. – *Authors*). Due to this so-called state land fund was formed as a result of non-labour land use, lands of the National Bank and monasteries. From it at the price paid by the state with a surcharge of 20 per cent, the following categories of owners were granted: 1) landless, who worked on foreign land; 2) land with and without inventory; 3) specialists of agriculture, who had no plots; 4) agricultural cooperatives for the construction of model farms; 5) labourers, if, according to the law, 'their personal qualities prove that they can become successful masters'; 6) migrants from the densely populated regions of Bulgaria, in which the low land was particularly acute; 7) the Bulgarian migrants from other countries (Noveysheegrarnoezakonodatelstvo, 1922, pp. 66–95).

Thus, P. Wrangel's agrarian legislation aimed at regulating land use and land tenure in the countryside; the purpose of the general was to endow the peasants with land, to elevate both their material prosperity and the industry as a whole; legislation represented and protected the economic interests of not only the middle-class and wealthy peasants. The protection of state farms and communes by P. Wrangel testified that he also took into account the interests of the poor and needy peasants; the landlords, the former owners, were eliminated from the settlement procedure with the villagers. Moreover, by the special order of the Commander-in-Chief, they were prohibited not only from returning to their estates, but also from holding administrative posts in the county where these estates were located; P. Wrangel's agrarian legislation corresponded to the real state of affairs in the agriculture of Tavriya province, taking into account the interests of virtually all categories of peasantry; it was "flexible", that is, developed and refined, taking into account the socio-economic and socio-political circumstances of the time. Its main provisions were consistent with the principles of solving the agrarian question in the countries of Central-Eastern and Southern Europe. P. Wrangel's agrarian legislation also did not contradict the agrarian innovation models of 1920 Ukrainian national governments, including the Directorate of UPR.

P. Wrangel believed that the peasants themselves had to solve the agrarian question through the authorized bodies created by them. The commander-in-chief, when designing the system of governance, reviewed the role, place and importance of peasant initiative and self-organization. Hair and village structures were understood by them as the pillar of power on the ground, the foundation on which the statehood frame was erected. This position implied that the leading role in the implementation of power initiatives in the political and economic

spheres on the ground would belong to the peasant self-government bodies. That is why the government did not interfere with the peasant initiative to restore the village and townships, the institute of village and village elders. At least, it is not recorded in the sources involved in our research. On the contrary, historical sources indicate that commanders of military units located in the counties of Northern Tavriya received clear instructions from the Commander-in-Chief on how to behave in relations with peasant self-government bodies. For example, the commanders of the civilian units of the army have pledged their full support to the activities of the county elders and village elders and their stairways (SARF, f. 3801, op. 1, d. 2, pp. 24–24 rev). This was also addressed by the content of the Provisional Provision on Land Institutions.

In this way, P. Wrangel and his entourage tried to build a model of 'dialogue' with the peasantry, for which the agrarian question relevant to the latter would be solved precisely through the 'volost and county councils, which would include peasants' (Agrarnaya politika Vrangelya, 1928, p. 61). Governmental authority gave itself a much more modest role and function. As G. Glinka noted in the letter to V. Maklakov, "the governmental authority does not specify or dispose of land in the case of local authorities, but only helps and assists them in this matter, preventing, if necessary, interference with the anti-state element ..." (Wrangel's Agrarian Policy, 1928, p. 66). Thus, the telegram to the head of the Dzhanikoysky district stated: "Give every support to the county land mediator in the gradual opening on the parishes of election districts for the election of county land councils". Similar instructions regarding the election work in Simferopol, Yevpatoria and Perekopsk counties were obtained by Simferopol provincial mediator V. Shleifer (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 5. pp. 81, 83). Soon, having become convinced of the experience in the correctness of their own thoughts, at the end of July 1920 by the order of the Commander-in-Chief, the posts of village commanders were abolished. The authorities thus eliminated the military from influencing the work of self-government bodies in the countryside (RSMA, f. 101, op. 1, d. 174, pp. 41 rev.).

Institutions that assumed legitimate functions to eliminate landlord ownership during Wrangel's agrarian reform were the volost and county land councils, whose decisions were approved by the Provincial Land Council. Land councils were entrusted with an important mission – to carry out preliminary work to determine the conditions for the future distribution of an agricultural land between the owners who worked on them. Therefore, among the primary tasks to which the activities of these bodies were directed, was to determine the location, composition and number of leased land, were not handled by the owners, and were not properly maintained. In addition, it was necessary to find out who, in what sequence, and in what amount, the land was entitled. Therefore, the alpha and omega activities of the county land councils were: 1) accounting for the agricultural land fund to be allocated first; 2) developing and submitting for approval by the county councils positions on the size of allotments assigned to the new own; 3) compiling a list of persons who are offered to take land; 4) land ownership; 5) determination of maximum limits, which remained behind the former owners; 6) estimates of average yield over the last 10 years (SAARC, f. 1668, op. 1, d. 1a, pp. 50 – 51).

The formation of these local land management institutions, which had sufficiently broad powers, was, in our opinion, a significant step forward in involving peasants in state-building. This legally enshrined P. Wrangel's intentions to transform the peasants into an effective force both in carrying out agrarian reform and in general state building.

In most cases, the landlords' large land estates during the Wrangel's agrarian reform were subject to alienation and distribution into private property among peasants who needed

additional holdings. In particular, the Azek estate, located in Tav-Badraksk volost, owned by B. Beckman, was passed by 60 peasants by the decision of the local land council. arable and 91 des. of arable land. In the estate of Molla El the same volost owned by S. Safronov, 403 des. agricultural arable land, 155 des. Pasture (CSAPOU, f. 5, op. 1, d. 322, p. 3). The decision of the Kabariya volost the land council was subject to immediate distribution of the estates of the owners, whose owners did not cultivate them independently. First of all, it concerned the following estates: Tetiy, Biyuk, Kuchuk-Toksaba, Katerynivka (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 5. p. 4).

The landowners' estates were actively distributed in the frontline counties, such as Dnieper. The Novo-Troitskvolost Land Council, in the presence of engineer Rudin, decided to alienate 600 des to Ginsburg estate. and transferring them privately to 18 tenants. The Gromovsk volost Land Council for the Falz-Fein's estate planned to transfer to the tenants 2 thousand tenements, 2 thousand tenants into private ownership. the leased land of the estate of Shiner was privately owned by 85 peasants who worked for it, 320 des. from the Mashkalov's estate – 15 tenants, who cultivated it (*AgramayapolitikaVrangelya*, 1928, p. 87).

A positive socio-political resonance among the peasantry was caused by the distribution of land in Atmanay estate. The decision of the volost land council for 22 peasants was fixed 500 des. land of this savings (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 5, p. 173). The peasants of Katerynoslav province, who came to the Ukluh estuary and the Atmanay for salt, could not believe that the land of the land was being transferred to the peasants' property. Then they were taken to a field where they saw the land surveyors. The latter laid the boundaries of the secured areas (*Agrarnaya politika Vrangelya*, 1928, p. 92). This struck Katerynoslav peasants. They saw with their own eyes that P. Wrangel not only declared, but also implemented the agrarian reform. Against the background of socio-political instability and socio-economic crisis in Soviet Ukraine, the situation in the south of Ukraine was qualitatively different for the better. Katerynoslav peasants could not notice this.

Thus, P. Wrangel not only declared the alienation of land surpluses from large landowners, but also put this idea into practice through the county and county land councils. Landowners remained at least eligible for land cultivation, and most were redistributed for ransom among peasants. According to our estimates, which coincide with the data cited by V. Tsvetkov (Tsvetkov, 2006, p. 370), the land was redistributed more than 20 large landed estates in different ways for the benefit of the peasants. On average, the size of peasant lands, according to information provided by N. Ross, increased to 100 people, and landlords – decreased from 100 to 600 people (Ross, 1982, p. 183). In our opinion, given the historical sources we have worked out, the adjustments made to the land distribution regulations on October 4, 1920, the maximum of landowner land should be limited to 400, and the peasant ranged from 60 to 250.

P. Wrangel considered the basic social layer of the renewed model of the Russian statehood in 1920 as a "healthy working peasantry". This vision of the political future of statehood automatically put the question of its economic foundation on the agenda. Thus, the key to the political revival of statehood was economic recovery. The commander-in-chief noted in this regard: "The main task, the solution of which requires the utmost concentration of efforts, is to restore the destroyed economic life" (CSAPOU, f. 5, op. 1, d. 322, p. 1). The latter was linked to the restoration of agriculture as the "main activity of population" (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 172).

The agrarian reform was the mechanism of realization of P. Wrangel's economic plans. In this regard, he did not merely reduce the agrarian reform to regulation of land tenure / land use. She understood it much more broadly – as a component of domestic economic policy.

The components of the agrarian reform were, inter alia, government measures aimed at improving the state of agriculture as a sector of the economy; improvement of agro-culture; establishing mutually beneficial for the peasants and other categories of the population of commodity exchange.

Taking into account the above circumstances, in providing the peasants with industrial goods, the emphasis was placed on the intensification of export-import operations and on the recovery of trade between the city and the countryside. P. Wrangel noted in this regard: "... the scarcity of goods impedes the flow of bread from the countryside. The risk of further sowing is threatened. It is necessary to involve peasant communities in direct involvement in the exchange of grain for imported goods from abroad" (CSAPOU, f. 5, op. 1, d. 322, p. 1).

The actions of the officials were signalled. Thus, thanks to the efforts of General Lukomsky, in addition to fuel and fuel oil, goods from abroad began to flow in large quantities to the Crimea. Cargo transport vessels loaded with industrial goods came to the Crimean ports from France, Romania, the USA and the Far East (SAARC, f. 1765, op. 2, d. 14, pp. 11, 176; SAARC, f. 1765, op. 2, d. 16, p. 2). The former head of the Crimean government in 1919 S. Crim, with the support of M. Margulies, sold 60,000 buckets of wine exported from Crimea to London. On the currency received from its sale, he purchased in England medicines, axes, files, shovels, needles, bags (as it may seem strange, bags, because of the lack of appropriate packaging, were in extreme demand among the peasants, were a very good commodity – *Authors*). All these goods, according to N. Ross, he bought in his own name, because the British authorities banned the export of goods to the Government of the South Russia (Ross, 1982, p. 203). Paris-based branches of the Russian-Asian and Moscow merchant banks organized transportation from France to the white Crimea of military equipment, ammunition, etc. (SAARC, f. 1765, op. 2, d. 14, p. 65). In this way, it was not only declared, but also implemented in practice measures to provide the population, especially the peasantry, with industrial goods. Constantinople became the main trading partner and exported up to 1 million poods of grain only from July 24, to September 16, 1920 (*Vyivoz zerna za granitsu*, 1920).

An urgent issue in Southern Ukraine's agriculture that needed to be addressed was the problem with the livestock population. The ill-advised requisition policies of the authorities, which often changed one another in Ukraine during the years 1917 – 1920, led to a sharp decline in both livestock in general and tribal in particular. The peasants lost their motivation for organizing the breeding business because they were not convinced that their breeding stock would not be subject to requisition or procurement by certain authorities. Therefore, the owners tried to sell as much as possible breeding cattle, so as not to lose in case of its free removal. This situation had a negative impact not only on the pricing of the food market, but also on the production capacities of the farms. After all, the lack of agricultural machines and agricultural stock in most peasant farms in southern Ukraine was compensated for by the force of horses, oxen, etc.

P. Wrangel has been repeatedly approached by scientists and public organizations for analysis of the current situation in the industry. For example, in Professor Kalugin's, senior animal specialist's report said that "situation with the livestock is catastrophic". The biggest threat was hanging over the cattle population and sheep breeding. According to Professor Kalugin, a number of measures could be taken as a possible way out of the crisis. Firstly, to set up state farms for breeding livestock, completing them at the expense of the remaining herds, including the Livadia. Secondly, the granting of state loans and state support for the supply of forage to farms specializing in breeding stock. Thirdly, the financing by the state structures

of the establishment and operation of a breeding network. Fourthly, the implementation of measures to end the destruction of breeding cattle (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, pp. 78–78 rev.).

In our opinion, Professor Kalugin's first three proposals were more in line with peacetime. The latter was real and under the circumstances of 1920. In our opinion, a more constructive approach to solving the problem of keeping the breeding stock of livestock was initiated by the Union of the Crimean Farmers. The idea behind this organization was to brand the breeding stock and prohibit its harvesting or requisitioning. The branding was 'thoroughbred mares and stallions for more than two years, cows and bulls, sows and boars without age restriction' (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, pp. 82–82 rev.).

The authorities' concern for breeding livestock was not limited. Its conservation was of particular importance. The reason for such our judgments is at least the fact that Tavriya provincial council was the commander-in-chief of the implementation of measures to improve the situation with breeding stock. In this direction, county councils worked to assist the population in small breeding stock. Thus, the members of Zemstvos carried out the selection of breeding material and its transmission to the herds, instructing the peasants regarding the technologies of fertilization and breeding livestock (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 172). At a regular meeting of the Government, P. Wrangel's proposal to establish a State Council for Breeding Horse Breeding at the DALU was approved. The necessary funds were allocated to enable it to function fully. The government's decision banned the Office of Food from cows (CSAPOU, f. 5, op. 1, d. 321, p. 4).

On June 1, 1920, P. Wrangel signed an order in response to public outcry and concern for the preservation of livestock. The district councils, together with the ranks of the DALU and the Military Department, obliged them to carry out inspections and branding of the letters "B.S." ('breeding stock' – *Authors*) of breeding cattle as soon as possible. The branded cattle were not subject to any requisition or purchase for the needs of the army. The requisitioned breeding cattle were returned to the staff of the DALU to keep it 'in special breeding farms' (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 85). All Food Commissioners were immediately informed of this order by P. Wrangel. Thus, Assistant Commissioner for Tavriya Province V. Tsybmal received clear instructions on how not to buy from the peasants breeding cattle (SAARC, f. 1666, op. 2, d. 22, p. 11).

The order of the Commander-in-Chief of September 3, 1920 concerning the forced delivery to the population of Perekop, Simferopol, Yevpatoria, Yalta, Feodosia, Sevastopol, and Kerch counties of horses in connection with their acute deficiency in the army, provided that they would not be subject to any special conditions. to each farm. For example, peasant farms with fewer than two horses were exempted from the requisition; producer stallions and "factory uterus", with appropriate certificates from equestrian plants; breeding stallions, "foal mares and uterus with suckers", which belonged to the zemstvos and were kept by them to support breeding horses (SAARC, f. 2235, op. 1, d. 445, pp. 1–2). As the contents of the document attest, the requisitions did not extend to the counties of Northern Tavriya, in which indicators of sowing and arable land significantly outweighed the corresponding data of the Crimea districts.

Thus, there is reason to say that the authorities were doing everything possible, given the conditions of the revolution, to promote the economic potential of the peasant farms of Southern Ukraine and the agricultural sector as a whole, to preserve the breeding stock, and not to leave the peasant farms without traction. In this way the authorities tried at least to hurt the peasants.

Imported manufactured goods were subject to exchange for agricultural products. First of all, their sale was strictly prohibited. All volumes of manufactured goods were only exchanged for grain and livestock products. The price for manufactured goods was determined by a special commission. It consisted of an authorized Food Office (chairman), representatives of the State Control, quartermaster, local cooperatives and rural communities. The market prices for the manufactory were taken as a guideline. Industrial goods were not issued on the basis of equivalent conformity with the quantity and price of the authorized grain product received, but as a paid remuneration. Its size, that is, the percentage of coverage of the value of the grain by the manufactory, was determined by the commission.

In addition to the Agencies of the Food and Trade and Industrial and Trade Agencies, the parish and village heads and the elderly took an active part in the trade. They made known to the peasants how many and what manufactured goods were stored at the bulk points. Also, they had to explain the scheme of commodity exchange: how many and what manufactured goods can be obtained for a given amount of a grain.

The scheme of trade in imported industrial goods for agricultural products was simple. In Yevpatoria county, farmers brought wheat to the bulk points. The mutual agreement of the parties determined its value. 20 – 25 per cent of the total value of the peasant received industrial goods, which were released for 50 per cent of their market price. The rest – 75 – 80 per cent of the value of the imported wheat by the peasant – was paid in money. For example, for 10 pood of wheat with the peasant was calculated so. For 7 1/2 pood he received the money, and for 2 1/2 pounds – 2 pounds of sugar, 7 pieces of soap. For every 888 poods. Wheat peasant received a harvester, the value of which amounted to 277 pood., for 611 – money.

It was almost the same for agricultural societies. In particular, at the request of the chairman of the board of Tukelmes society, the authorized food directorate Mustafa explained the principles on which the company would be able to obtain industrial goods and agricultural machinery. At 20 per cent of the cost of delivery of wheat, at the rate of 500 rubles / pood, sugar and soap were issued at a price 50 per cent lower than the market. The rest – 80 per cent – were paid in cash. Harvesters were only released in exchange for wheat at a price for them in peacetime. For 25 per cent of the delivered lot the wheat could be purchased. For 75 per cent of the delivered batch of wheat, the commissioner paid cash. Conventionally, converting interest into pood, a simple harvester cost 200 poods of wheat, dump truck – 500 pood of wheat and 400 thousand rubles.

The Commissioner for Food of the Yevpatoria County “Bread – Army” harvesters, coal, oil, sugar, kerosene, soap, boots, etc., exchanged peasants for wheat at the rate of 20 per cent by commodities, 80 per cent by cash. For cooperatives the rates were different: 30 per cent with goods, 70 per cent with cash.

Sevastopol leather factory for wheat exchanged soles for shoes, leather shoes. The plant representative exchanged soles at the cooperative at the price of 800 rubles/pood for wheat worth 60 thousand rubles/pood (SAARC, f. 1666, op. 1, d. 18). In Kerch, the quartermaster traded peasants with salt, sugar and kerosene for meat and other agricultural products (CSAPOU, f. 57, op. 2, d. 291, pp. 15–16).

Given the value of industrial and food products, there is reason to say that not all, but most peasants were able to take advantage of the power offered by the authorities. Thus, on the one hand, during World War I and the Revolution, grain exports actually stopped. Therefore, as a rule, it was concentrated on farms and, despite various requisitions, it remained sufficient to meet not only current economic needs, but also for sale or exchange. In addition, the

peasants mostly paid for the 1919 crop, the surpluses of which were serious and exceeded the consumer rate. According to estimates by the Soviet historians, such as Ya. Shafir, 50 million poods could be offered to the market of the peasants of Northern Tavriya in the spring – summer of 1920 wheat and rye, 50 million poods forage (Shafir, 1923, p. 106).

On the other hand, the situation in the countryside was not as simple as it might seem at first glance. Thus, according to the report of the chief of Perekop district, the peasants of this locality had plenty of grain bread in 1919. The Commissioner of the Food Department exchanged it for kerosene, matches, sugar, tea and more. The peasants' harvesters received 200 poods of wheat, ensuring that they pay an extra 1,000 poods for the new crop of 1920 at the rate of 500 rubles / pood. In this connection, the head of the district concluded, 'this deal may be profitable, but inaccessible to the landless peasants' (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 118).

In the report of Ya. Rodionov, who from the Food Department for two days harvested agricultural products in twenty villages of the Yevpatoria county, also argues that small-scale peasants cannot take full advantage of commodity exchange. He suggested that P. Wrangel make some adjustments to this procedure (SAARC, f. 1666, op. 1, d. 18, pp. 53–53 rev.).

The authorities made some concessions to the peasants. Firstly, the amount of redemption payments was reduced. Secondly, adjustments were made to pay for the congregation. According to P. Wrangel's order, the amount of payment for rented land could not exceed 1/5 of the real harvest in the current agricultural year. Thirdly, all peasant payments (in kind, money, congregation) were credited to them primarily as payments to the state for land. The authorities made a commitment in the future to settle with large landowners on their own for the land they had alienated (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 4, p. 42). In this way, the conditions were created for the peasants to be able to save grain reserves and thus make fuller use of the commodity exchange.

Therefore, our assertions that P. Wrangel succeeded, in so far as it was possible under the conditions of the revolution, to establish effective trade with the peasantry will be unfounded. Despite all the difficulties of a financial and economic nature, manufactured goods were supplied to the peasants, and grain products – to the cities.

Increasing the areas of peasant holdings, the Commander-in-Chief's concern about growing the acreage, the scarcity of not only industrial goods and stock, but also agricultural machinery on the agenda before P. Wrangel raised the issues of improving agro-culture, intensification of agriculture as a leading Ukrainian economy. Being realists, knowing the information coming from the places, the Commander-in-Chief and his immediate surroundings were well aware that without providing agriculture with the necessary number of agricultural machines, establishing a network of their servicing services, they could count on improving the socio-economic situation of the peasants, intensifying the economics of agriculture. In addition, the welfare of the rest of the South of Ukraine depended on the economic indicators of agriculture.

One of the documents mentioned at the time stated: "The scarcity of agricultural implements of labour and machines, first of all mechanical engines and means of transport (trucks), complicates the transportation of bread in exchange for the necessary industrial goods for the peasants, does not create favourable conditions for the development of single peasants. All this significantly reduces the interest of farmers to expand acreage and own farm in general" (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 18, p. 6).

The real state of affairs with the provision of peasant farms in southern Ukraine was this. Our simple mathematical calculations of statistics show that in the last pre-war year (1913) peasants on two farms accounted for one arable crop and one cultivator (an average

of 20 people), one seeder for twenty farms (an average of 200 des.), fifteen reapers per hundred farms (an average of 1,000 ten), one horse rake per hundred farms (an average of 1,000 ten), one thresher for fifty farms (an average of 500 ten), thirty-seven fans per ten farms (an average of 100 des.). Compared to similar indicators in other provinces, the peasants of Tavria in 1916 occupied 4–5 places in terms of availability of agricultural machinery and equipment” (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 174).

In 1920, the peasants of southern Ukraine had one arable crop and one cartridge (an average of 13.1 persons), seven seeders per hundred farms (an average of 1310 farms), and four harvesters per ten farms (in one farm). an average of 131 people), six threshers per one hundred farms (an average of 1,310 people), five fans for ten farms (an average of 131 people), one forge could serve the needs of repairing agricultural machinery of five farms (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 174).

During World War I and Revolution years, the average size of peasant farms in southern Ukraine increased from 9,9 per cent. in 1916 to 13,2 des. in 1920; the number of farms decreased by 38,880 farms (these data are very relative, given that information is not available on all counties of southern Ukraine – *Authors*); at 810,562 units there was a decrease in the fans. Positive shifts are observed in the remaining positions: by 81,018 units the number of field implements has increased; on 37129 – harvester; on 6739 – threshers; on 855 – sowing machines (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 174; SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 24, p. 4 rev.).

In our opinion, it is advisable to refer to the analysis of indicators for the technical support of one or more peasant farms during 1916 – 1920. Given the data on this, we note that in 1916 1 arable field was 20 times, in 1920 – by 13.3 des.; in 1916, 1 planter served 200 units, in 1920 – 187 units; in 1916 1 reaper – 66 des., in 1920 – 33 des.; in 1916 1 thresher – 500 des., in 1920 – 218 des.; in 1916 1 fan – 2,7 des, in 1920 – 26,2 des (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 174; SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 24, p. 4 rev). Consequently, changes to the better provision of agricultural farms and machinery for the peasant farms were minimal in 1916 – 1920. Moreover, a considerable number of them needed repair or renewal. The presence of agricultural machinery on the farm did not always mean its effective use. Factors such as lack of weight, dominance of the female and adolescent labour force in the absence of men, etc., were an obstacle to this.

Equally important was the way agricultural machinery was distributed between the counties, taking into account the availability of acreage in each of them, the number of peasant farms, etc. Careful analysis of statistics gives sufficient reason to speak about the security of each county in a particular type of agricultural machinery and stock (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 174). At the same time, we can draw a fair picture of the shortage of agricultural machinery and agricultural stock in the peasant farms of southern Ukraine (except for the Yalta county, whose population did not specialize in arable land). According to our calculations, the peasant farms of Perekop, Yevpatoria, Berdiansk, and Melitopol counties were provided with the tools of agriculture. In the remaining counties, two to four farms out of ten were unsecured. Agricultural machinery was lacking in every farm (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 174).

It was also obvious that it would be difficult to saturate the farms with the necessary labour tools only through imports. Firstly, they were expensive for the peasants, though not for everyone, as we wrote above. Secondly, agricultural machinery was difficult to transport from the ports in the parish in the absence of a well-established transportation system. Thirdly, in addition to the equipment itself, the authorities had to buy overseas and spare parts for it. This required additional costs. Fourthly, the demand for expensive agricultural

machinery among the peasants was low, and therefore the treasury could not count on the rapid replenishment of the state stocks of bread consumed during export-import operations. In addition, despite significant bread reserves in the peasant farms of southern Ukraine, they were also not unlimited.

In adequately responding to the needs of agriculture in agricultural machinery and equipment, P. Wrangel developed and implemented a number of measures to improve the situation in the agricultural sector of the economy. Thus, in parallel with the continuation of export-import operations, an emphasis was also placed on the accumulation of domestic resources. The government involved the state structures, zemstvos and other public associations and organizations in the implementation of a purposeful programme of supplying farmers with the necessary agricultural machines. In addition, efforts were made to increase the production capacity of domestic agricultural enterprises.

A large-scale action programme was developed to address the goal of intensifying agriculture in southern Ukraine. Its content was reduced to the following provisions. Firstly, setting up of service and repair of agricultural machines, mechanisms, stock. Secondly, the rational use of existing spare parts reserves, old foreign orders. Thirdly, correct and even distribution of agricultural machinery and tools among the population. Fourthly, restoration of activity of domestic factories and agricultural workshops and strengthening of production capacities of those enterprises that were still operating (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 24, p. 56).

The Department of Agriculture and Land Use (hereinafter referred to as DALU) was entrusted with specific work on the organization of repair of agricultural machinery and tools. To do this, the employees of the Office involved agricultural workshops, forges remaining in the estates under the administration of this department, and eight factories located in Simferopol, Dzhankoy, Old Crimea, Yevpatoria and Berdiansk (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 175 rev.). In addition to the above, the activity of two state-owned agricultural machinery manufacturing plants near Big Tikman, one sequestered plant in Big Tikman, was resumed. DALU launched a machine-building station in Akamovka with a large tractor station and a large repair shop (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 24, p. 57).

The DALU proclaimed itself a monopoly-owner of the property of 'Technical Consultation' – a state structure, which at the Special meeting provided the agriculture with the necessary machinery, equipment, spare parts for them. The size of this property was serious, its rational use would, as expected, significantly reduce the shortage of agricultural implements. Thus, according to the certificate of Technical Consultation, submitted on February 29, 1920 to the authorized DALU, one of the warehouses of this structure focused the following amount of equipment: only separators with a capacity of 42 buckets per hour – 3000 pieces, Clayton locomobiles with threshers to them – 4 pieces, Becker fans – 8 pieces, rivets for mowers – 2170 ood., Turner machines for the production of spare parts – 10 pieces, Robison machines – 7 amount, Penney fans – 8 amount, Becker fans – 4 amount, different types straw cutter – 392 pcs. Garret locomobiles of different power – 33 amount, Garrett hammers different power – 17 pcs., 11 names of spare parts to them (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, pp. 51–51 rev.).

The property of the 'Selhoz' was transferred to the ownership of the DALU, which also kept a large part of the agricultural implements necessary for the agrarian sector of the economy and their spare parts. The Agricultural Department also distributed agricultural machines purchased abroad. The Department of Trade and Industry also transferred imported industrial products to the balance of the Department of Agriculture (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 24, pp. 57–57 rev.). G. Glinka's office also received the prerogative of securing applications for such

goods, such as coal, iron, fuel and lubricants, for the factories and workshops required for the manufacture and repair of agricultural machinery. In this way, the government delegated to the state structure all powers regarding the distribution of agricultural tools and labour.

The district zemstvos were actively involved in the implementation of the P. Wrangel programme on the intensification of the agrarian sector of the economy. Tavriya Provincial Zemstvo Authority received from the Commander-in-Chief clear instructions regarding the powers of Zemstvo officials and the directions of work of the district zemstvos during the implementation of the above measures in the village. In particular, zemstvos warehouses were co-opted into a common system of repositories, to which DALU centrally distributed imported and domestic agricultural equipment. Entrepreneurship was entrusted with the organization and real holding on the ground, with wide involvement of 'cooperative organizations, representatives of the agricultural factory industry', county zemstvos, the following types of works: 1) uniform distribution of agricultural inventory between peasant farms of counties and parishes; 2) rational use of stocks of consumables stored in warehouses; 3) repair and production of simple types of agricultural machines and tools; 4) expanding the network of agricultural machinery land points to enable as many peasants to benefit from them. To implement these measures, Tavriya provincial zemstvo received a loan of 50 million rubles (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, p. 178).

The figures of Tavriya provincial zemstvos were also granted a number of powers, which made their activities real and productive. Zemstvos were able to raise all available reserves for repair and production of agricultural implements. They had the right to involve governmental, private enterprises in the execution of land orders for the manufacture of agricultural implements. Zemsky agents were given the 'power and authority of persons carrying out a matter of special state importance'. Not only did they issue orders, but they also directly supervised their implementation on the ground, eliminating the difficulties encountered during this. Zemstvos enjoyed the right of extraordinary (except military) transportation of goods by any means of transport. Such transportations, as well as their contents, were protected by the authorities against requisitions and other unforeseen circumstances. Social benefits and social guarantees were provided by the authorities at the request of zemstvos to the workers, their families involved in agricultural enterprises and workshops. Tax preferences were given to small and medium-sized enterprises that performed orders for zemstvos for the production of agricultural implements or their repair (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 7, pp. 184–185 rev.).

Therefore, summarizing the above, we note that P. Wrangel prioritized agriculture in the agricultural policy. A purposeful program for providing the farms with the necessary agricultural machinery and equipment was developed and put into practice. To solve the problem of technical equipment of the agrarian sector of the economy of Southern Ukraine, maximum opportunities, financial and human resources were involved. The satisfaction of the needs of single peasant farms in machinery and repair was achieved through commodity exchange, export-import operations, mobilization of domestic resources. All efforts by the authorities have focused on improving agricultural productivity as an economic sector, with particular emphasis on providing it with the necessary agricultural machinery and mechanisms. On the basis of disparate and circumstantial evidence, it can be assumed that the peasants' demand for agricultural machinery and P. Wrangel's government's supply were partially met.

The materials we have worked out capture a wide range of peasant sentiment regarding P. Wrangel's agrarian reform. At the same time, one should take into account the peculiarities of the psychology of the peasants. In addition, it should be borne in mind that the attitude of

peasants to the land order and other supporting documents to a greater extent manifested their position to the individual representatives of the authorities, to the duration of its stay, to the socio-economic situation in 1920, rather than to the most legal and regulatory situation bases.

In most of the historical sources involved in our research we have found a complementary attitude of peasants to the agrarian laws of Wrangel government. “The attitude of the population to us is positive ... The peasants are actively interested in literature. Life here is several times cheaper than the Crimean one”, – one of the lecturers who returned from a trip to the villages of Northern Tavriya shared his impressions with the correspondent of the Voice of Tavriya (V mestnostyah, zanyatyih name, 1920). According to the newspaper “South of Russia”, “the population is interested in the new law on land, treats it with understanding” (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 20, p. 5 rev.).

The note, in the fields written by the author ‘about Wrangel’s law’, stated the state of affairs in Tavriya districts, which had just been conquered by the Russian Army in the Red. Among other things, it was about the attitude of the population of these areas to the agrarian legislation of the P. Wrangel government. ‘There is no need for any state intervention’, the condolence with which the population meets the law of the land, especially in Tavriya counties, which had gone through all the horrors of the Bolshevik slavery and deceit in its promises, the document ran. According to the impressions of Melitopol county land mediator, who arrived in the district on September 11, 1920 for land surveying, ‘the population received positive news about the land’ (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 18, pp. 13–15).

The situation was similar in Perekop district. Campaign lecturers, who repeatedly visited the townships of the county, informed that the peasants showed an active interest, a ‘sympathetic’ attitude to the land law. They came to this conclusion on the basis that during the conversations with the peasants, the latter asked many questions. First of all, they were interested in practical aspects of the implementation of the agrarian reform (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 3a, pp. 9–9 rev.). Despite the fact that there were no lands in Yalta district subject to alienation, the peasants of Baidar, Alushtin and Bogatyr districts showed keen interest in the agrarian legislation of May 25, 1920. They even raised petitions before the county council for organizing elections (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 20, p. 32 rev.).

At the same time, in the counties in which the fighting had been taking place until recently, the peasants’ attitude to the agrarian legislation of P. Wrangel was restrained and neutral. This was at least reported by DALU employees in their information sheets. Thus, employees of this department, being in the northern parishes of Melitopol, Berdiansk and Dnieper counties, noted that “they had the impression that after a series of promises from various authorities ..., the peasants lost faith in these promises ...” (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 4, pp. 50, 52). Such observations date from the first decade of June 1920. Above we have noted that already in the first decade of September 1920 the peasants thought otherwise.

An example of the restrained attitude of peasants to the agrarian legislation of the P. Wrangel government is the case in one of the villages of Simferopol district, which is characteristic in general of all parishes in this locality. The land surveyor, in conversation with the peasants, asked if they knew anything about the agrarian legislation of the Government of Southern Russia. The peasants of the East found a misunderstanding of the situation. A DALU employee drew their attention to a document affixed on the bulletin board. “We know this law”, they respond enthusiastically. At the same time, the villagers agree to have the surveyor explain it to them. During the explanation of the Order, it became clear that the peasants were well aware of its meaning. This time the misunderstanding was demonstrated

by an employee of DALU. In response, the villagers explained to him: “We had many laws: land and land. Just hang out at the town board and nothing else. Depends, hangs, then remove, the other hang. As General Wrangel’s law was hanged, so we read it, but waited for it to be taken down and hanged by another’. At the same time, as the land surveyor noted, since the Order was appealing to the peasants, they studied it by heart and expected the authorities to take concrete steps to implement it. ‘When the peasants saw that this law was created not only to hang on the board near the district board, but also to put it into practice, they joined in the long-awaited reform” (SARF, f. 355, op. 1, d. 20, pp. 30–31 rev.).

Thus, the attitude of the peasantry, landowners of the South of Ukraine to the agrarian legislation of P. Wrangel was determined by the reasons of a socio-economic, socio-political and subjective nature. The range ranged from open aversion (from the landlords), a restrained attitude to active interest (from the peasants, the Red Army, soldiers and officers of P. Wrangel’s army).

Summarizing the above, we note that P. Wrangel’s agrarian reform was widely understood as a system of measures that influenced the socio-economic situation in the countryside, the socio-political activity of the peasantry. P. Wrangel’s agrarian reform did not limit the redistribution of land among peasants. He considered the cornerstone of the intensification of agriculture as an industry, improving the material wealth of peasants, transforming the peasantry into a leading social class.

The main provisions of the agricultural legislation of P. Wrangel were consistent with the content of the agricultural legislation of the governments of the Directorate of the UPR, Soviet Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and other countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. So, firstly, P. Wrangel in the south of Ukraine and the authorities of Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Estonia and other countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe advocated the principle of alienation or expropriation of excess land tenure in solving the agrarian question. Secondly, the granting of peasants by additional areas of land in the south of Ukraine and in European countries was for a fee. They could not exceed 25 des. Thirdly, the size of non-alienated land in both southern Ukraine and Europe, taking into account the relevant regional characteristics of soil quality and fertility, the level of intensification of agriculture, land shortages for one peasant farm, etc., fluctuated within approximately the same limits. Fourthly, the political and economic future of their countries by the leadership of the aforementioned European countries and P. Wrangel was unambiguously linked to the institute of a private ownership of land, the economically developed agricultural sector of the economy, profitable single peasant farms. The peasantry was understood as the guarantor of such prospects. In the case of Soviet Russia, what was common was that the Bolsheviks, like P. Wrangel, chose to support the middle-class peasantry as the main focus of an agricultural policy.

Aware of the need for quality changes aimed at intensifying agriculture as a sector of the economy, P. Wrangel worked in this direction. In our estimation of efficiency of this work, in our opinion it is necessary to consider the conditions under which it was carried out. Despite the adverse circumstances, P. Wrangel’s agrarian reform in southern Ukraine was fruitful. Its conduct, firstly, testifies that the Commander-in-Chief took care of improvement of land management, improvement of agro-technical cultivation of land, provision of peasant farms with agricultural machinery, seed fund, working cattle and so on. Secondly, the measures taken by the government did not seek to exacerbate the authorities’ relations with the peasantry. On the contrary, every effort was made to minimize confrontation in the countryside. Thirdly, an agrarian reform was based on the principles of the state protectionism of the peasantry.

The Conclusions. Among the clear achievements of P. Wrangel's agrarian reform were the following results: 1) the peasant character of an agrarian legislation and agrarian reform in general, aimed at preserving livestock, including breeding stock, providing peasant farms with agricultural machinery and stock, seeds; 2) the complimentary attitude of the peasantry of the South of Ukraine to the activities of the white civil authorities during the sowing, harvesting, normalization of lease relations, intensification of the agrarian sector as an economic sector; 3) in the course of an agrarian reform in the south of Ukraine, 3145 peasants became the real owners of the land, which was confirmed by the relevant legal documents, according to which 66,725 des. of land were secured into private ownership. None of the governments that took part in the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 achieved this.

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**SERHIY MIZETSKYI'S, THE RURAL PRIEST-INTELLECTUAL,
REFLECTIONS ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS
IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE DURING THE 1920-ies**

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to elucidate the reflections of the parish priest Mizetskyi Serhiy Andriyovych, who lived in the countryside of Katerynoslav, according to the social and political transformations in Ukraine during the 1920-ies, based on the analysis of his epistolary heritage. The research methodology is based on the methodological techniques of the priest's external and internal letters' criticism; the biographical method has been applied in order to study the life path and determine the influence of events in his life on the reflections' formulation; the comparative and historical method has been used for the comparison of the clergyman's assessments presented in the letters with the scientific interpretations of the social and political transformations during the 1920-ies; the combination of macro- and microhistorical approaches for the priest's assessments of the clergy place reconstruction in the Soviet society. The scientific novelty of the article is to reproduce the reflections of priest S. Mizetskyi on the social and political transformations in the Soviet Ukraine during the post-revolutionary decade, based on the analysis of the priest's private correspondence first introduced into the scientific circulation. S. Mizetskyi's assessments of the clergy place in the Soviet*

society have been characterized, and his strategies for survival have been outlined. **The Conclusions.** The coverage of the priest's reflections on the socio-political and economic transformations in Ukraine during the 1920-ies suggests that centuries-old cultural and ideological stereotypes of the clergy collided with the Soviet experiments. The people with high social status faced with the new challenges became part of the world of "non-labor elements", were deprived of the right to vote. As a result, those changes happened quite rapid for the priest, morally and physically painful. S. Mizetskyi carried on keeping to the pre-revolutionary times' ethical norms, which did not correspond to the ideas of vulgar materialism, the new government's policy of double standards. Hence, the ethical norms' conflict manifested itself at various levels of communication between the priest and the authorities – from reading the monopoly press to defending their interests in the village council. Due to the letters' analysis, which provides pieces of evidence and gives the opportunity to claim that there was a huge ideological gap between the authorities and S. Mizetskyi, a typical representative of the clergy in the south of Ukraine. It was felt more acutely than that of the former nobles and peasants, as the latter were free to perform their duties (as farmers) or, as former nobles, to adapt and seek their place in the new social structure. Because of the aloofness in the circle of people close to the church, conducting a "monologue of the heart" in letters to brother and father became almost the only strategies for survival, consolation in the new socio-political environment. In his reflections, he indirectly predicted the usurpation of power by the Bolshevik Party, the establishment of its monopoly in the socio-political life and control over human thought, pointed to the transformation of the educated intelligentsia into laborers, noting that experiments in the countryside did not meet healthy agricultural pragmatism and productivity. The priest's reflections on the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches activities development depicted the church Ukrainization issue, which was too harsh and uncompromising. It showed a high degree of conservatism and Russification of the clergy in southern Ukraine.

Key words: priest, the Orthodox clergy, reflections, social and political transformations, everyday life, Soviet Ukraine.

РЕФЛЕКСІЇ СІЛЬСЬКОГО СВЯЩЕННИКА-ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛА СЕРГІЯ МІЗЕЦЬКОГО ЩОДО СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЙ У РАДЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ В 1920-х рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – висвітлити рефлексії парафіяльного священника Сергія Андрійовича Мізецького, що мешкав у сільській місцевості Катеринославщини, щодо суспільно-політичних трансформацій в Україні 1920-х рр., на основі аналізу його епістолярію. **Методологія дослідження** включає методичні прийоми зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики листів священника; біографічний метод необхідний для вивчення життєвого шляху та визначення впливу подій в його житті на формулювання рефлексій; порівняльно-історичний метод – для зіставлення оцінок священнослужителя, поданих у листах, з науковими трактуваннями соціально-політичних трансформацій в 1920-х рр.; поєднання макро- та мікроісторичних підходів для реконструкції оцінок священником місця духовенства в радянському суспільстві. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у відтворенні рефлексій священника С. Мізецького щодо соціально-політичних трансформацій у радянській Україні в післяреволюційному десятилітті, на основі аналізу вперше введеного до наукового обігу приватного листування священнослужителя. Схарактеризовано оцінки С. Мізецьким місця духовенства в радянському суспільстві, з'ясовано накреслені ним стратегії виживання. **Висновки.** Рефлексії священника щодо соціально-політичних і економічних трансформацій в Україні 1920-х рр. показують, що базатові культурницькі, ідеологічні стереотипи духовенства зіткнулися з радянськими експериментами. Перехід від людей з високим соціальним статусом у світ "нетрудових елементів", позбавлених виборчого права, був досить швидким для священника, морально та фізично болісним. С. Мізецький продовжував жити етичними нормами дореволюційних часів. Конфлікт етичних норм відчувався священником на різних рівнях спілкування з владою – від читання монопольної преси до відстоювання своїх інтересів у сільській раді. Аналіз листів дає підстави стверджувати, що між владою та С. Мізецьким, типовим представником духовенства на півдні України, існувала величезна світоглядна прірва. Вона проявлялася більш гостро, ніж у представників колишніх дворян та селян, оскільки останні могли вільно виконувати свої

обов'язки (як хлібороби), або, як колишні дворяни, пристосовуватися та шукати своє місце в новій соціальній структурі. Замкнутість у колі наближених до церкви людей, ведення “монологу серця” в листах до брата та батька стали чи не єдиними стратегіями виживання, розради в новому соціально-політичному середовищі. У своїх рефлексіях священник непрямо пророкував узурпацію влади більшовицькою партією, утвердження її монополії в суспільно-політичному житті та контроль над людською думкою, вказував на перетворення освіченої інтелігенції на різноробів, відзначав, що експерименти в селі не відповідали здоровому хліборобському прагматизму та продуктивності. Рефлексії священника щодо розгортання діяльності українських православних церков показали, наскільки гострим та непримиренним було питання українізації церкви. Воно виявило високу ступінь консервативності та зрусифікованості духовенства на півдні України.

Ключові слова: священник, православне духовенство, рефлексії, суспільно-політичні трансформації, повсякденне життя, радянська Україна.

The Problem Statement. Due to the studies on the “small earthy worlds” in Western historiography, a new direction – the history of everyday life evolved and the formation and legitimization was marked during the XXth century (Panfilov, 2019, p. 97). A keen interest in the study of anthropological history in the national historiography appeared recently. Hence, the diverse social groups’ everyday life under the Soviet experiments’ conditions is presented in the collective monographs, which were prepared by the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 2010 – 2012. As the Great History would not be completed without the understanding of everyday life, much attention was paid to the issue. As a result, in this context, addressing the ideals, life values, the priest’s reflections will deepen our understanding of the ordinary people everyday’s life in the socio-political transformations in the Soviet Ukraine and bring us closer to a more detailed study on the Soviet society history and the Orthodox churches.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The researchers, T. Yevsieieva (Yevsieieva, 2010, pp. 275–342) and T. Savchuk (Savchuk, 2010, pp. 56–59) conducted the scientific publications on the Orthodox clergy structural parts of the daily life during the 1920-ies. However, in our opinion, the characteristics of everyday life should not be limited to the reconstruction of his material life, legal status. We agree with the opinion of the famous historian O. Udod that “the history of everyday life is, first of all, the history of the process of humanization of life, psychologization of everyday life, human attitude to everyday problems, to power, state and society as a whole through the prism of personal perception of everyday life” (Udod, 2010, p. 7). It is the problem of the clergy’s attitude to the Soviet modernization challenges, the clergy’s reflections on the Bolshevik experiments that did not found special coverage in historiography.

The studies on the Orthodox denominations history of the 1920-ies and the 1930-ies, devoted to certain prominent figures, especially the higher clergy, contain some notes of their understanding of the problems facing the church and the faithful (Zinchenko, 2003, pp. 69–79). In a special article, T. Savchuk tried to shed light on V. Lypkivskiy’s reflections, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) on the clergy life vicissitudes, the struggle of different worldviews (Savchuk, 2019, pp. 104–112).

If the historiography raised questions about the hierarchs reflections, especially the UAOC, on the Soviet reality, the researchers did not pay attention to the parish priests’ thoughts, concerns, and hopes of other denominations in the southern Ukrainian region.

The sermons became the paramount source of the analysis concerning how the clergy perceived the new conditions of life and ministry. But the sermons are a genre that is aimed at

a wide audience and cannot fully reflect the true views and feelings of the clergy. Therefore, in order to understand how the clergy valued the new government, their place in society, built strategies for their lives, and other narrative sources are needed. The clergy's reflections reconstructing issue requires the search for and introduction into the scientific circulation of new source materials. The value of the epistolary genre is indisputable and crucial in order to solve the above-mentioned issues. It should be noted that these sources cannot be mass, because not everyone would dare to write about the socio-economic and political innovations, to give their assessments during the Soviet times. Therefore, the introduction of such sources into scientific circulation can be considered as an important historiographical event.

The Purpose of the Article. The aim of the article is to cover Serhiy Andriyovych Mizetskyi's reflection, the parish priest, who lived in the rural area in Katerynoslav region, on the socio-political transformations in Ukraine during the 1920-ies, based on the analysis of his correspondence.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Due to the critical analysis of the priest's letters to his brother Eugene, father Andrew and son Vasyl numerous issues were covered, for instance, how the priest imagined the world around him, saw himself in this world, the place of the clergy in the society, which formed the survival strategies. The correspondence is stored in the archival investigative file of S. Mizetskyi, which was transferred by the SBU Office to the State Archives of Zaporizhia Region (State archive of the Zaporizhzhya region – SAZR, f. r. 5747, op. 3, c. 10916, pp. 1–24). The case contains 16 letters from the priest, written by him before his arrest, which were confiscated during a search of Yevhen Mizetsky's house. S. Mizetskyi's epistolary was introduced into the scientific circulation for the first time.

It is vital to characterize his social background and family firstly in order to understand the priest's reflections. The future minister was born in 1873 in the village of Snihurivka, Fastiv district, Bila Tserkva region, in the family of a priest. He graduated from the Kyiv Theological Seminary and belonged to the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). During the 1920-ies he served as a priest in the villages of Pokrovske, Nikopol district (modern Dnipropetrovsk region), Maryivka, Khortytskyi district, Zaporizhia region. S. Mizetskyi lived in a family of intellectuals. His brother Peter was a priest in his native village. Another brother, Eugene, worked as a doctor in Fastiv. Mykola's third brother lived in Kursk and worked as an economist. He was the first of the brothers to be persecuted by the Soviet authorities. In 1927 he was exiled to Siberia, to the city of Biysk (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, pp. 3–5).

The priest had a wife Seraphim and sons: Serhiy, Mykola, Oleksandra and Vasyl. Serhiy, as a seminarian, left the country in 1919 and lived in Isere, France. Nata and Halya, young women were mentioned in the letters repeatedly (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, pp. 3, 9/2). However, the analysis of the letters does not allow us to say for sure that the above-mentioned women were his daughters.

In 1927 S. Mizetskyi was under investigation for about four months. He was accused of conducting the anti-Soviet activities. On the 28th of September in 1929, he was arrested again. The priest was blamed for spreading "various provocative rumors and counter-revolutionary agitation" in his letters to various people. (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 16). As a result, the Board of the DPU of the USSR at a special meeting decided to send a priest for a period of three years to the Northern Territory on the 2nd of March in 1930 (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 23).

According to the Article 54-10 Part I of the Criminal Code of the USSR, on the 26th of March in 1939, S. Mizetskyi was accused of the counter-revolutionary agitation among his

cellmates and imprisoned for ten years in the labour camps. His further fate is unknown. S. Mizetskyi was rehabilitated on the 28th of December in 1992 (Borodin, 2008, p. 603).

The priest wrote all the letters while he was living in the village of Pokrovske. The inscription at the beginning of the letter “Pokrovske – Sichi” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, pp. 9/18–9/19) proved that the priest was acquainted with the history of the region, who arrived from Kyiv region. S. Mizetskyi’s epistolary indicates his high level of education, and the use in letters of the Ukrainian proverbs, sayings in Latin, quotations from the works of M. Nekrasov, I. Krylov, M. Saltykov-Shchedrin once again convinces us that the priest-intellectual found himself in an unusual for him, mostly illiterate, rural environment in the southern Ukraine.

According to S. Mizetskyi’s life’s main stages’ characterization, we make a conclusion that the man had an unconquered spirit. He was arrested three times for the bold actions, which were unacceptable statements for the authorities. S. Mizetskyi was a person of a very conservative mood. As a result, the conservatism was manifested in all his reactions. He was a typical clergy representative, once he said the following: “We were all people with position and money” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/19), which before the Soviet power establishment had a more or less stable life, respect for the parishioners and confidence in the future. All this passed away with the Bolshevik government anti-church policy introduction. The loss of material status shaped the priest’s negative attitude toward the Communists. All his letters were imbued with a deep and unwavering antipathy to the Soviet rule. In his first letter to his parents, which was dated the 15th of March, 1922, the priest wrote that he felt “handcuffed and paralyzed” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/18). It should be noted that in the first letter S. Mizetskyi positioned himself as a believer. Owing to his statement, which indicated a person who continues to seek a way out of life in God’s protection, for instance, “Thank God for everything, as John Chrysostom said, maybe this temporary ordeal will end and God will let us see better days. I hope for Him and for the Protection of the Blessed Virgin, at whose temple I now serve and I will hope that my hope will not embarrass me!” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, p. 10916, p. 9/19).

Further, hopeless reflections on the challenges facing the clergy become typical. According to the eloquent message in the letter, written on the 14th of August in 1924: “I do not see any hope for change. It is likely – tomorrow is the same as today, etc. I have already lost my appetite for the better” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/34–9/35). In addition, a stingy mention of God emerges in the same letter: “Health – satisfactory, and tomorrow – as God wills ” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, pp. 9/34–9/35).

The priest convinced his son Vasya that he should always be satisfied with the fate that God had sent in a letter, which was dated the 6th of October in 1924.

Taking everything into consideration, we do not see the priest’s hope, there was no mention of hope in God in the following years. Hence, complete helplessness can be seen in such phrases as: “Well, we are still breathing, although breathing is getting shorter and harder. The air is bad for breathing. At least for me. And of course, many people don’t respond in the roll call – their breath is over!” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/37); “... there are no needs – no earnings. That is, the teeth on the shelf. But it doesn’t matter. We have lunch every three days, and live on tea ” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/41). He identified his activity as “earning a living” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/23). As a result, such kind of a definition diminished the priestly ministry significantly, in fact, nullified its significance. The priest himself no longer considered himself a mediator between the man and God.

In addition, the words of the letter testify to the feeling of moral discomfort: "How one would like to leave such an order, or disorder, in such a place, where one could live a quiet and peaceful life in all piety and purity". Everything seems to be a long nightmare, but not a bitter reality" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/2). "Just think about it, no one has tortured me for eight months now", S. Mizetskyi wrote on the 10th of June in 1929, two months before his arrest, that "he had not been summoned anywhere, neither to the Village Council nor to the Financial Department" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/13).

S. Mizetskyi reacted quite sharply and fairly to the innovations implemented by the new government in agriculture and the life of the peasants. In his reflections, the priest demonstrated a healthy agricultural pragmatism. In a letter to his family in 1924, he wrote that the authorities had banned private mills in the village, and only the state mill, which was run by a party member, operated. The priest aptly said: "It's good to work like this: a competitor grabbed the throat by force of "law" and then do what you want" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/35). S. Mizetskyi was concerned that the people stood and waited in the queue for two or three days, and in the summer, in the midst of fieldwork, it's just a huge luxury. The peasants from this mill for a high price received low-quality ground grain and "cursed the philanthropists", who did not care about them.

Furthermore, he also expressed his negative opinion concerning the work of the peasant consumer society, which in the absence of competitors sold low-quality products at inflated prices (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/35).

S. Mizetskyi wrote about the tax policy fairly that led to the clergy impoverishment during the 1920-ies: "Various taxes oppress the public and leave them no time to think about anything other than finding means of subsistence and paying any contributions. Because of our ignorance, everything: the taxes and donations become mandatory and compulsory. For example, the so-called Mopr (The Foreign Proletarians Aid Society, who are sitting in prisons) sends us <...> To such a proletariat sitting abroad, we are forced to donate from people" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/34).

On the 21st of April in 1927, he reflected again sarcastically on the government tax policy in a letter: "It seems that the Soviet-communist government is watching very carefully and does not allow anything better to fall, and for a long time everything is better and even only good, and even tolerant. It weighed each pig and sheep, and evaluated and laid them on, and did not ignore them. <...> The same property of the party and its close relatives (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/28).

In his letters, the priest exposed the Soviet government's hypocrisy, double standards, and the Bolshevik's ideas' populism numerous times. The following phrases are apt: "It turns out that "everything folk", – has already passed away. And now you have to pay for everything, even for living in the world" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/10).

S. Mizetskyi clearly noted not only the brutal state intervention in the peasants' agricultural activities, but also the gradual formation of a state monopoly on a human thought. The above-mentioned situation was reflected, in his opinion, in the distribution of only state newspapers. The priest wrote about the distorted information in these newspapers in February 1927: "So I only sometimes read newspapers (Moscow News), and even then I'm bored: all hurray, hurray! And you know that for the most part they lie ruthlessly..." (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/42).

In a letter, which was dated February 3, 1927, S. Mizetskyi commented on the staged election procedure in the village. At a time when the newspapers reported huge public

interest in the election, the priest could observe the exact opposite situation. S. Mizetskyi wrote that “six communists-agitators” arrived in the village, led by the head of the district from Nikopol. They campaigned. Due to the low turnout, the “persecutors” went to the village threatening to impose a fine on anyone, who did not show up, at a sum of 5 rubles. After such threats came 93 people, the heads of families, who brought cards of other family members sent in advance. The priest ironically said that after the election the newspapers would write “a brilliant lie about the great interest of the population in the Council elections” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/41). In this context, S. Mizetskyi compared power to the devil, who according to the Holy Scriptures is the father of lies.

Due to the letters’ analysis, which makes it clear that all segments of the population gradually, with complications, joined the new system of the socio-political relations imposed by the authorities. We agree with S. Liakh’s opinion that the peasant, guided by his own standards during the 1920-ies, was ready to be flexible and adjust to power. S. Liakh, the historian, while analyzing the everyday life of the peasantry, came to the conclusion that there was the dualism of forms of the post-revolutionary peasantry consciousness, which allowed to adapt, to build transitional types of behavior (Liakh, 2010, p. 183).

The election process in Pokrovskyi illustrated how people were persuaded to return to the authorities. But if the peasants did not want to, but still came under duress and allegedly voted for the councils, the priest assessed their step negatively and declared in a verse from the Bible that a blessed man who does not go to the “soviyet” (meeting) of the wicked (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/41).

S. Mizetskyi was depressed by the fact that with the Soviet power advent the intelligentsia’s work was depreciated. Those people, who had the appropriate status before the revolution, studied at universities, worked in public services, during the 1920-ies swept the streets or sawed firewood. Mentioned in a letter, which was dated October 6, 1924, Shura, a third-year medical student, sawed firewood for two weeks in Nikopol and earned 12 rubles. and bought a jacket for that money (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/24).

The priest used a strategy of behavior, which was based on the law in conflicts with the authorities. It should be noted that S. Mizetskyi knew the laws well. And this is not surprising, as the priests informed the peasants (most of whom were illiterate) about the certain laws’ implementation traditionally. During the 1920-ies, under the anti-church pressure, the ignorance of the laws threatened serious problems and was in fact a trap for the clergy. Hence, the priests followed the news, were interested in the legislative innovations. According to the letters’ analysis, at first S. Mizetskyi hoped that the Soviet government would act within the law framework. However, in various conflicts with the authorities, the priest was disappointed deeply. Here is one of the cases that indicates the authorities’ biased attitude towards the clergy and its violation of legal norms. In 1926, S. Mizetskyi married one couple, but the priest did not demand the man to provide him with the extract from the metric book after the state registration of marriage. The above-mentioned certificate would cost a person at least 7 rubles. And the priest wanted to save the believer’s money. Because of this, a case was brought against him. S. Mizetskyi tried to prove to the investigator that the law is not about a metric extract. As a result, he received the following response: “It is implied”. I don’t know “what else is meant by these or similar revolutionary lawmakers”. “But on the 15th /28th (the old and new style dates. – Ed.) of this August, I am obliged to appear in court in Pokrovskyi as a defendant with the threat of a large fine....”, – wrote in despair the priest the on 2nd of August in 1926 in letters to his brother (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/17).

Taking everything into consideration, the origins of the authorities' prejudice lay in the Bolshevik's biased attitude towards the clergy, especially the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) of the ROC. The authorities preferred the activities of the Synodal and Conciliar Episcopal Churches to a greater extent during 1926 – 1927, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to a lesser extent. These denominations, which emerged in the National Liberation Movement outbreak for the Ukrainian Orthodoxy reform, were seen by the authorities for some period of time as a means of fighting against the ROC. Furthermore, such a policy of double standards sowed discord between the representatives of different Orthodox churches. It was S. Mizetskyi's hostility towards the Ukrainian Orthodox Church figures that differed. The paramount evidence was depicted in a letter, which was dated the 15th of March in 1922 concerning the conflict that arose between the priest's father and the parishioners of Snihurivka, S. Mizetskyi suggested that his family leave the village without any pity and give it to the "sincere Ukrainians who will show Snihurivka good laity how the Cossacks rule!" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/18).

We should highlight the fact that the priest was not fascinated by the National Liberation Church Movement ideas, in spite of living in Kyiv region, which was the mecca for the National Liberation Church Movement. The reasons for such a negative attitude lie in the strength of the ROC clergy pro-imperial positions, in the desire to preserve the inviolability of church dogma.

During the Ukrainian National revolution, S. Mizetskyi already lived in Katerynoslav region, a region that was blaze towards the Ukrainian Movement in the middle of the church. During the 1920-ies, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was represented by individual communities. In the Russified region, S. Mizetskyi's multi-confessional environment did not contribute to the formation of Ukrainian-centric view.

In order to prove the thesis about the significant influence of the environment on the priest's worldview, we will give a vivid example of the archpriest, Dmytro's Halevykh daily life from Vinnytsia. The priest spoke Russian, invariably belonged to the ROC, but he was not ashamed to read, study church literature, watched the release of the Ukrainian songs, which were published by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In addition, the priest did not show any antipathy to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church clergy in his letters to his daughter, who lived in Germany (Yanytskyi, 2001, pp. 10–126). Nevertheless, Podillya, with its powerful impulses to the Ukrainianization of church life, did not leave the priest indifferent towards the conservative Ukrainian Exarchate of the ROC.

However, in Katerynoslav region the relations issue between the clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church was of high topicality. S. Mizetskyi was extremely negative about all reforms in the Orthodox Church. The priest spoke about the new Ukrainian churches, using unfriendly formulations and the Communists' terminology, for instance: Some rascals, "obnovlentsi", "zhyvtsi", "samokruty" appeared and tormented the Church of Christ (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/23). In 1925, in a letter to relatives, he called the UAOC figures "traveling touring artists", "actors" who "attract a frivolous mass that does not understand the essence of the subject" (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/2).

In 1926 – 1927, the priest had conflicts with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church representatives numerous times, ignoring the instructions from the Bible on maintaining peace with all. It is noteworthy that in a letter dated August 2, 1926, he wrote the following: "We prosecuted the self-sacrifices that raided here under the slogan the "revolutionary

legitimacy”. At first, the police pushed the case in such a way as to describe me as the only instigator and criminal, or at least a fabricator. But that did not happen. They had to direct their diligence to another address, to the address of the saints. And we see a touching picture: the police can’t find them in any way!?! This is in the Soviet Republic,...” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, op. 3, case 10916, p. 9/17). The priest was furious because the authorities could not find these “self-saints” who, according to S. Mizetskyi, lived in a neighboring village. The priest, resorting to M. Saltykov-Shchedrin’s allegory from the work “The Sleepless Eye”, wrote that under such an “eye” of the Soviet government “thieves, murderers, self-sacrifices, etc. took refuge” (SAZR, f.r. 5747, d. 3, c. 10916, p. 9/17). The fact that the priest put the church and the murderers on the same level once again proves that he had feelings that were inconsistent with the Biblical principles.

In the context of S. Mizetsky’s attitude to the UAOC, I would like to mention that he was a delegate from Katerynoslav during the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council in 1918. He was even part of the Peace Delegation, together with the future metropolitan, Archpriest V. Lypkivski, which was supposed to resolve the Ukrainian property parishes subordination issue that remained the part of Russia (Starodub, 2010, pp. 124–125). Getting acquainted with the negative moods, the priest’s views on the church Ukrainization allows us to understand why the Cathedral couldn’t implement the plans to declare the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Conclusions. The coverage of the priest’s reflections on the socio-political and economic transformations in Ukraine during the 1920-ies suggests that centuries-old cultural and ideological stereotypes of the clergy collided with the Soviet experiments. The people with high social status faced with the new challenges became part of the world of “non-labor elements”, were deprived of the right to vote. As a result, those changes happened quite rapid for the priest, morally and physically painful. S. Mizetskyi carried on keeping to the pre-revolutionary times’ ethical norms, which did not correspond to the ideas of vulgar materialism, the new government’s policy of double standards. Hence, the ethical norms’ conflict manifested itself at various levels of communication between the priest and the authorities – from reading the monopoly press to defending their interests in the village council. Due to the letters’ analysis, which provides pieces of evidence and gives the opportunity to claim that there was a huge ideological gap between the authorities and S. Mizetskyi, a typical representative of the clergy in the south of Ukraine. It was felt more acutely than that of the former nobles and peasants, as the latter were free to perform their duties (as farmers) or, as former nobles, to adapt and seek their place in the new social structure. Because of the aloofness in the circle of people close to the church, conducting a “monologue of the heart” in letters to brother and father became almost the only strategies for survival, consolation in the new socio-political environment. If at the beginning of the 1920-ies the priest expressed hope in God in his views and chose his faith in the better as the survival strategy, later on, in the second half of the 1920-ies S. Mizetskyi no longer felt like a mediator between God and people described the activity as “earning a living”. In his reflections, he indirectly predicted the usurpation of power by the Bolshevik Party, the establishment of its monopoly in the socio-political life and control over human thought, pointed to the transformation of the educated intelligentsia into handymen, noting that experiments in the countryside did not meet healthy agricultural pragmatism and productivity. The priest’s reflections on the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches activities development depicted the church Ukrainization issue, which was too harsh and uncompromising. It showed a high degree of conservatism and Russification of the clergy in southern Ukraine. Through the views of S. Mizetskyi and

his ilk, there was a long way to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church autocephaly establishment and recognition.

Further investigations based on the priest's letters will help to characterize the problem of the priestly family's typical fate in the Soviet modernization conditions, which were left behind.

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MIGRATION OF THE JEWS FROM THE UKRAINIAN SSR TO THE JEWISH AUTONOMOUS REGION (BIROBIDZHAN) DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1920-ies – FIRST HALF OF THE 1930-ies

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. In this article, we will try to consider the reasons for the emergence of a programme for the creation in the Far East of the Soviet Union of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) and to reveal the process of resettlement to it of the Jewish population from the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies. **The Methodology of the Research.** During the preparation of the article there were used universal principles of scientific knowledge, basic methods of scientific and historical research, and modern conceptual approaches to the research of socio-economic, political history of the development of the Jewish community of Ukraine. **The scientific novelty** is determined by the combination of the published materials and archival ones that shed light on the organization of the Soviet government programme to resettle the Jews in the Far East of the USSR. A separate story of the article is dedicated to coverage of participation in the resettlement programme of the Ukrainian Society for Land Management of Jewish Workers (SLMJW). The resettlement of the Jews to Birobidzhan began in 1928 and was in an uneven manner. The colonization of the region

took place under difficult natural conditions. During the early years, a relatively large number of migrants arrived. But because of difficult living conditions, poor climate, lack of work and social infrastructure, more than half of the 1928-ies – 1933-ies migrants returned. The Birobidzhan project caused controversy between supporters and opponents of the Jewish colonization of the USSR. The project criticized SLMJW management, pointing out the unfavourable conditions for the displaced persons and the enormous costs of moving and settling the displaced persons. Since 1929, the Society attracted funds from foreign voluntary Jewish organizations to assist the refugees. The agreements were concluded with “Agro-Joint”, the American Committee for the Resettlement of Foreign Jews in Birobidzhan. With their involvement, by the mid-1930-ies, roads were constructed in Birobidzhan, and wetlands were drained over a large area. The displaced Jews occupied leading positions in the region. The Jewish schools were created, newspapers and magazines were published. **The Conclusions.** The relocation to Birobidzhan from the very beginning of the campaign was propaganda. SLMJW offices were opened in all regions of the USSR in order to collect donations for assistance programmes for the impoverished and declassified Jews. The Society produced a huge mass of campaign materials, held lotteries among its members for the benefit of displaced persons. Delegations of workers and journalists were sent to Birobidzhan for further agitation. But in spite of all the measures, Jewish section officials acknowledged that the Jews vote with their feet, not their hands. Out of the newly created region, there was a constant outflow of migrants. In 1931, even demobilized Jewish soldiers were involved into resettlement. More than a thousand people went to Birobidzhan. The only year successful for resettlement was 1932, when famine raged in Ukraine. The Society managed to recruit fourteen thousand people to relocate from Ukraine, but by the next year, sixty percent returned back to Ukraine. Twenty-five thousand were planned to be resettled in 1933, and only three thousand were those who wish.

Key words: the Jews, Resettlement, Jewish Autonomous Region, the Far East, the Ukrainian SSR.

ПЕРЕСЕЛЕННЯ ЄВРЕЇВ З УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ СРР ДО ЄВРЕЙСЬКОЇ АВТОНОМНОЇ ОБЛАСТІ (БІРОБІДЖАН) В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1920-х – ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1930-х рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження. У пропонованій статті виявлено причини появи програми зі створення на Далекому Сході Радянського Союзу Єврейської автономної області (Біробіджан) та розкрити процес переселення до неї єврейського населення з Української СРР в другій половині 1920 – першій половині 1930-х рр. **Методологія дослідження.** При підготовці тексту статті використано універсальні принципи наукового пізнання, основні методи науково-історичного дослідження, сучасні концептуальні підходи до вивчення соціально-економічної, політичної історії розвитку єврейської громади України. **Наукова новизна** визначається поєднанням опублікованих та архівних, які проливають світло на організацію радянської урядової програми з переселення євреїв на Далекий Схід СРСР. Окремо у статті висвітлено участь у переселенській програмі Українського товариства з землеоблаштування єврейських трудящих (ТЗЕТ). Переселення євреїв до Біробіджану розпочалося в 1928 р. і проходило нерівномірно. Колонізація регіону відбувалася у складних природних умовах. У перші роки прибула відносно велика кількість переселенців. Але через важкі побутові умови, поганий клімат, відсутність роботи та соціальної інфраструктури більше половини з них впродовж 1928 – 1933 рр. повернулися назад. Біробіджанський проєкт викликав полеміку між прибічниками та противниками єврейської колонізації СРСР. Проєкт критикувало керівництво ТЗЕТу, наголошуючи на несприятливих умовах для переселенців та величезних витратах на переїзд і облаштування переселенців. З 1929 р. товариство залучило до допомоги переселенцям кошти іноземних добровільних єврейських організацій. Договори були укладені з “Агро-Джойнтом”, Американським комітетом з переселення іноземних євреїв в Біробіджані. За їх участі до середини 1930-х рр. у Біробіджані були побудовані дороги, проведено на значній території осушення боліт. Євреї-переселенці зайняли керівні посади в області. Створювались єврейські школи, виходили газети та журнали. **Висновки.** Переселення до Біробіджану з самого початку кампанії мало пропагандистський характер. У всіх регіонах СРСР відкривалися відділення ТЗЕТу, з метою збору пожертв на реалізацію програм допомоги збіднілому та декласованому єврейству. Товариство випускало величезну масу агітаційних матеріалів, проводило лотереї

серед своїх членів на користь переселенців. Відправляли до Біробіджану делегації робітників та журналістів для подальшої агітації серед переселенців. Але незважаючи на всі заходи, діячі єврейської секції визнавали, що євреї голосують ногами, а не руками. З новоствореної області постійно відбувався відтік переселенців. У 1931 р. до переселення залучили навіть демобілізованих солдат-євреїв. Їх поїхало до Біробіджану більше тисячі осіб. Єдиним роком, вдалим для переселення, був 1932 р., коли в Україні лютував голод. Товариству вдалось завербувати для переселення з України чотирнадцять тисяч охочих, але вже наступного року шістдесят відсотків повернулись назад в Україну. В 1933 р. планувалось переселити двадцять п'ять тисяч, а охочих виявилось тільки три тисячі.

Ключові слова: євреї, переселення, Єврейська автономна область, Далекій Схід, Українська СРР.

The Problem Statement. The history of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) is little known to modern public. It occasionally causes a certain emotional reaction among them. Only a limited number of amateur historians and researchers know about the problem of organizing the Jewish national unit in the Far East during the communist roots. However, the issue of the resettlement of the Jews to the Far East during the 1920-ies and 1930-ies must be considered in the context of the ruralization of the Jews of the former “pale of settlement” and the solution of the “Jewish issue” by the Communist Party authorities during the above-mentioned period. In this historical segment, the Bolsheviks tried to implement, through socio-economic “rehabilitation” of the society, a programme for the Sovietization of the various peoples of the former Russian Empire, as well as to unify and centralize the power.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publication. The issue of the creation of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) was considered by both domestic and foreign historians in the context of the implementation of Stalin’s national policy. Part of the researchers, mostly Russian, consider the “Birobidzhan project” as “one of the territorial projects that became surprisingly the most” long-lasting “and in some ways even effective” (Brener, Zaremba, 2013, p. 9) Resettlement to the corner of the Soviet Empire of the Jews from the border areas, in their opinion, this is not a manifestation of Stalin’s anti-Semitism, but one of the options for the creation of national territorial autonomy, along with the creation of Jewish agricultural areas in Crimea and southern Ukraine. The other part, mostly the Jewish historians and nationals, understands the Far East as another test, a terrible blow to the fate that Eastern European Jews endured in the first half of the XXth century. They indicate the dire climate of living in the Jewish Autonomous Region (JAR), the lack of industry and possibilities for engaging in agriculture.

The purpose of the article is an attempt to consider the reasons for the emergence of a programme for the creation in the Far East of the Soviet Union of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) and to reveal the process of resettlement to it of the Jewish population from the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 1920-ies – the first half of the 1930-ies. The separate plot of the article is dedicated to the coverage of participation in the resettlement programme of the Ukrainian Society for Land Development of Jewish Workers (SLDJW).

The Statement of the Basic Material. While embarking on a socialist experiment in Ukraine, the Bolshevik regime was forced to take into account the presence in the republic of a large proportion of national minorities, represented mainly by peasant ethnic groups. An exception was the Jewish national minority, who lived compactly during the beginning of the 1920-ies in the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine. The peculiar way of life and style of life, the difficult economic situation, set before the Bolshevik regime the difficult tasks of conducting socialist experiments among the Jewish community.

The Communist Party political bosses declared that it would provide opportunities for cultural and economic and political development of various national groups, including the Jewish one. According to the slogans declared by the Bolshevik regime, public organizations had the task of directing and coordinating the work to serve the needs of the non-indigenous population of the republic. It also applies to the Jewish community.

The Soviet leadership initially sought to solve the problems of the Jewish community through the Jewish section of the CC(b)U. The district units of the sections were to study the problems of the towns and to solve them. But the Jewish sections were more involved into covert political work in order to identify and destroy elements hostile to the Bolshevik regime, and did nothing for urban beautification. Only 30–35% of Jewish children were enrolled in education. Health care was also insufficient. One hospital often served up to 25–30 settlements. The Jewish population did not see any point in appealing to the local Soviet authorities, encountering hidden and open anti-Semitism there, which led to the illegal restriction of suffrage and violation of existing legislation (Gusev, 1999, p. 79).

In other words, the Soviet leadership formed a new Jewish culture, defining the main directions of development of the Jewish minority and integration of the Jews of the towns into the Soviet community. But in practice, the Jews were covered with oxygen, and they were given the role of a scum of society. All this made the Jews view the Communists as their enemies. The Jews from towns sought to cooperate with Zionist parties and various economic national organizations operating in the towns. This is a very worrying party functionary. In their view, such a situation on the ground led to widespread influence on the Judaism of the Zionist and petty bourgeois parties. The townspeople found support in the Zionist movement in the struggle against the local party apparatus, which represented them as an exploitative element (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 86, p. 38).

The Jewish community participated actively in the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921. An extensive network of the Jewish political parties and public associations operated in Ukraine. Among them, the Zionist parties and organizations had the greatest anti-Bolshevik views. After the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine, the Zionists went underground and continued to oppose the Sovietization of the Ukrainian Jewry. During the first half of the 1920-ies, the Zionist movement enjoyed the support of the Jews in cities and towns in Right-Bank Ukraine.

Surveys conducted by the local authorities of the SPD and governmental organizations in 1925 found widespread support for the Jewish organization “Gekholutz”, which operated illegally in Ukraine and covered about 6,000 boys and girls. The organization was in favor of uniting handicraft young people who dissuaded from the possibility of a normal life under Soviet power. They were united in the idea of switching to agriculture so that, as in the Torah, the life of a Jew was full of milk and honey (Naiman, 1998, p. 44). Therefore, the organization and the Soviet system immediately found themselves on different sides of the barricades.

The secret note of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of December 15, 1924 stated that “the party (Paoley-Zion) is the legal apparatus of the struggle of the Zionist Socialists. It builds its units by utilizing all legal and illegal capabilities. Members of the organization, representing the interests of “Paoley-Zion”, got into agricultural artillery, cooperatives; advocated the resettlement of the Ukrainian Jewry in Palestine. Therefore, one must fight for the elimination of “Geholutz” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 167, p. 1).

In addition to “Geholutz”, the Zionist-Socialist Party (ZSP), the Party of Socialist-Workers (PSW), as well as youth organizations were active in the towns: the Unified All-Russian Organization of Zionist Youth (UAOZY), the Zionist-Socialist Union of Youth (ZSUJ), child’s

group (Hoshover, Hashoir) (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 2019, pp. 50–51). Zionist organizations also fought communist propaganda published by the local press. Leaflets were distributed; secret evenings and meetings were organized. In particular, a leaflet was issued to the Congress of National Minorities, which called on the Jewish craftsmen, artisans and workers to fight against “wrongdoing by the RCP (b) in the Jewish issue” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, c. 167, p. 9). In a leaflet of August 31, 1926, the Shepetivka unit of “Geholuts” emphasized: “The policy of Jewish section led to the terrible impoverishment of the Jewish mass. Even moving to Kherson steppes cannot bring them out of poverty” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 167, p. 60).

In reporting the SPD of the republic to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) B, prepared in September 1925, it was noted that the Chekists were faced with an extraordinary nature, the administrative measures to combat the Zionist movement are not succeeding, as the forces of the Zionists from the environment of the Jewish mass are growing with tremendous force, where the main contingent is the youth. It was stated that they needed to fight all Jewish people. It was concluded that the struggle against the economic becomes a struggle against the people (Gusev, 1999, p. 84).

Various methods and techniques were used to organize their work among the Jewish population of towns of the Jewish section. Among them are the repressive and encouraging ones. The first one was to arrest members of the Zionist underground, discredit its activists, and organize demonstration trials. The second one included measures of socio-economic stimulation of participation of the Jews of the towns in the implementation of the Bolshevik programmes, namely enrollment to the Komsomol units, participation in the work of local councils, transition to the occupation of “socially useful” work.

At the end of 1924, the Soviet authorities moved to implement a programme of state resettlement to the south of Ukraine and the Crimea. The slogan is: “Solve the problem of Right-Bank towns by engaging the Jews in agriculture”. The slogans and goals of the state resettlement campaign were written off from the slogans of the Zionist parties and the Jewish non-governmental organizations, but only the accents were changed: resettlement not to Palestine but to the south of Ukraine and Crimea.

The programme was to be implemented by the State Committee for Land Management of Jewish Workers and the voluntary organization SLMJW – Society for Land Management of Jewish Workers. As early as December 11, 1925, the Main Bureau of Jewish sections under the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Ukraine at the meeting of December 11, 1925, resolved: “to involve the widest masses of the Jewish population, including some prominent but not active Zionists, in the SLMJW, and give orders to local sections to conduct intensify the fight against the Zionists, actively involve the SLMJW” (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 152, p. 55). The Society worked under the auspices of the Main Bureau of Jewish section of the CC CP(b) U and the NKVD of Ukraine. Initially, in addition to conducting displacement measures, the SLMJW had, under the guise of surveying the economic status of the Jewish of the towns, to identify active participants in anti-Soviet organizations. In late 1925, the leadership of the All-Ukrainian SLMJW sent a secret report to the CPC of the USSR concerning the situation of the Jewish population of Right-Bank Ukraine (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 86, p. 20, 28, 30). All the facts in the report spoke of the success of the anti-Soviet element. After considering the report, the CPC of the USSR decided that, in addition to the administrative and criminal prosecution of the Zionist underground, to carry out counter-attacks, using the Zionist Party slogans to quickly launch a migrant campaign (RSASPH, f. 445, d. 1, p. 86, p. 31).

Another decision of the meeting was to involve former members of the Zionist underground in the society, who would, through their speeches, agitate for the participation of Jews in the resettlement and rehabilitation programs of the town. At the same time, the management of the All-Ukrainian SLMJW made changes in the charter of the company. In July 1926, the SLMJW Central Board ordered the local branches of the SLMJW to involve the Jewish non-labor elements and former members of the Zionist movement in the society (CSASAAU, f. 413, d. 1, p. 165, p. 55).

The local authorities, the society together with the Jewish section clearly performed the tasks of the CC CP(b) U on resettlement. In October 1926, the secretariat of the CEC of the USSR considered the petition for a presidium of the CEC of the Ukrainian SSR “On the allocation of free land in the regions of the Russian Federation for the resettlement of Jews” (Chyrko, 1995, p. 74). During 1927, the CEC of the USSR, together with the All-Union Resettlement Committee, elaborated a programme of resettlement to Birobidzhan district of Khabarovsk Territory of the Russian SFSR. During the first year, the All-Union Resettlement Committee planned to resettle 12 000 Jewish immigrants in Birobidzhan. In 1927, the committee sent a list of tasks for dealing with the Jewish settlers to the local Soviet authorities.

Later, the government, dissatisfied with the course of the settlement of the Crimea, put forward a new idea – the entrenchment of the city of Birobidzhan and the land boundary with it under auspices of Committee of SLMJW, approved by the resolution of the CEC Secretariat of the USSR in March 1928. At the same time the government approved the resolution “On the Economic Arrangement of the Jewish Towns” (September 1928), and Presidium of the Council of nationalities “On the Economic Arrangement of the Able Bodied Jewish Population”. The resolutions dealt mainly with the elimination of unemployment among the Jewish population, the retraining of the inhabitants of the towns, the need for full registration of the Jews through the People’s Commissar of Labour, etc. SLMJW had to provide a financial assistance to families of the poor IDPs, where possible, to find work for them, to provide them with school, to assist local labour exchanges, and mutual aid committees (CSASAAU, f. 571, d. 1, c. 265, p. 8).

On March 28, 1928, the meeting of the Presidium of the CEC of the USSR concerning the Jewish resettlement in Birobidzhan district was held. At the meeting, the CEC Presidium decided to enshrine under auspices of Committee of SLMJW of Birobidzhan District in the Far East with a focus on establishing a national Jewish administrative unit there. Committee of SLMJW immediately submitted all operational work on the settlement of Birobidzhan to the central board of SLMJW. The SLMJW Central Board was fully engaged in addressing the issue of the Jewish resettlement in the Far East (Chetyire goda OZET, 1930, p. 48).

Despite the setbacks in the Crimea and Ukraine, the idea of consolidation of the Jewish population in the USSR continued to develop during 1928 – 1929. In order to compactly settle the Jews of Ukraine, representatives of the Jewish section, SLMJW and other organizations offered to use the territory of the Briansk, Pskov, Smolensk, Smolensk regions and Salsk district in the North Caucasus region and, eventually, the areas of the Far East. By agreement between the resettled civic organizations, sponsors, and American businessman Williams during the second half of the 1920-ies, the territory for the Jewish autonomy was defined – in the area of Tikhonkaya station (Birobidzhan suburb), although no Jews lived here until 1928.

The Presidium of the CEC of the USSR noted that the main task of conducting the resettlement campaign should be the resettlement to the Far East, Sakhalin and Karelo-Murmansk region simultaneously with the beginning in these areas of railway and industrial construction.

The work on organizing mass resettlement of the Jews to “autonomy” territory began in Ukraine. In May 1928 the first group of the Jewish migrants was sent to Birobidzhan. A special commission was set up to serve the first batch of migrants travelling to Birobidzhan via Kharkiv. It was noted that 162 IDPs from 13 different points passed through Kharkiv station. Rallies, general meetings of employees at city factories and plants were held at the stations.

Propaganda of the resettlement process was also conducted by the country’s top political leadership. In his speech at the II Congress of the SLMJW, M.I. Kalinin noted: “Take, for example, Berdychiv. There are leather factories in Berdychiv. The average wage of workers there is 100–120 rubles. It is clear that they will go to Birobidzhan only if significant material incentives are created for them...” (Kozerod, 2002, p. 143).

In the same year, the SLMJW Central Board concluded a corresponding agreement with the Far Eastern Migration Office. Under the agreement, all the work on preparation of funds (except land management), namely road, land reclamation, hydrotechnical works, as well as administrative and housing construction for the Jewish displaced persons, was transferred to the SLMJW in the person of its Birobidzhan representation. By the time of the organization of agricultural, credit and consumer cooperative societies, SLMJW had to deal with the provision of displaced persons with everything necessary for their economic development in the area (Kozerod, 2002, p. 49). The first migrant groups began arriving in Birobidzhan in late April 1928.

UkrSLMJW joined the campaign to resettle Jewishness in Ukraine in Birobidzhan in the spring of 1928. Authorities, together with the Ukrainian Society, elaborated an agitation program called “Dispersive the malicious evidence of a new area, which is widespread as well known by the Zionists among the Jewish poor men in the USSR and in the Foreign Press” (Zvit Pravlinnia Vseukrozetu. XII 1928, 1928, p. 7). During the campaign, branches of the Society in Ukraine conducted a bi-weekly campaign on the implementation of the SLMJW lottery and the promotion of the migrant campaign in Birobidzhan (Zvit Pravlinnia Vseukrozetu za chas z 1926 to 15.XII. 1928, 1928, p. 11).

In mid-April 1928, UkrSLMJW received a task from the SLMJW Central Board for the society to work in Birobidzhan. Based on the tasks of the All-Union SLMJW, the Ukrainian Presidency of the SLMJW held a joint meeting of all delegates of the Society at the All-Union Congress of cult educators and local delegates. The meeting was attended by 50 people. The meeting resulted in the adoption of a program of work by UkrSLMJW to relocate the Jewish residents of Ukraine to Birobidzhan. The programme emphasized the need to familiarize the Jewish poor in Ukraine with what constitutes Birobidzhan District in the Far East, to cover all difficulties in the relocation area; developing and implementing a plan for the pre-recruitment of resettlement candidates; acquaintance of the Jewish population with the basic knowledge of agriculture and soil and climate peculiarities of the region through the involvement of the Jewish intellectuals, agronomists, propagandists; conducting agitation among the migrants so that the resettlement takes place in cooperative and collective forms, a constant emphasis on the priority of collective forms of labour (Zvit Pravlinnia Vseukrozetu za chas z 1926 to 15.XII. 1928, 1928, p. 8).

The selection of displaced persons took place by preventing the socially unreliable, the demoralized Jewish migrants (SARF, f. 9498, d. 1, p. 408, p. 2). That is, members of the Zionist movement and “disenfranchised” were not allowed to move to Birobidzhan. In the first months of its operation, Ukr SLMJW encountered great difficulties due to the lack of a prepared resettlement plan, material base for resettlement to Birobidzhan; the state authorities did not take into account the difficult natural conditions of the region, putting

forward relocation control figures. It seems that the beginning of the resettlement campaign in Birobidzhan is not only the desire of the Soviet authorities to ensure the work of the poor Jews of Right-Bank of Ukraine, but the desire to resolve the Jewish issue immediately.

Commenting on the work of the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of the TZET, the newspaper "Vesti AUCEC" wrote: "The resolution of the Presidium of the CEC of the USSR on the appointment of Birobidzhan for the resettlement of Jews was approved in March, and already in May the resettlement of the Jews began. The first difficulties were the unpreparedness of the administration, its lack of skills, lack of money and cattle. From the 4 million hectares in Birobidzhan, only 500,000 hectares can be considered suitable for agriculture, but the area also needs land improvement, construction of roads etc". (Blium, 1996, p. 21).

The work of the society was constantly behind schedule, especially in the construction of roads and hydraulic measures. However, by the joint efforts of Ukr SLMJW and the All-Union TZET, 2 000 Jewish displaced persons were displaced by the beginning of 1930 in Birobidzhan.

In 1930, at the second All-Union Congress of the SLMJW, it was decided to increase the resettlement of large groups and large mechanized collective farms to Birobidzhan. Moreover, the branches of the company had to carry out measures to eliminate kulaks, to combat trade elements among the migrants (OZET. S'ezd 2-y, 1931, p. 7).

Resettlement to Birobidzhan came to the fore in the conduct of resettlement activities by the Ukrainian SLMJW. Funds received from the campaign accounts were accumulated and sent to the Birobidzhan project. Such use of funds and change of accents caused a negative reaction among the executives and ordinary members of the Ukrainian SLMJW. Discussions begun within the organization that led to accusations against the Ukrainian leadership's of manifestations of local nationalism. In particular, in August 1932, Kyiv District Branch adopted a resolution stating that first-class resettlement to Ukrainian foundations was nationalism, the creation of national Jewish districts in Ukraine was also nationalism, and the creation of a national Jewish district in Birobidzhan was a manifestation of international friendship and class understanding. (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 5288, p. 3).

The Conclusions. Thus, from the very beginning, the Birobidzhan Campaign was doomed to failure. And not only because the Jews, instead of the sunny and warm banks of the Jordan River, received a permanent taiga of the Amur River. The reason for the failure was another: the unwillingness of the state apparatus to create conditions for the reception and service of the Jewish IDPs. There were no mobile programmes. The state authorities moved away from the resettlement campaign. Only slogans were proclaimed, and it was only verbal point there was a lack of progress. Almost all of the activities were funded and supported by voluntary Jewish societies – Agro-Joint, SLMJW. Since the early 1930-ies, the IDP migration to the JAR laid the foundation for full control of the state regime of the SLMJW. Units of the Society were opened even in Buryatia. During the mid-30-ies the value of the company was leveled. Only the central board of the SLMJW, the Belarusian and the Ukrainian SLMJW were working on the implementation of the migration programme. The work of the society was a drop in the sea of the state indifference to the problems of resettlement. Even during the best years of 1935 – 1936, the Jewish population of Birobidzhan did not exceed 20 000 people, mostly from Ukraine.

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**ACTIVITIES OF THE UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL
AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY IN PRAGUE DURING INITIAL PERIOD
OF WORLD WAR II (1939 – 1941)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research – to reveal the activities of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague under the difficult conditions of the outbreak of World War II, especially its activity, publishing of scientific works and maintaining relations with scientific centers of Czechoslovakia. The research methodology is based on the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical typological, historical comparative) methods, the principles of historicism, systematic, scientific, verification of the author’s objectivity. By applying the historical typological method, the author was more likely to disclose the goals and objectives of the study. The scientific novelty is that for the first time in the Ukrainian and foreign historiography the activity of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague has been elucidated under conditions of the beginning of World War II, in particular, the publishing activity of the Society in difficult political and financial conditions. The Conclusions.* Despite the difficult political and economic conditions in Czechoslovakia at the beginning of World War II, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague continued its activity. At the meetings of the Society there was discussed a variety of issues concerning history and literary studies. Scientists included the archival materials from the Polish, German, Swedish and Czech archives into their researches. Historical studies have been devoted to the ancient history of the Ukrainian lands during the Middle Ages, the history of the Cossacks, the Hetmanate, and the period of the Ukrainian Revolution. A number of scientific works were published, that nowadays are an important legacy of the Ukrainian historiography.

Key words: *Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian scientific emigration, Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague, World War II.*

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ІСТОРИЧНО-ФІЛОЛОГІЧНОГО ТОВАРИСТВА В ПРАЗІ В УМОВАХ ПОЧАТКОВОГО ЕТАПУ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ (1939 – 1941)

***Анотація.** Мета дослідження – розкрити діяльність Українського історично-філологічного товариства в Празі в складних умовах початку Другої світової війни, особливості його функціонування, видання наукових праць та підтримання взаємовідносин з науковими осередками Чехословаччини. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний, історико-порівняльний) методів, принципів історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності. Завдяки застосуванню історико-типологічного методу автору вдалося з більшою вірогідністю розкрити поставлені мету і завдання дослідження. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській та зарубіжній історіографії розкрито діяльність Українського історично-філологічного товариства у Празі в умовах початку Другої світової війни, зокрема, показано видавничу діяльність Товариства в складних політичних та фінансових умовах **Висновки.** Незважаючи на складні політичні та економічні умови, що склалися у Чехословаччині на початку Другої світової війни, Українське історично-філологічне товариство у Празі продовжувало свою діяльність. На його засіданнях розглядалися найрізноманітніші питання історії та літературознавства. До своїх досліджень вчені залучали архівні матеріали польських, німецьких, шведських та чеських архівів. Історичні дослідження були присвячені питанням давньої історії українських земель, княжої доби, історії козацтва, гетьманщини та періоду Української революції. Було видано цілу низку наукових праць, які й сьогодні є важливою спадщиною української історіографії.*

***Ключові слова:** Чехословаччина, українська наукова еміграція, Українське історично-філологічне товариство в Празі, Друга світова війна.*

The Problem Statement. An important task of a modern historical science is the formation of a historiographic scientific heritage. As it happens under difficult circumstances, some Ukrainian historians were forced to travel outside their own country. Scientists did not abandon researching the past of their nation, under conditions of emigration they continued their research, analyzing materials and documents of the archives of the countries where they went.

After World War I, a part of the Ukrainian scientific and creative intelligentsia emigrated to Czechoslovakia, since conditions in that country were more favourable at that time than in Ukraine under the Soviet Union. In order to work together and fulfill their sincere wishes in the field of research of the history of their homeland, the Ukrainian scientists in Czechoslovakia united and in 1923 they founded a scientific area – the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague (hereinafter – the Society).

The activity of the Society was carried out in accordance with the annual plans and every year the number of its members increased. In total, over the entire period of its existence, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society numbered about 60 full members (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 201). According to many scientists, its most active members were D. Antonovych, L. Biletskyi, P. Bohatskyi, D. Doroshenko, I. Ohienko, S. Siropolko, V. Sichynskyi, V. Shcherbakivskyi and the others. Owing to the experience and a fruitful activity of Dmytro Antonovych, one of the initiators of the formation of the Society, it gained sympathy from the Ukrainian scientific elite and Ukrainian citizens (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 201). During the academic year, the Society held its public scientific meetings on a weekly basis, at which scientific reports were presented, or papers on various topics were read (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 202). Owing to the organizational skills and skillful work of D. Antonovych, the Society survived under the most difficult conditions of emigration, although its members were often forced to change places of residence, work, and sometimes professions (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 204).

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The topic of functioning of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague has attracted the attention of many Ukrainian and foreign historians, but their researches concerned, mainly, the interwar period of the Society's activity and was considered mainly through the study of the specific historical figures' activity.

More thoroughly, scientists researched the activities of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in 1923 – 1933 in two directions: as one of the scientific areas created by the Ukrainian expatriates and through the activities of its members – the Ukrainian expatriates.

Thus, the famous Ukrainian scientist S. Vidnianskyi, researching the cultural, educational and scientific activity of the Ukrainian emigrants in Czechoslovakia during 1921 – 1945, shows the general trends of development and formation of academic institutions abroad. His work presents cultural, educational and scientific areas created by the Ukrainian emigrants to continue their scientific activities under more favourable conditions than those established at home. An important aspect of his work is demonstration of the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the development of the Ukrainian people, Czechoslovak society (Vidnianskyi, 1994).

Some aspects of the activity of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Prague are highlighted in the work of A. Shapoval "Collaboration of Mykhailo Antonovych with the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague", where, through a review of documentary essays, the author shows some aspects of the Society's activities. It reveals M. Antonovych's activities and shows the topic of his research (Shapoval, 2012). He shows that, with M. Antonovych's participation in the Society's activities and his donations, a number of publications by famous Ukrainian scientists and publicists were published, including several volumes of "Works" of the scientific society. M. Antonovych's scientific research on the history of the early Cossacks and the history of Ukraine contributed to the introduction of many unpublished materials found in German and Austrian archives into scientific circulation and made a significant contribution to the development of the Ukrainian historical science.

The Ukrainian historian O. Chechyna in her work tried to outline the main activities of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague (1923 – 1945), but, unfortunately, she represented the general trends of functioning of scientific and educational areas of the Ukrainian emigrants in Prague, among them and the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society. Unfortunately, she failed at illustrating the activities of the Society during 1939 – 1941 (Chechyna, 2006, pp. 261–266). It is worth mentioning that the author presented the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague as a unifying center of the best scientists-emigrants in the Humanities – D. Antonovych, P. Andrievsky, V. Bidnov, D. Doroshenko, V. Shcherbakivsky, S. Smal-Stotsky, O. Kolessa and the others. She concludes that, owing to the activities of the Society at the initial stage of its existence, the European community had the opportunity to learn more about the history, culture, scientific and creative potential of the Ukrainian people.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the activities of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague under the difficult conditions of the outbreak of World War II, the peculiarities of its functioning, the publication of scientific works and the maintenance of relations with the scientific areas of Czechoslovakia and Germany.

The Statement of the Basic Material. We can see from the research of the Ukrainian scientists that in March 1939, when the German troops occupied the Czech Republic, most of the educational and professional areas of the Ukrainian emigrants in Prague ceased their activity before or at the beginning of World War II. This is evidenced by the research of A. Yavorskyi, who argues that with the outbreak of war in the Czech Republic, the Ukrainian

Free University was forced to move to Munich (Germany) to continue its activities, the Ukrainian Academy of Economics functioned until 1935, the Ukrainian Law Society, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society and the Ukrainian Military and Scientific Society were also forced to curtail their activities or move to other countries. The Ukrainian Academic Committee, founded in Prague in 1925 on the initiative of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society, ceased its activities in 1932 (Yavorskyi, 2016, pp. 52–59)

The conditions in the capital of the Czech Republic, apparently, were not favourable for the activity of public organizations. The occupying power allowed only a few scientific institutions to function, which, under extremely difficult circumstances, could survive until the end of the war (Levkun, 2012, pp. 121–126).

As the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society dealt with scientific issues that did not relate to the policies of Czechoslovakia and Germany, it continued its activities at the outbreak and the beginning of World War II. The work of its members was no longer as active as it was during the 20-ies and the beginning of the 30-ies, but it was distinguished by the productivity of its work and by the fact that it was purely scientific – unrelated to politics. Members of the Society assembled to discuss particular scientific issues, to publish their works, and to promote knowledge of the Ukrainian history, language, and culture (Chechyna, 2006, pp. 261–266).

The years of war further complicated the functioning of the Society and the activities of its members. In Czechoslovakia, the population also experienced the Nazi occupation, and the Nazi Gestapo actions were directed against the Czech politicians as well as intelligentsia. Nevertheless, the political concept laid down by the Czechoslovak Government aimed at supporting the scientific and publishing areas that brought together emigrants-experts in political science with different ideological backgrounds continued to be supported by the Society.

Despite the unfavourable conditions of emigration life, as well as the difficult financial situation, the main source of which were membership fees and donations, 65 scientific publications, including 5 volumes: “Proceedings of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague”, became a significant asset of the Society (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 209). At each meeting of the Society, scientific reports were presented on important issues of the Ukrainian culture and history. The topics of the reports at the meetings of the Society were partly initiated by the Society itself, especially concerning the meetings of anniversary and commemorative dates. Periodically, discussions were held in the Society on the birth of the Ukrainian nation. Such discussions, as a rule, caused a widespread publicity in the press and continued for some time outside the Society. During the discussions the Society discussed issues related to Ukrainophilia. This topic always sparked a lively discussion among the members of the Society and the guests invited (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 210).

The main feature of the reports was their high scientific level, the authors were free to choose topics and methods of historical events coverage, they were able to “... be in positions that stand up to criticism by arguments, but not justified by government orders ...”. The publishing house of the Society was not able to satisfy the needs of its members for publication in the desired size, so a considerable part of them was not published (Narizhnyi, 1999, p. 209; Pratsi, 1926, 1939, 1941).

During this period, a number of works by the Ukrainian emigrant scientists were published, including: V. Sitsinskyi “Ukrajinsjka khata v okolycjakh Ljvova” (“Ukrainian House in Lviv Suburbs”); O. Kolessa “Pivdenno-Volynsjke Ghorodyshheta Ghorodysjki rukopysni pam’jatnyky XII-XVI st.” (“South Volyn Settlement and City Handwritten Monuments of the XIIth –

XVIth Centuries”); V. Shcherbakivskiyi “Maljovana neolitychna keramika na Poltavshhyni” (“Painted Neolithic Ceramics in Poltava Region”), “Materialy z arkeologichnykh rozkopiv na Perejaslavshhyni” (“Materials from Archaeological Excavations in Pereyaslav Region”); B. Krupnytskyi “Pylyp Orlyk i Sava Chalyi” (“Pylyp Orlyk and Sava Chalyi”); D. Doroshenko “Stepan Opara, nevdayly ghetjman Pravoberezhnoji Ukrajinji” (“Stepan Opara, the Unfortunate Hetman of Right-Bank Ukraine”); V. Sadovskiyi “Ghospodarsjki pohljady ukrajinsjkogho pomishhyka u pershij polovyni XIX st” (“Economic Views of the Ukrainian Landowner during the first half of the XIXth century”); M. Antonovych “Pohranychnyk Bosyj” (“Border Guards Barefoot”); D. Chyzhevskiyi “Ukrajinjskij literaturnyj barok” (“Ukrainian Literary Baroque”); S. Narizhnyi “Rozviduvannja moskovsjskikh poslanciv na Ukrajinji” (“Investigation of Moscow Envoys in Ukraine”) and many others. The vast majority of papers presented at the Society meetings and articles by the Ukrainian scientists were published in three volumes of future five-volume work during 1926 – 1941 (Richne spravozdannia, 1941, p. 8).

In March 1941, at the regular meeting of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague, M. Antonovych presented an essay on “Bernat Pretwicz – Headmaster at the Bar” and V. Shcherbakivskiyi presented the concept of Hrushevskiyi on the origin of the Ukrainian nation according to the paleontology researches. The Annual Report on the years of 1940 – 1941 stated that these works were included into the third volume of the Proceedings of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague in 1941 (CDAGO of Ukraine, f. 269, op. 1, ref. 416, fol. 177, 180).

In addition to organizing scientific meetings, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society also performed scientific, organizational and representative functions, taking an active part in organizing and operating scientific forums of various levels – Ukrainian, Slavic, European and world, in various anniversary and celebrating meetings. The following congresses include: the Slavic geographers and ethnographers congresses in Prague, the Second International Linguistic Congress.

After a short break in 1938 – 1939, the Society resumed its activity by holding an average of 20 meetings annually. Thus, in 1939 – 1941 the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society held 38 scientific meetings, at which 48 reports were discussed (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 199). All these aspects gave reason to S. Narizhnyi to claim that the number and regularity of the scientific meetings and read reports and abstracts of the Society had no equal among such Ukrainian scientific and educational institutions, both in Ukraine and abroad. It is worth noting that most of the 611 scientific reports and abstracts were original scientific studies. Thus, in particular, the little-studied questions on the art of Ukraine D. Antonovych, V. Sichynskiyi covered in their scientific essays (Narizhnyi, 1942, pp. 200–201).

We also learn about the topics of the meetings and the nature of the discussions from the annual reports of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague from May 31, 1940 to May 30, 1941 (Richne spravozdannia, 1941, p. 8).

In 1940 the following members were admitted to the Society: Dr. Mykola Hnatyshak, Dr. Mykola Andrusiak, Dr. Volodymyr Birchan, Professor, Dr. Ivan Zilinsky, Professor, Dr. Myron Kordub, Professor, Dr. Vladimir Kubievich, Professor, Dr. Zenon, Kuzel Lepky, Dr. Eugene Yuri Pelensky, Professor, Dr. Ivan Rakovsky and Associate Professor Yaroslav Rudnitsky and the others. The full members of the Society were: a lecturer at the German University in Munich, and Professor Kornilo Zaklinsky, former director of the State High School in Berehove. Acceptance of all mentioned members was organized according recommendations by of the Society members by a secret ballot (Richne spravozdannia, 1941, p. 9).

Thus, at the beginning of 1941, the membership of the Society was enlarged by eleven members, and in total 65 members were employed in the Society, 54 of them were full members and 11 members – employees. Professor D. Antonovych continued to be the Head, Professor D. Doroshenko was the Deputy, and Professor S. P. Narizhnyi was the Secretary.

The main activity of the Society, as can be seen from the reports for the years 1940 – 1941 were meetings and making important decisions on them and publishing scientific and popular science literature.

Scientific reports and discussions were constantly made at the meetings of the Society. For instance, at one of the meetings in 1940, Dr. M. Andrusiak and Professor K. Zaklynskyi made speeches coming from Berlin. Dr. M. Antonovych's report on Pretwicz was also presented by the visiting members of the Society, and Professor B. Krupnytsky's research "From the History of the Right Bank during 1683 – 1688" was summarized at two meetings. In addition, the full members of the Society read their reports: P. O. Bohatskyi, S. P. Narizhnyi, I. Pankevych, V. V. Sadovskyi, S. O. Siropolko. A total of 33 reports were read in 1940 and early 1941 in the Society. Accordingly, the total number of reports reached 662 during the years of the Society activities (*Richne spravozdannia*, 1941, pp. 9–10).

If we analyze the reports presented at the meetings of the Society, it must be said that in content they were from different areas of social sciences, in particular, there were studies in history, ethnology, law, art, education, philology and the others. A considerable number of reports during the 1940 – 1941 were devoted to the research of the German-Ukrainian relations, in particular, the reports of Professor A. Yakovlev in the field of law, Professor D. Doroshenko about literary monuments, Professor S. Siropolko about the German Schweipolt Fiol, the first printer of the Slavic Cyrillic books. Professor S. Siropolko's second report was devoted to Chernihiv College. In the same way, Professor V. Shcherbakivskyi's reports on the social and religious type of the Ukrainian, as well as his consideration of the question of the social structure of the Pro-Ukrainian people, became sections of general works. The reports of the Head of the Society – D. Antonovych were devoted to: Ukrainian architecture in the Governor General, Shevchenko studies, the history of the theater and other issues of the Ukrainian history.

From the reports of Professor D. Antonovych and Professor S. Narizhnyi we learn about the activities of the Historical and Philological Society in Kharkiv and Odessa Society of History and Antiquity, so we can judge the organization and activity of scientific and historical work in Ukraine under the conditions of the beginning of World War II and the Soviet regime on Western Ukrainian lands.

In addition to the issues of the Ukrainian history, the problems of the city and village in Ukraine in the historical and economic aspect were also considered (Professor V. Sadovskyi). The questions of the Semyhorod Ukrainians were devoted to the reports of Ivan Pankevych. The bibliographical reports on the wealth of the Ukrainians were important in the library of the Czech National Museum of K. Zaklynskyi and P. Bohatskyi. They emphasized that not only the latest Ukrainian editions, but also many works from Ukrainian of the last century are presented in the library, most of them with autographs by O. Bodianskyi, M. Maksymovych, V. Bilozerskyi, M. Sumpov and other well-known Ukrainian researchers and publicists.

Issues of the Ukrainian history were presented at the meetings of the Society, which, according to the majority of its members, required deep research and reflection. Such questions were suggested to be explored by young scientists, who were just beginning to prove themselves in science.

P. Bogatskyi's researches on the collection of works that compiled Shevchenko's bibliography from 1930 to 1940 were important. Through this extensive work, he continued his previous research on the topic, some of which have already been presented at Society meetings in recent years.

On March 11, 1941 the meeting of the Society was held dedicated to the works that covered the activities of Taras Shevchenko and his personality. The reports were devoted to the work of Taras Shevchenko as an artist. Summarizing the activities of the Society in the field of Shevchenko studies, it was noted that during 26 traditional meetings of the Society, 48 reports were presented, which presented to the scientific community thorough research and interpretations of Shevchenko's creative heritage.

The publishing activity of the Society is also significant, so the number of all publications as of March 1941 reached 56 works. The result of the publishing activity of the Society in 1940 was the appearance of the third volume of works of several separate publications.

It should be noted that for the development of its own publishing activity the Society never had the necessary funds. Despite this, the first volume was published in 1926, and then only ten years later they began to publish the second volume of this edition.

The second volume was scheduled for publication in 1937, but lacking the same funds, it was published as early as 1939 under other political circumstances and with some debt obligations.

The publication of the third volume was supported by members of the Society, who were in Germany at the time, in particular Professor D. Antonovych and Professor D. Chyzhevskiy. These activists rightly pointed at the particular need at this time to uphold the tradition of scientific Ukrainian publications. They offered their own funds to publish this volume of the Society's Works. This volume became especially valuable. It was completed and published in March 1941. It included the works by well-known Ukrainian scientists: Mykhailo Antonovych with his work "Border Guards Barefoot" (Pratsi, 1941, p. 11), Borys Krupnytskyi with his work "From the Life of the First Ukrainian Emigration" (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine (hereinafter – CSAGOU), f. 269, op. 1, c. 416, fol. 179–179), Vadym Shcherbakivskiy's "Concept of M. Hrushevsky about the Origin of the Ukrainian People in the Light of Paleontology", Dmytro Chyzhevskiy "Ukrainian Literary Baroque", Ivan Pankevych "Literary Biedermeier in Galician-Ukrainian Writing" and Symon Narizhnyi "Investigation of Moscow Envoys in Ukraine: during the second half of the XVIIth Century."

Each of these works, in addition, publishes as a separate edition of the Society. The circulation of this volume was 300 copies, and the individual prints of it from 50 to 80 copies of each. In general, if we outline the topics of the research and their presentation at the Society's meetings during 1941, we can say that during these six and a half years, most issues of the Ukrainian history and culture were addressed.

Despite the difficult conditions of the war, the Society met and worked according to the plan. Traditionally, each meeting lasted about two hours, and the programme of the meeting consisted of two reports and a discussion, but subsequent meetings, given the political complications, had only one report and discussion.

In terms of content, there were most reports on history, much less historical literary and archeological issues that covered other areas of the Society. Thus, in 1940, Professor V. Sadovskyi made reports as a summary to his historical and economic essays from the previous course on the topic "Economic Views of the Ukrainian Landowner of the First Half of the XIXth Century". Also F. Slusarenko's report "Athena and the Bosphorus" was interdisciplinary and by this work he completed a number of his analytical works on selected Greek speeches from the 4th century BC.

Archeological research reports “Abridged Funerals of the Princes of the Czech Republic” were presented by Professor, Dr. I. Borkovskiy, who was prepared for a speech at the Oslo International Science Congress. Also one of his works was “New Findings of Bronze Treasures from the Subcarpathian”.

Dr. O. Kandyba made a great report on the chronology of the European Neolithic, illustrating a comparative table.

An important area of work of the Society was the reports made at international conferences and congresses. Unfortunately, however, with the outbreak of the war, the scientific community had been gathering less and less to discuss important scientific issues.

In 1941 the activities of the Society were marked by a quite noticeable cooperation of foreign members. Associate Professor Dr. B. Krupnytskyi spoke at the Society’s discussion about the political plans of Hetman Mazepa in connection with Charles XII’s plans before the Swedes went to Ukraine and about P. Orlyk’s unpublished correspondence. B. Krupnytskyi noted that archival materials and documents from the Stockholm State Archives were based on the materials prepared for the report. These materials also helped him to understand the relationship between Pylyp Orlyk and Sava Chalyi.

Working with the materials of the Danzig archives, Dr. M. Antonovych explored some moments in the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks during the 1930-ies. This is, in particular, his work “The Cossack during the 1930-ies”.

V. Prokopovych’s reports on the history of Ukrainian sphragistics, in particular, about the Malorosiyska Press and Professor D. Doroshenko’s report on Stepan Opara, in which the author used unpublished archival materials from Warsaw archives, were interesting.

The Conclusions. Nowadays, it must be admitted that, despite the difficult political and economic conditions, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society continued to function. At the meetings of the Society a variety of issues of history and literary studies were discussed. Scientists included archival materials from the Polish, German, Swedish and Czech archives into their research. Historical studies were devoted to the ancient history of the Ukrainian lands, the princely era, the history of the Cossacks, the Hetmanate, and the period of the Ukrainian Revolution.

Among the valuable achievements of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague was its scientific and publishing activity, which was greatly complicated by the lack of state funding, which is why active work was started to set up its own publishing house to publish the scientific works of its members. The Society was able to publish as of 1941 65 scientific publications, and for the whole period of its existence (1923 – 1945) – 67. Among them, five volumes of the “Proceedings of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague” (1926, 1939, 1941, 1942, 1944). In addition, members of the Society used every opportunity to publish their research in other journals of Czechoslovakia and beyond.

In general, the Society ceased its activities because of the Soviet occupation of Prague and moved to Munich, where in 1945 only for a short time under the chairmanship of V. Scherbakivskiy resumed its activities.

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UNUSUAL NAZISM: UKRAINIAN NATIONAL-SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY IN THE POST-WAR DONBAS

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to research an extremely interesting phenomenon of post-war Ukrainian society – an attempt to create an underground Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party (UNSWP) in the Donbass and Sloboda Ukraine. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, multifactority, concreteness, science and comprehensiveness. The following general historical methods were used: historical-comparative, retrospective, problematic, microhistorical analysis. The Scientific Novelty.* Having introduced a series of new archival materials from the collections of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine to the scientific circulation, we covered a whole new episode in the history of the anti-Soviet resistance movement in the East of Ukraine in the first years after World War II – the activity of the UNSWP that was not connected to the Ukrainian nationalist underground and did not obey its leadership. The article reconstructs the main episodes, related to the emergence of the underground party, its structure, activities, ideology, tasks. **The Conclusions.** The analysed documents of the bodies of the state security and constituent materials of the UNSWP confirm that the main initiator of the creation of an illegal party was a native

of Luhansk region Bronislav Boglachov-Stogneyev, who, during his service in the Red Army, was stationed in the Rivne area and got captured by the Ukrainian independence ideas, which he tried to adopt to the needs of his native working environment of the eastern regions of Ukraine. The illegal party he created was not characterized by nationalism or racism, national or cultural intolerance, and more closely resembled leftist populists in its rhetoric and vision of the future social order. The struggle for independence for B. Boglachov-Stogneyev and his few followers was rather a means of solving the pressing social problems of the population of East, South and Center of Ukraine (collective farms liquidation, private ownership of land, private trade, improvement of social security of workers, etc.) and not its prime mission. The party declared armed methods to fight the stalinist regime, but never used weapons or attempted to launch an uprising. All underground activity was limited to the production of program documents, the formation of structures and the attempt to seize the financial resources necessary for further clandestine work.

Key words: Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party, Ukrainian SSR Ministry of State Security, Central Committee, underground, party program, party structure.

НЕЗВИЧАЙНИЙ НАЦИЗМ: УКРАЇНСЬКА НАЦІОНАЛ-СОЦІАЛІСТИЧНА РОБІТНИЧА ПАРТІЯ НА ПОВОЄННОМУ ДОНБАСІ

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у дослідженні надзвичайно цікавого феномена повоєнного українського суспільства – спроби створення на Донбасі й Слобожанщині підпільної Української націонал-соціалістичної робітничої партії (УНСРП). **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, базатофакторності, конкретності, науковості та всебічності. Використано такі загальноісторичні методи: історико-порівняльний, ретроспективний, проблемний, мікроісторичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна:** ввівши до наукового обігу низку нових архівних матеріалів із колекції Галузевого державного архіву Служби безпеки України, було висвітлено цілком новий епізод з історії антирадянського руху опору на Сході України в перші роки після завершення Другої світової війни – діяльність УНСРП, яка не була пов'язана з українським націоналістичним підпіллям і не підпорядковувалася його керівництву. У статті здійснено реконструкцію основних епізодів, пов'язаних з виникненням підпільної партії, її структурою, діяльністю, ідеологією, завданнями. **Висновки.** Проаналізовані документи органів радянської держбезпеки й установчі матеріали УСНРП дають підставу стверджувати, що основним ініціатором створення нелегальної партії став уродженець Луганщини Броніслав Боглачов-Стогнєєв, який під час служби в Червоній армії перебував на території Рівненщини й, очевидно, захопився ідеями незалежності України, які намагався адаптувати до потреб рідного йому робітничого середовища східних областей України. Створювана ним нелегальна партія не вирізнялася націоналізмом чи расизмом, національною або культурною нетерпимістю, а своєю риторикою і баченням майбутнього суспільного устрою більше нагадувала лівих популістів. Боротьба за незалежність для Б. Боглачова-Стогнєєва і групи його нечисельних послідовників була радше засобом для розв'язання пекучих соціальних проблем мешканців Сходу, Півдня і Центру України (ліквідація колгоспів, приватна власність на землю, приватна торгівля, поліпшення соціального забезпечення робітників тощо), а не самоціллю. Партія декларувала збройні методи боротьби зі сталінським режимом, проте жодного разу не застосувала зброї або не зробила спроби розгорнути повстання. Уся підпільна активність обмежувалася виготовленням програмних документів, формуванням структур і спробою заволодіти фінансовими засобами, потрібними для подальшої нелегальної роботи.

Ключові слова. Українська націонал-соціалістична робітничка партія, Міністерство державної безпеки УРСР, Центральний комітет, підпілля, програма партії, партійна структура.

The Problem Statement. When Ukrainian society discusses the anti-Soviet resistance movement in the final stages of World War II and in the early post-war years, the stereotypical imagination of the citizens presents one or the other image of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) with close connection to Western Ukraine region exclusively. But this vision is not historically accurate.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Academic research and archaeographic publications clearly prove that the anti-Soviet underground, which operated under the flags of the OUN or UPA, went beyond the boundaries of the Western Ukraine (Nikolskyi, (2001); Serhiichuk, (2005); Shchur, (2008); Khobot, (2010); Pahiria & Ivanchenko, (2011); Patryliak, (2019). For example, the analysis of the bi-weekly reports of the People's Commissariat for state security/ Ministry of State Security "On the course of the hostile element purges on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR" in 1946 indicates that during this year the number of arrested in the Western Ukrainian regions was 11602 persons or 53.32% of all arrested "on the line of state security", and the Eastern, Central and Southern regions of the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 10154 persons or 46.47% of all arrested (Patryliak & Liapina, (2016). Therefore, although the anti-Soviet movement in the East in the first years after World War II was weaker than in the West (for which there were objective reasons), it nevertheless existed. Moreover, as recent documents, detected in the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, indicate, it has sometimes taken on quite extravagant forms. We are referring to the existence of the Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party (UNSWP) in Donbas region. This article is devoted to the study of this extraordinary case.

First, we must point out that the number of sources discovered to date on the history of the UNSWP is quite limited. It includes both documents of the party itself and materials of the Ministry of State Security (MSS) of the Ukrainian SSR. All identified sources should be divided into the following groups: MSS reporting documents based on interrogation protocols of arrested members of the National Socialist underground, agent reports, and analytical assumptions of the investigators; the MSS policy documentation, aimed at further exposing and "developing" the structures of the national-socialist underground; UNSWP program documents; UNSWP policy documents; documents on the structure of the UNSWP; UNSWP certificates and forms (Sectoral State Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 12–135).

The purpose of the article is to research an extremely interesting phenomenon of post-war Ukrainian society – an attempt to create an underground Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party (UNSWP) in the Donbas and Sloboda Ukraine.

The Statement of the Basic Material. One should immediately reject the notion, that the very appearance of the National Socialist Party was inspired by the soviet special services. Such a statement seems unlikely, given the fact, that the UNSWP underground exposure in Donbas was communicated by the Ukrainian SSR MSS heads to the first person of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (CP(b)U). L. M. Kaganovych ("Special Report on the Discovered and Liquidated Anti-Soviet Group in the Voroshylovgrad Region, which calls itself the "Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party". March 31, 1947") (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 12–18) and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, M.S. Khrushchev ("Special Report on the Discovered and Liquidated Anti-Soviet Group in the Voroshylovgrad Region, which calls itself the "Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party". March 31, 1947") (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 47–53). And for the pursuit of the underground network in Kharkiv, Kyiv and Zhytomyr regions, the heads of the MSS of Ukrainian SSR sent special instructions (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 120–123). It is also difficult to believe that the UNSWP was a product of German intelligence, because it was the period after the defeat of the Nazi empire. Another question emerges – why did the initiators of the underground organization choose such an exotic name, that should jeopardise their movement in the eyes of the population, which survived

all the horrors of the occupation regime of national-socialist Germany? We are well aware that, for example, in the OUN environment in 1944 there was an active debate about whether or not to rename the Organization so that the word “nationalism” was not associated by the population of the Central and Eastern Lands of Ukraine with the word “Nazism” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 372, vol. 1, pp. 58–59; vol. 13, pp. 72–79; vol. 16, pp. 300–301). And in this case, we are talking about the Donbas, one of the most eastern regions of Ukraine, and suddenly the initiators of an underground party creation name it “national-socialist” ... The answer to this riddle, obviously, should be sought in the two basic unresolved issues in post-war Ukraine – national and social. Active movement for independence, launched by nationalists, juggling Ukrainian “national issues” by Nazis and Bolsheviks during World War II, large-scale struggle against “bourgeois nationalism” after the end of combat actions, and at the same time the existence of fake ministries of foreign affairs and defence in Ukrainian SSR, made the problem of the Ukrainian statehood all the more relevant, raised the issue of the Ukraine right to self-determination among common man. At the same time, the catastrophic decline in the standard of living in the first post-war years, the rampant famine in the villages (caused by crop confiscation, fatal forms of collective farming and the drought), the ruthless labour exploitation (covered by the need to rebuild the economy), and the troublesome existence of the urban intelligentsia made social problems critical. Frustration with the fact that the Soviet policies did not liberalize after the war (as was hoped by the majority of the population) raised the question of any ability of the communist state to transform itself, to return to the needs of man. Thus, individual citizens began to look for ways to social change through the implementation of the idea of independence of Ukraine, closely combining social and national issues. The attempt to create a Ukrainian National Socialist Workers' Party in the post-war Donbas became a practical embodiment of this vision. Embodiment in a specific proletarianized region (reflected in the party name by the attribute “workers”). The program, tasks and slogans of this embryonic structure were not in close resemblance to the famous 25 points of the German Nazis, and its leaders rather sought to imitate the communist party structure better known to them than the structures of the German National Socialists.

The analysis of the available sources indicates that the originator and the actual creator of the UNSWP was a native of Starobilsk in Luhansk oblast, Bronislav Boglachov-Stogneyev (born in 1925), who spent the period of German occupation in the town Verhniy, Lysychansk district of then called Voroshylovgrad oblast (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 121). During the interrogations, however, he claimed that he had in fact been tasked to form UNSWP structures in the Donbas and Sloboda Ukraine by the heads of the UNSWP Central Committee (CC) from Rivne, so called “secretary general” of the UNSWP Central Committee, Mikhaïlo Omelyanovich Dnipryanyi, and UNSWP CC “Personnel Secretary” Ivan Pavlovych Omelchenko-Zadorozhnyi (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 14). His version, as told by MSS officers, was as follows: “In February 1943, after the liberation of the Lysychansk district, Boglachov was drafted into the Soviet Army. While serving in the rank of sergeant in the 254 tank regiment stationed in Rivne in 1945, he deserted in November with a weapon in his hands. After these events he arrived using fictitious document in Rubizhno, Voroshylovgrad oblast, where he lived without a residence permit with his mother Boglachova Nadia Mykytivna, not working anywhere until the day of the arrest. According to Boglachev, he deserted from the army on the assignment of Dnipryanyi Mykhaylo Omelyanovich, who was allegedly the Secretary-General of the UNSWP and another leading member of the UNSWP Ivan Pavlovich Omelchenko-Zadorozhnyi, by whom he had been recently recruited to the organization.

He was brought to Dnipryanyi and Zadorozhnyi in Rivne by a certain Zhuk Oleksander, who served together with him as a sergeant of the 254 tank regiment. He was on friendly terms with him, shared mutual anti-Soviet sentiments, and later Zhuk introduced Boglachov to the Dnipryanyi. As Boglachov indicated, sergeant Zhuk, following the instructions by Dnipryanyi and Zadorozhnyi, in April 1945 deserted from the army, taking along the weapons” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 14). From the quoted passage it is clear, that the stay in the German-occupied territory of Luhansk oblast, and later acquaintance with the anti-Soviet agitation of Ukrainian and Polish underground structures in Rivne, cast doubt in the young man’s soul on the truth of the Bolshevik propaganda and the correctness of the country’s social development path chosen by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Obviously, these doubts had to be serious enough to induce a 20-year-old sergeant to desert after the end of the war, when the risk of death in combat had diminished significantly and the threat of being caught and punished “for treason” was enormous. Bronislav Boglachov’s testimony seems to us a mixture of real and fictional facts. Most likely, he was really influenced by conversations with his fellow peer sergeant Oleksander Zhuk (a native of Duplinka village, Yarun district of Zhytomyr oblast) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 122), possibly had some conversations with representatives of the Ukrainian nationalist underground who used the pseudonyms “Dnipryanyi” and “Omelchenko-Zadorozhnyi”, and received anti-Soviet agitation literature from them. However, it is unlikely that he was tasked with creating the UNSWP in the Donbas and Slobozhanshchina. It is known that the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) tried to spread its influence as far as possible in the East of Ukraine and were looking among the “easterners”. for personnel capable of working underground. However, these people usually received clear instructions, program documents, passwords, reporting links, and more (Pahiria & Ivanchenko, (2011). No such documents were extracted from the arrested B. Boglachov. Moreover, all the party documents found during the arrest by the MSS (including the UNSWP program) were written and produced by Boglachov himself or on his own initiative (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 124). It is obvious that, inspired by the active Ukrainian underground in Rivne region, fascinated by the ideas of the struggle against the Soviet authorities, for social and national justice, the young Luhansk citizen decided that he was able to replicate something similar on his native social ground, and felt that his mission was to get the working class of Donbas and Sloboda Ukraine to fight, based on the ideas of liberating the individual from the excessive pressure of the stalinist system.

The UNSWP program points to its clear social orientation, aimed at the needs of the population, first of all, of the part of Soviet Ukraine that had an experience of living in the Bolshevik state before 1939. This idea is suggested by the fact, that out of 16 points in the party program 9 bore a very social complexion that was important for the population of the eastern, central and southern parts of the then Ukrainian SSR (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 128–129). Referring to point №6 “collective farms liquidation”, point № 7 “transfer of land, livestock and agricultural equipment for free and irrevocable use to peasants”. For Western Ukraine in 1945 – 1947 these items were not relevant, as the collective farm system was not yet formed in the region, and the peasants maintained an individual household. Points №8 and №9, which demanded freedom of movement, free choice of place of work, eight-hour workday and benefits for workers in “harmful production”. The requirements were especially relevant for the industrial regions of the East and South of the Ukrainian SSR, where there was a large layer of the proletariat, “harmful production” and so forth. Point 10 and 11, provided for the establishment of private ownership of land,

agricultural implements and the right of private trade for agricultural products. Point. 14, demanded to improve the material life of citizens and to stop the export of all products. Ban on export that supported pro-Soviet regimes or promoted communist parties in Western Europe were a particularly symptomatic requirement taking into account famine in eastern, southern and central Ukraine in 1946 – 1947. According to point 15, East Ukrainian “National Socialists” wanted to see state control over prices “for the full provision of wage earners” An interesting item, that could only emerge in the Soviet reality, where life “on one pay check”, that is, without the ability to steal, earn “on the side income”, etc., was considered almost a curse. Point 16, was a requirement for 100% “provision of pensions for disabled workers and elderly workers” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 128–129). Such requirements are also relevant for industrial regions with a lot of people with disabilities sustained at work. Five program points (3rd, 4th, 5th, 13th and 12th) demanded the establishment of universal democratic freedoms: the elimination of existing legislation, the formation of a democratic government, the adoption of a new democratic constitution, the freedom of religion, the establishment of equality between nations that inhabit Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 128–129). Such demand for national equality is especially discordant with the name of the party. And only the first two points of the program can be attributed to “national” requirements. Referring to “Ukraine secession from the USSR” and “establishing a free, independent Ukrainian state” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 128). It is interesting to note the regional specificity in the wording of requirements. OUN underground fought for the creation of a Ukrainian independent unified state both on lands that were within the Ukrainian SSR/USSR and beyond, on the other hand the author of the UNSWP program approached the idea differently. He, as a man formed in the Soviet system, saw the Ukrainian SSR as a formal state, but “not free and not independent”, so he wanted this Ukrainian SSR “state” to secede from the USSR and become a full-fledged member of the international community. While OUN was promoting the establishment of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council to undermine the legitimacy of the “fake state power” of the Ukrainian SSR as a representative of the Ukrainian people, B. Boglachov saw no problem in legitimizing the Ukrainian SSR as an independent Ukrainian state, “re-established” on the socially oriented democratic foundations. The UNSWP program clearly points to its left bias (like the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party in 1926 – 1948). Out of the six “party missions”, only one – gaining Ukraine’s independence had to fulfil a national task, the other five had socio-populist nature (to build a free, joyful and prosperous Ukraine; to develop industry at the level of leading Western powers; to raise Ukraine’s economic development above development of other countries of the world; completely and irrevocably eliminate the impoverished position of the people; carry on the struggle for raising the standard of living of the people regardless of the central government) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 129–130). It should be emphasized, that this desire for independence from the union centre, or as stated in the Russian translation of the document from the “central districts”, is further evidence that the program of B. Boglachov’s party was made without the consent of the nationalist underground based in the western regions of Ukraine, since the rhetoric of “independence from the centre” was on everyone’s lips specifically in Soviet Ukraine during Ukrainization period.

Feeling the weakness of his position as a self-proclaimed party leader, Bronislav Boglachov tried hard to imitate the existence of a mythical “party centre” outside Donetsk-Sloboda region in front of his supporters. According to testimony at the inquiry, in May

1946 he, without waiting for liaison from the Central Committee of the UNSWP, went to Rivne himself to the well-known safe house. With the help of the hostess, he allegedly contacted Zadorozhnyi, who allegedly gave him party orders and 500 rubles in cash for underground work, emphasizing, that he can no longer help with anything because of the difficult financial situation of the organization (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 15). It is interesting to compare this amount with prices at that period. This amount corresponded to the average monthly salary of a worker. In 1947 employees of the gypsum plant received an average of 258 karbovantsiv (krb.), workers of a chemical factory – 307 krb., an asphalt and concrete plant – 802 krb. Food prices were as follows: a kilo of flour cost 6 to 9 krb. depending on the locality, a kilo of buckwheat – 10 to 15 krb., and potatoes – 3–4 krb/kg, milk – 2.5–3.5 krb/litre, sour cream 10–20 krb/litre, eggs – 7 – 11 krb. for a dozen. In addition to food, people also had to buy clothes and other things that were also not cheap. A modest men's suit, for example, cost an average of 300 krb. Almost as much as leather boots. Rubber shoes were sold for 43 – 45 krb. For women's woollen hat one would pay from 39 to 51 krb. For children's hat – 60–80 krb. Musical instruments were extremely expensive – button accordion cost 1425 krb., the piano accordion – 2810 krb. Sewing machines cost from 650 krb (hand operated) up to 1300 krb. (foot operated), bicycle “Riga” – nearly 650 krb., “FED-1” camera – 1100 krb. (Isaikina, (n. d.))

The further development of events indicates that B. Boglachov's trip to Rivne could be his imagination, necessary to elevate his status. After all, he did not bring any literature, no written documents, practically no money from the Central Committee. Moreover, B. Bolgachev told investigators that on the way to Rivne he was staying at his fellow soldier's Ivan Yermolenko (born in 1910), who lived in the village Zubari in Fastiv district of Kyiv region. Boglachov seemed to have offered him to join the UNSWP, and he promised to “give it a thought” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 122). So, it is quite possible that he did not reach Rivne at all, but after spending some time in the Kyiv region, he returned to Luhansk oblast, where he told the story of a trip to a meeting with the “representatives of the Central Committee”. Immediately after his return B. Boglachov began to “persuade” Anastasia Belasheva, the cashier of the mine “Kreminna-Skhidna” to steal 150 thousand rubles from the cash desk for the needs of the underground (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 16). The cashier's indecisiveness prompted the inventive B. Boglachov to stage his trip to Kyiv for the “UNSWP Congress” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 16) in front of her and another member of the underground, Semen Cholombitko. To this end, he “fabricated two letters on behalf of the UNSWP Secretary, one of which, in the name of Belasheva, proving the necessity, in the interests of the organization, to steal money, and the other – in the name of Cholombitko, reprimanding the latter for his indecisiveness and inaction” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 16).

The logical question arises: if Bronislav Ivanovych Boglachov-Stogneyev was an ordinary criminal scammer who, for his own profit, created a “fake” party by playing on other people's anti-Soviet feelings and using them “blindly”? In our view, this could only be the case if Soviet legislation at the time would have provided lesser punishment for creating an underground political structure than for criminal offenses. But in fact, at the time of B. Boglachov's activity (that is, from the time of his desertion from the army in November 1945 until his arrest in March 1947), the creation of a party whose program provided for the fight against the regime, Ukraine's exclusion from the USSR was qualified by the legislation as a “high treason”. And in the case of detention, the initiator and members of the underground

anti-Soviet organization were threatened with Article 54-1”a” of the existing Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, which provided for the death penalty, which (after decree “On abolition of death penalty” was approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union on May 26, 1947) was replaced by 25 years’ imprisonment in labour camps and restriction of civil rights for 5 years (Misinkevych, 2013). Similarly, the death penalty could also be provided for the theft in the especially large scale, according to the famous “Law of 5 Spikelets” (Postanovlenie, 1932). This law was abolished only on June 4, 1947 by the Decree “On Criminal Responsibility for Theft of State and Public Property”, which imposed punishment in the form of imprisonment in correctional labour camps for 10 – 25 years with property confiscation for theft in particularly large scale, carried out by a group of people (Ukaz, 1947). So, at the time of the arrest, masking criminal acts as a fight against the Stalinist regime could not give B. Boglachov any advantages. Moreover, his desertion from the military unit, already meant death penalty. Therefore, obviously only ideological motives could encourage B. Boglachov for such actions in the conditions of the end of active combat. So, in our opinion, the assumption that the UNSWP organizer only covered his criminal intent with a fictitious party is incorrect. Most likely, he really believed in the need to fight the communist regime for the social and national liberation of Ukraine, and the active anti-Soviet struggle he saw in the Rivne region, instilled his belief that he, too, was able to organize something similar in his own homeland. In order to increase the confidence of his followers, B. Boglachov used fictitious letters and documents of the UNSWP Central Committee and inspired in them a belief in the scale of the underground and its future success. His mother, Nadiya Boglachova, Mykola Vodolazkyi, Semen Cholombitko, Anastasia Belasheva, arrested together with B. Boglachov, confirmed that they knew about the existence of the party, read its program, had copies of party documents, provided their assistance to Bronislav Boglachov in his underground work (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 16–17), meaning, they did not see him as criminal-adventurer.

Investigators of the UNSWP, while verifying the evidence, found that Boglachov did serve in a tank unit in Rivne, and that sergeant Oleksander Zhuk had indeed deserted from this unit (254 tank regiment). However, at the time of reporting, on March 31, 1947, they did not find a safe house in Rivne, where Boglachev allegedly met with members of the UNSWP Central Committee and did not find the “party leaders” of Dnipryanyi and Zadorozhnyi (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 17).

It is difficult to say how successful B. Boglachov was in building a real anti-Soviet underground in Donbas and Sloboda Ukraine. During interrogations, he told investigators that “...“UNSWP” is built on the principle of independent “ triplets (troikas)” (Appendix A) and has, apparently, the regional, city and district committees of “UNSWP” (Appendix B) (with clearly defined responsibilities of local leaders (Appendix C). He also informed of his “appointment as the First Secretary of the Donetsk (Joint) Regional Committee”. (Appendix D), and that the recruitment of new party members is conducted and background checks on them are done through security commissions (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 14). The arrested also very openly stated that the goal of the party is “an armed struggle for creation of an independent and free Ukraine, involving broad masses of population, regardless of their nationality” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 15), that the UNSWP is a “well-organized, deep-cover underground structure”, that has existed since 1941 (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 121). All these statements are more like boasting of a person with some mental disorders, who himself believed in his own fantasies about “deep underground”,

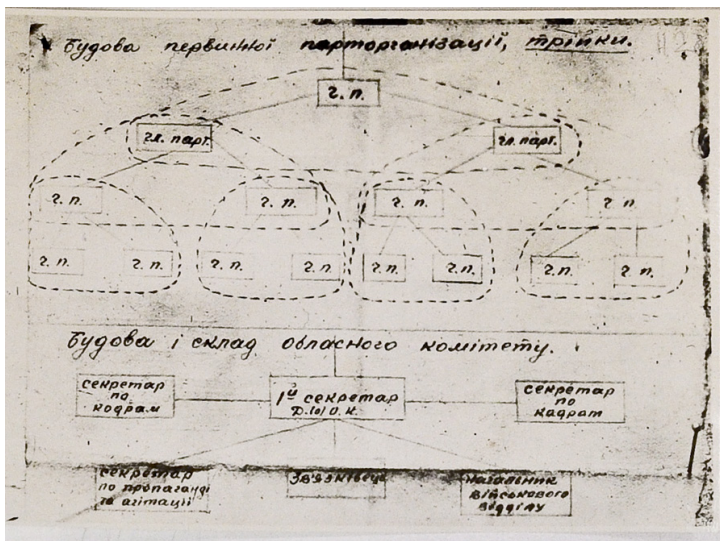
“independent troikas”, “nationwide uprising” and “security commissions”, self-appointed (under the pseudonym “Dranyov Mykola Semenovych”) to be the Head of the Donetsk (Joint) Regional Committee of the UNSWP, made assignments for himself, issued party identification certificates (Appendix F, Appendix G). The real achievements of the national socialists in the “party building” were much more modest. MSS investigators suspected, that some attempts to create underground units in Zhytomyr region were made by a former sergeant O. Zhuk, in Kyiv region – by I. Yermolenko, former fellow soldier of Zhuk and Boglachov, in Kharkiv region – by Yakiv Chernyshenko, an accountant of the “East-Kreminna” mine, born in Izyum district of Kharkiv region, (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 122–123). In Luhansk region, all underground was reduced, in fact, to four acquaintances and relatives recruited by Boglachov (including his own mother) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, pp. 12–13).

In an effort to “stifle” the UNSWP network in its infancy, the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR MSS ordered its regional offices in Zhytomyr, Kharkiv, and Kiyv to organize “deep development” of Zhuk, Yermolenko, and Chernyshenko with the help of an “experienced agents”; to study their life during the German occupation; check the availability of leaflets written in the context of the party program of the Ukrainian national socialists; to send “experienced operatives” to Izyum, Yarun and Fastiv districts and etc. (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 123).

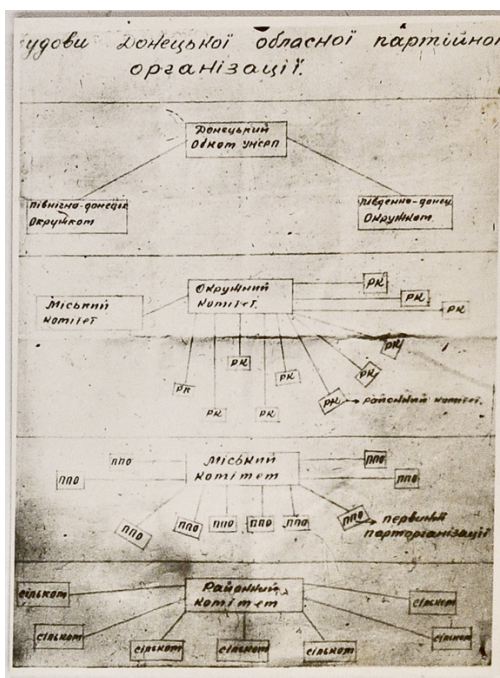
According to the available documents, the case of the UNSWP “died” immediately after the arrest of B. Boglachov and his closest accomplices. The “guardianship” of the state security agencies over Soviet society was too dense to allow an extensive underground network to be born there. The Ukrainian National Socialist Workers’ Party repeated the fate of most underground groups that were formed in the Soviet part of Ukraine during the 1920s – 1930s – it was very quickly exposed, developed through the agency, and eliminated. However, the most important for us, is the fact of the UNSWP existence, which confirms the will of the citizens to resist the regime, to actively fight despite the threat of executions, huge prison terms, exile, etc.

The Conclusions. Summing up, it should be noted that the analysis of the program documents of the Ukrainian National Socialist Workers’ Party points to its “east Ukrainian” nature with an emphasis on solving socio-economic problems through the realization of the idea of separating Ukraine from the USSR. The founding documents of the UNSWP are an interesting source for studying the moods and aspirations of an anti-Soviet-minded part of the East Ukrainian population in the first years after World War II. The UNSWP should rightly be called a “one-man party”, since all available sources indicate that it was Bronislav Boglachev-Stogneyev who initiated, organized, and is the only real leader of the underground party. A person with a rich imagination, as we see, ambitious and fanatical B. Boglachov tried to show the scale of his creation, its influence and scope in all the documents he crafted (and even during the investigation). The persuasiveness of B. Boglachov’s words and his actions not only attracted supporters to his organization, but also influenced the MSS investigators, who took the “development” of the underground organization very seriously, realizing, obviously, that the ideas announced by “Ukrainian Nazis” could find a favourable ground in the society torn by war and Bolshevik regime.

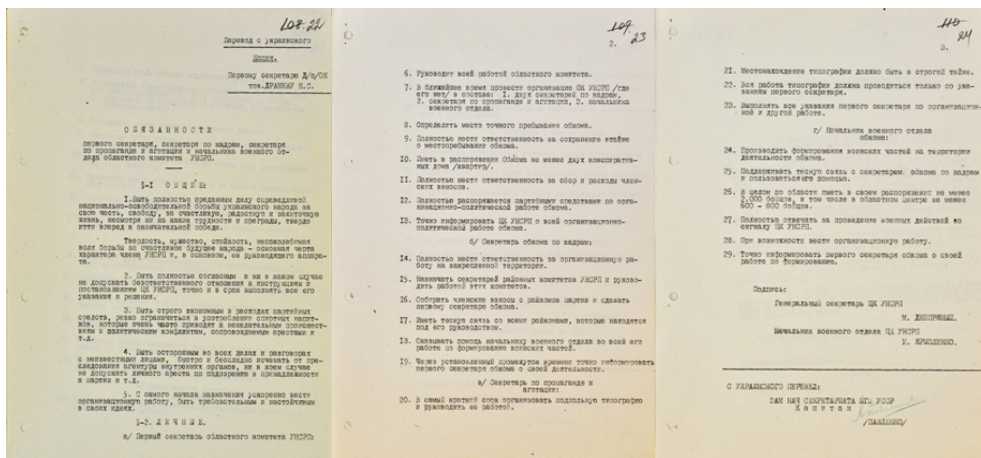
Appendix A. Scheme of construction of the UNSWP based on the “principle of independent triplets (troikas)” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 30).



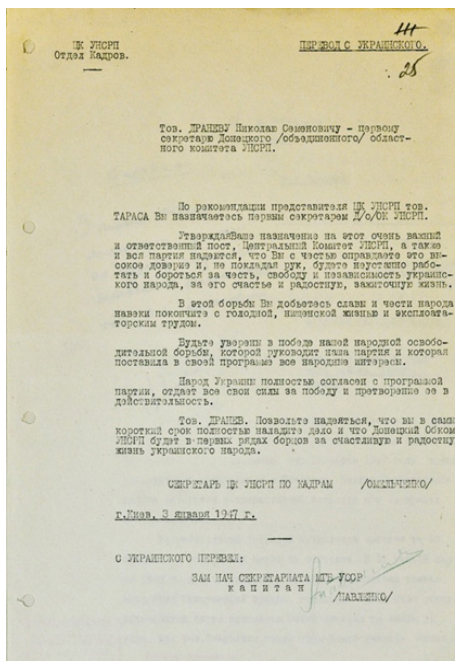
Appendix B. Scheme of “Structure of Donetsk Regional Party Organization” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 29).



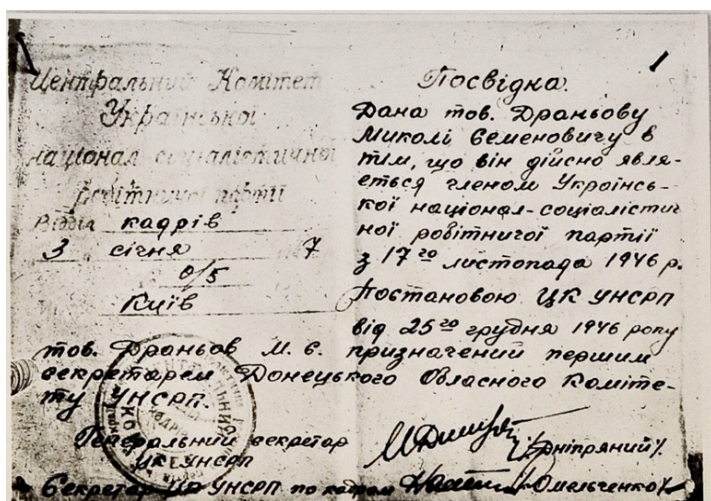
Appendix C. “Duties of the First Secretary of the Donetsk (Joint) Regional Committee”. Translated into Russian from the Ukrainian original (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 22).



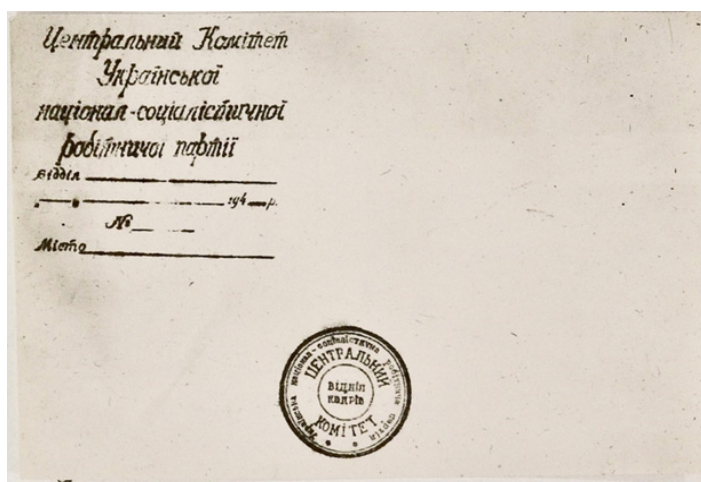
Appendix D. "Notification to the First Secretary of the Donetsk (Joint) Regional Committee" on his appointment. Translated into Russian from the Ukrainian original (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 25).



Appendix F. Certificate of membership in the UNSWP, which B. Bogachov wrote to himself under the name "Dranyov Mykola Semenovich" (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 26).



Appendix G. Sample of the blank form of the UNSWP Central Committee with a seal (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 625, vol. 21, p. 27).



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**ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT OF UKRAINE –
IVANO-FRANKIVSK REGIONAL CULTURAL
AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY “RUKH”**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the first independent public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR and the contribution to the state building on the example of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society (CSS) “Movement” (“Rukh” – (“Malyi Rukh”)) in the historical context, the revival of democratic processes in the region on the Ukrainian national soil, the cooperation with similar organizations in other cities of the UkSSR, the USSR and the diaspora. The research methodology is based on the fundamental principles of objectivity and historicism, which provide for the consideration of individual phenomena and processes in their development and a close connection with the system of relevant social relations. The historical facts have been*

considered against the background of the political processes, which imply the use of the comparative analysis method, owing to which, there has been clarified the essence of many significant events for the Ukrainian socio-political thought of this period. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that on the basis of the available press of that period, as well as previously unpublished sources from the archives of Ivano-Frankivsk National Organization of People's Movement of Ukraine (AIFNOPMU), the attempt was made to realize the process of forming socio-political organizations of the Ukrainian SSR, which by large-scale protests, formed the political consciousness and national pride. **The Conclusions.** A national democratic revival in Ukraine during the late 1980-ies took place by creating centers of socio-political organizations according to the scheme "from the bottom – upwards". Clubs, unions, committees, circles, associations, societies, parties complemented each other and inscribed the golden core in the national progress and functioned for the Ukrainian statehood. Numerous culturological "informal" associations, which began functioning in the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 1980-ies, set themselves one of the most important tasks – the revival of the Ukrainian culture, language, education and the state. Among culturological "informal" associations Ivano-Frankivsk Regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh" ("Malyi Rukh")) stood out – a new type of organization – the state type in form and spirit. The historical merit of Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") consists in the fact that this organization in a classical form and under its own name (which spread to all-Ukrainian), was formed by the public and was one of the sources (forerunners) of People's Movement (Narodnyi Rukh) of Ukraine at the end of 1987. Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") worked actively with societies in most regions of the USSR, the republics of the USSR and the diaspora. The organization arose as a result of a public need and on the initiative of its founders, despite the obstacles made by the party-state apparatus. The "Rukh members" used various forms and methods of a political struggle, from popularizing the Ukrainian customs and traditions to mass political protests. They worked selflessly and sacrificially to restore the Ukrainian state. As a result of the elections on March 4, 1990 to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and the local Soviets of People's Deputies together with other national democratic organizations, the Society eliminated the communist regime from power and initiated decommunization processes. In the majority of the regions of Ukraine, these processes intensified only during recent years, but in Ivano-Frankivsk (Lviv and Ternopil regions) these processes took place during the beginning of the 1990-ies.

Key words: Ivano-Frankivsk Cultural and Scientific Society "Movement" ("Rukh" ("Malyi Rukh")), democratic processes, revival of Ukraine.

ВИТОКИ НАРОДНОГО РУХУ УКРАЇНИ – ІВАНО-ФРАНКІВСЬКЕ ОБЛАСНЕ КУЛЬТУРНО-НАУКОВЕ ТОВАРИСТВО "РУХ"

Анотація. Мета дослідження – в історичному контексті проаналізувати перші незалежні громадські організації Української РСР та вклад у державну розбудову на прикладі Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства (КНТ) "Рух" – ("Малого Руху"), відродження демократичних процесів у краї на українському національному ґрунті, співпрацю з аналогічними організаціями інших міст УРСР, СРСР та діаспорою. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на фундаментальні принципи об'єктивності та історизму, що передбачають розгляд окремих явищ і процесів у їх розвитку та тісному зв'язку із системою відповідних суспільних відносин. Історичні факти розглядаються на фоні політичних процесів, що передбачає застосування методу порівняльного аналізу, завдяки якому з'ясовано сутність багатьох знакових для української суспільно-політичної думки зазначеного періоду подій. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі доступних (тогочасна преса), а також раніше не опублікованих джерел з архіву Івано-Франківської Крайової організації Народного Руху України (АІФКОНРУ) здійснено спробу осмислити процес формування громадсько-політичних організацій Української РСР, які широкомасштабними акціями протестів формували політичну свідомість і національну гордість. **Висновки.** Національно-демократичне відродження в Україні наприкінці 1980-х рр. відбувалося через процес створення осередків громадсько-політичних організацій за схемою "знизу – вгору". Клуби, спілки, комітети, гуртки, асоціації, товариства, партії доповнювали один одного і вписали золоту серцевину в національному поступі та працювали на здобуття української державності. Численні культурологічні "неформальні" об'єднання, які почали

діяти в Українській РСР з другої половини 1980-х рр. ставили перед собою одне з найважливіших завдань – відродження української культури, мови, освіти, держави. Серед них виокремлювалось Івано-Франківське обласне КНТ “Рух” (“Малий Рух”) – організація нового типу – державницька за формою і духом. Історична заслуга Івано-Франківського обласного КНТ “Рух” полягає у тому, що саме ця організація в класичному вигляді й під власною назвою (яка й поширилася на всеукраїнську), сформувалася громадськістю і виступила одним із витоків (предтеч) створення Народного Руху України ще наприкінці 1987 р. й вела активну роботу з товариствами більшості областей УРСР, республіками СРСР, діаспорою. Організація виникла внаслідок суспільної потреби та за ініціативи її творців, всупереч перешкодам, які чинилися з боку партійно-державного апарату. “Рухівці” використовували різні форми і методи політичної боротьби – від популяризації українських звичаїв й традицій до масових політичних акцій протесту. Вони самовіддано й жертвовно працювали над відновленням Української держави. У результаті виборів 4 березня 1990 р. до Верховної Ради Української РСР і місцевих Рад народних депутатів разом з іншими організаціями національно-демократичного спрямування, Товариство усунуло від влади комуністичний режим та ініціювало процеси декомунізації. У більшості областей України ці процеси активізувалися лише останніми роками, а на Івано-Франківщині (Львівській та Тернопільській областях) це відбулося ще на початку 1990-х рр.

Ключові слова: Івано-Франківське культурно-наукове товариство “Рух” (“Малий Рух”), демократичні процеси, відродження України.

The Problem Statement. After Mikhail Gorbachev’s coming to power in the USSR, the ideological pressure on the socio-political life of the state began to weaken. In 1985 “a fresh spring wind of change blew”. In the central press opinions appeared about the rehabilitation of prominent politicians, who disagreed to the “general line of the Communist Party”, the information about abuse during Stalin’s time – a total terror, waves of famines, large-scale deportations. The policy of publicity and democratization of the society added courage to the citizens and promoted the opportunity to raise their voice in defense of the Ukrainians. At the end of 1988, the party-Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR considered the activities of supporters and activists of the Ukrainian Cultural Club to be the most dangerous (the first meeting of the club took place on August 6, 1987 in Kyiv cafe “Liubava” in Obolon under “the auspices of the Komsomol district committee”), Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia, Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian Democratic Union, cultural and ethnographic association – “Lion Society” (Tovarystvo Leva), the Ukrainian Studies Club “Heritage”, the Amateur Historical and Cultural Association of Student Youth of Kyiv State University “Hromada”, the Native Language Society named after T. Shevchenko (a constituent assembly took place in Lviv on June 20, 1988, Roman Ivanychuk was elected a chairman) and the others. At the same time, there was already the Club of the Ukrainian Language Fans at the Writers’ Union of Ukraine. The International Committee for the protection of political prisoners, headed by M. Horyn, was formed in Lviv. The activities of these “informal” and many other organizations, which functioned in the UkSSR, gradually went beyond the few meetings dealing with the cultural and educational sphere (Maliarchuk, 2015).

On October 19, 1987, in Lviv, in the club of Lviv Forestry Institute, at the meeting of the creative intelligentsia and youth representatives of the city, an “informal” association of a cultural and ethnographic nature – “Lion Society” was formed. The official organizers were Lviv branch of the Cultural Foundation of the Ukrainian SSR, the Society for the Protection of Architectural and Cultural Monuments, and the Association of Youth Clubs under the Central Committee of the LKSYU. During the meeting, the suggestion to consider the “Lion Society” a branch of Kyiv Ukrainian Cultural Club was approved. The branches

of the organization soon began to function in Rivne and Lutsk. Orest Sheika became the first chairman of the “Lion Society”. Ihor Hryniv, Yaroslava Rybak, Ihor Markov, Levko Zakharchyshyn were among the members of the society. In April 1989, the first issue of the information bulletin “Postup” of the “Lion Society” was published. The editor of the bulletin was Oleksandr Kryvenko. The bulletin immediately took a clear democratic position. It became a popularizer of the ideas of a national revival, the restoration of the Ukrainian state and a tribune for opposition figures (Sushko & Olkhovskiy, 2009).

The national democratic revival in Ivano-Frankivsk region had its historical features. On December 19, 1987, the young patriots actually (legally June 22, a constituent assembly – June 30, 1988) organized the cultural and scientific society “Movement” (“Rukh” (“Malyi Rukh”)), headed by Markiy Chuchuk, a biologist. The “Great Movement” (“Velykyi Rukh”) in Ivano-Frankivsk region was created on August 12 (actually – August 13) 1989, headed by Mykola Yakovyna, an artist. The members of UHU had a high authority. The active work of these organizations created a favourable political background and gave impact to the revival of “Prosvita” in the form of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. Shevchenko as a mass socio-political organization throughout Ukraine. Dozens and later hundreds of people, who agreed to selfless work for the future of Ukraine joined the ranks of the CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”). Those, who supported openly the “sprouts of the new Ukraine” will never be able to forget that fateful and exciting time. The great people’s shift was basically to defend the historical truth – all the troubles of the Ukrainian people are the result of statelessness. Hence, the main task was to create (to revive) the own state. Preservation of a national memory requires paying tribute to the freedom fighters of their people, who, in addition to the labels “Bandera”, “Uniate”, “Westerners”, “Bourgeois nationalists” were given a new label – “extremists”, “movers” (“rukhyvtsi”), “democrats-shouters”. This is a worthy example of a selfless sacrifice to the Ukrainian nation and faith in building of the independent Ukrainian state. Unfortunately, many extraordinary personalities, who stood at the origins of the Ukrainian statehood and spirituality passed away. It is our civic duty to preserve the memory about them and, for the sake of justice, to engrave the activities of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh” (“Malyi Rukh”)) in the history.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Much has been written about the People’s Movement of Ukraine by domestic scholars. The state idea of independence, catholicity, and independence matured in the minds and hearts of many generations of the Ukrainian patriots. Among the first scientific works that laid the foundation for the analysis of the problem of the Movement’s place in the socio-political life of Ukraine are the works of O. Haran “Kill the Dragon: From the History of the Movement and New Parties of Ukraine” (Haran, 1993), Yu. Kurnosov “Dissent in Ukraine (the 60-ies – first half of the 80-ies of the XXth century)” (Kurnosov, 1994), H. Kasianov “Disagree: the Ukrainian Intelligentsia in the Resistance Movement during the 1960-ies – the 80-ies in Ukraine” (Kasianov, 1995) and the others. They contain the fragments of letters, statements, appeals, which allow to convey the revolutionary pathos of those turbulent years more accurately. The research achievements in this issue are “summarized” by the publication of one of the organizers of “Movement” (“Rukh”), the developer of the concept of its activities – V. Iskiv “Purpose of the Movement” (Iskiv, 2018).

A number of researches are devoted to the congresses of the People’s Movement of Ukraine and the role of the organization in gaining the Ukrainian independence. Scholars assess the Rukh phenomenon as a non-manufactured monument to the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the concerned public. In scientific works various questions of history of Ukraine are raised,

the factual processes and events with involvement of the archival documents are stated. In their works well-known politicians: V. Chornovil, I. Drach, L. Lukianenko, D. Pavlychko, V. Yavorivsky, M. Horyn, B. Horyn and the others elucidated the ideological and political origins of the People's Movement of Ukraine, the reasons for its actualization, interethnic relations, which matured in the thoughts and feelings of patriots.

Unfortunately, there is a conceptual disagreement in European historical and political thought regarding the essence of those events and the prospects of a strategic partnership with Ukraine. Except the foreign journalism of that period, this topic has not yet found a proper interpretation in scientific circles, with the exception of the Ukrainian diaspora representatives. In general, Ukraine is mentioned as the margin of European geopolitics.

The first attempts to elucidate the formation and development history of the most powerful socio-political organization at the end of the 80-ies and the beginning of the 90-ies of the previous century in Ivano-Frankivsk were made by the researchers from Kolomyia region "Kolomyia Territorial Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine "Pokuttia" 1989 – 1992" (1993) and Sniatyn region "Sich of Pokuttia" (Koval, 1996) under the general editorship of V. Koval. In 2001 Tysmenytsia district organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine published the book "At Dawn of National Revival" (Karpov & Yefimchuk, 2001) under the general editorship of Yo. Karpov and Ya. Yefimchuk. Valuable historical documents, photographs, as well as personal reflections and conclusions are contained in the work of V. Ivasiuk "Kalush Society "Renaissance"- "Movement" (Ivasiuk, 2009). This combined name is not accidental. Kalush city party committee called the society another "honorary name" – "Rukh Gang". In his book "History of Kalush and Kalush Region in Dates, Figures and Interesting Facts" M. Kolomyiets testifies: "January-February of 1989. The Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko "Renaissance", which, under the guise of the society charter, practically performed the role and functions of the "Movement" in Kalush region" (Kolomyiets, 1996, p. 179).

The collection of documents by M. Yakovyna "Chronicle of the Movement: from the "Third Soviets" to Independent Ukraine" (Yakovyna, 1993), which was published in a poor circulation in Lviv – began to systematize the source base of the socio-political processes in Ivano-Frankivsk region. A special place was taken by the collection of documents, official materials, testimonies of the press about the coup d'etat committed by the so-called Emergency Committee in August of 1991 "Chronicle of Resistance" (Taniuk, 1991). L. Taniuk, a compiler, submitted chronologically the documents of resistance to the junta, the reports from the regions, the statements by the political parties and other materials related to these three days in history. The literary and documentary edition of V. Plakhta and N. Dymnich "The Unbreakable Warrior of the Christ" (Plakhta & Dymnich, 2016) characterized the life and spiritual work of Pavlo Vasylyk, the bishop of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi eparchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church – a legend of the catacomb Church, the initiator of the famous "Statements about Coming out of the Underground".

For more than three decades – 33 years that passed since the foundation of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Movement" ("Rukh"), the scientific research by M. Pankiv claims for scientific excellence in the history of the Society (Kuhutiak, 2009). It is important to note that Mykhailo Pankiv, the associate professor of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Honorary Chairman of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the National Union of Local Historians of Ukraine, in the article "Participation of the Staff of Ivano-Frankivsk Museum of Local Lore in the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement at

the End of the 80-ies – the Beginning of the 90-ies of the XXth Century” made the attempt to elucidate the history of this society in a separate chapter “Scientific and Educational Society “Movement”. The research contains some inaccuracies in the names of the participants and the superficial presentation of the material is not documented.

In 1990, for one of the authors of the article (O. Maliarchuk), it was the practice for a school historian-beginner to participate in the activities of Kalush Association of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. Shevchenko “Renaissance” and to be one of the organizers of the children’s union “Sokoliata” in Kalush, Ivano-Frankivsk region. In 2020 the book “Kalush City Council of the First Democratic Meeting: History in Documents” was published (Maliarchuk, Vidlyvanyi & Ketsmur, 2020), in which the “Movement” (“Rukh”) issues of the region were outlined.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate in the historical context formation of the first independent public organizations in the Ukrainian SSR and the contribution to the state building on the example of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”), (“Malyi Rukh”), the revival of democratic processes in the region on the Ukrainian national soil, cooperation with similar organizations in other cities of the UkSSR, the USSR and the diaspora.

The Statement of the Basic Material. From the available historical sources – the Soviet periodicals there “follows” the erroneous opinion that the articles in the newspaper editions “The Komsomolsky Prapor” in May of 1988 generated the creation of the Society. According to publications in the press, there is a virtual, not a real coverage of events and facts. The decision to found the Society was made in 1987, and the first meeting was held in the building of the Medical Institute (in the corner of modern King Danylo and Mazepa Streets) in a narrow circle of people (as it was mentioned in the article by Mykhailo Pankiv and directly by the testimony of the initiators of the creation – Markiyan Chuchuk, Yaroslav Shevchuk and Zinoviy Duma). According to the resolution of the bureau of the regional committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine, the Society is the “result” of the efforts of the local Komsomol members and owing to them the Society received its “official status” before its own formal official creation (proclamation) at the constituent assembly on June 30, 1988. This is a classic casuistry in the style of the party-Soviet totalitarian bureaucratic system. Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”) (“Malyi Rukh”) was not the brainchild of the Komsomol, it was created by the indifferent Ukrainian community of Prykarpattia.

At that time, amateur forms of citizen participation in the socio-political life of the USSR were allowed. They were created in the Ukrainian SSR regardless of the “efforts” of the party-Soviet bodies. According to the current legislation, only a legal entity could create a legal entity. The Society needed a status – an account and a seal, without which a public activity was impossible. The Society immediately built its work on the general principles of civilization – “we went to the people”, “we condemned extremism regardless of nationality”. In fact, the party-Komsomol functionaries were of the following opinion: “If a certain process cannot be stopped, it must be led!” for the purpose of control, subsequent collapse and destruction. It didn’t work out. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) (the associate member of Ivanno-Frankivsk regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine) headed by Yaroslav Shevchuk still functions nowadays.

In the official Western Ukrainian press of the second half of the 80-ies of the XXth century the notes on various democratic actions began to be published more and more often. Thus, in the newspaper “The Komsomolsky Prapor” (a body of Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of

the Young Communist League of Ukraine) dated May 5, 1988, L. Bondar's appeal “Respond, Enthusiasts” was published: “Back in December last year in the hall of Ivano-Frankivsk V. Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute there was held a charity concert by the group “Do not Grieve!” from Lviv “Lion Society”, but still the thoughts do not leave me not only about the “Evening of Sung Poetry”, but also about the Society that unites around itself energetic, talented and dedicated young people ... The basis of the society consists of the club of young scientists, the political club “Dzerkalo”, the amateur theater “Meta” and the group “Don't Be Sad!”, who performed in front of Ivano-Frankivsk residents last year. As you can see, our close neighbours give charity concerts not only in Lviv region, but also in our region. And this is good. But I would not like to think that Ivano-Frankivsk is poorer in talent. And I am sure that Ivano-Frankivsk residents will soon illustrate their abilities in a similar way. Only for this purpose it is needed (necessary!) to gather and unite people only around some important (according to the conviction of like-minded accomplices) issue, and to create a similar society or amateur association (the name does not matter) with its own premises, charter, emblem, etc.”

In the newspaper “The Komsomolsky Prapor” dated May 28, 1988 in the correspondence of the journalist, the writer V. Hanushchak “They are Encouraged by Creative Anxiety. Notes from the Xth Meeting of Creative Youth” there is a separate paragraph stating that the speaker, criticizing the passivity of young people and the conservatism of club workers, focused on the problems of youth leisure, raised the issue of working with informal associations in the region, the latest of which seems to be the newly established “Movement” (“Rukh”) in Ivano-Frankivsk”. Is this for the first time in the history of the newspaper that Vasyl Hanushchak, a public figure, perpetuated the “Movement” (“Rukh”) with his critical view on the pages of the newspaper?

The editorial board in the section “Resonance” (“The Komsomol Prapor” of May 31, 1988) stated that “after the publication in our newspaper of L. Bondar's appeal “Respond, Enthusiasts!” the editorial office received only two reviews. “We are!”. “For the uninitiated, this may have meant little, but for us, the appearance in Leonid Bondar's “The Komsomol Prapor” (Thursday, May 5) of the call “Respond, Enthusiasts!” was a pleasant surprise. Firstly, Thursday is the day of our planned and traditional meetings. Secondly, it turns out that we have like-minded people. The fact is that the “Lion Society” is not the only one – its twin, the “Rukh” Society, was born in Ivano-Frankivsk. The idea of its creation arose at the end of last year, and the impact for its implementation was the performance of the group “Do not Worry!”. Nowadays, the Society consists of 16 people, not indifferent to the past, present and future, who have their own statute, worked out in scrupulous and long disputes, so far modest achievements and significant problems. The defining feature of its activity is an absolute voluntariness and selflessness. Any citizen, who agrees to comply with the requirements of its charter, may become a member of the Society. And the statute obliges to a social activity, which extends to art, science and a social, political life ... We hope that the publication will attract the attention of all those are interested in the activities of the Society and encourage them to join our work. Thus – the “Movement” (“Rukh”). The “Movement” (“Rukh”) – it is progress, the “Movement” (“Rukh”) – it is formation. The initiative group of the Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) consists of the following members: R. Bahriy, a teacher; Ya. Shevchuk, an architect; M. Chuchuk, a biologist; R. Levytsky, a teacher; S. Bondarenko, a student; B. Kindratyshyn, an architect; V. Leniuk, a historian; Z. Duma, a historian; S. Ostash, a student; L. Prokopiuk, a student; V. Homza, a student; H. Stashkiv, an artist”.

The name of the society – “Movement” (“Rukh”), which spread throughout Ukraine and far beyond its borders, was proposed by one of the initiators of its creation and the

chairman for almost thirty years – Yaroslav Shevchuk. Markiyany Chuchuk was elected the first chairman, but in connection with his transition to diplomatic work in 1993, Yaroslav Shevchuk was elected the chairman.

On June 22, 1988, the cultural and scientific society Rukh was officially registered in Ivano-Frankivsk (Resolution of the Bureau of the Regional Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine B-18/15 of June 27, 1988. 1. To establish an amateur society “Rukh” at the regional committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine ...”), i.e., the society was called “amateur” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 20). According to the political situation at that time, the CPU regional committee supported the initiative, guided by the understanding of the need for a close contact with “informals”, to whom special attention was paid at the XXth Congress of the Komsomol. The resolution of the bureau of the regional committee of the Komsomol approved the “General Provisions”, which became the basis of the Statute of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”).

Since then, the Company received the official status of a legal entity. The constituent meeting of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” took place on June 30, 1988. The protocol of the Constituent Meeting of the Society dated June 30, 1988 (10 people present at the meeting): Leonid Bondar – a teacher; Markiyany Chuchuk – an assistant; Roman Levytsky – a teacher; Volodymyr Homza – a student; Volodymyr Kovalchuk – an engineer; Bohdan Briansky – a student; Yaroslav Shevchuk – an architect; Roman Bahriy – a teacher; Zinoviyy Duma – a historian; Oleksandr Semeniuk – a serviceman, as well as spectators and guests. Premises of the regional art museum. Markiyany Yevhenovych Chuchuk was elected a chairman by a secret ballot (5 votes), Yaroslav Mykhailovych Shevchuk was elected a deputy chairman (5 votes), and Roman Vasyliovych Levytsky was elected a chairman (3 votes) (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 25).

Soon the sections of the Society began to function: a historical and local lore, folklore and ethnography, environmental, linguistic and literary, artistic, socio-political, the Jewish culture. Subsequently, a research and restoration center was organized for the study, conservation and restoration of monuments of a material culture. The number of the Societymembers increased sharply. Every Tuesday and Thursday the meeting of the Society was attended by 40 – 60 people. Despite this, the Society did not have its own premises and was forced to conduct its work in the premises of the city and regional committees of LKSY of Ukraine, the local lore and art museums, or out-of-doors. These factors did not interfere with the work of the Society. Under such conditions, there were a number of problems of an organizational and financial order. In particular, the lack of space to store archives, accounting documents, the Society’s cash register, seals and, etc. In search of premises, the Society’s management many times, but without any positive result, for a year and a half appealed to the housing maintenance department, housing maintenance sections No. 6, 8, 9, 11 of Ivano-Frankivsk.

From the historical path, the question arises: which mass event held by the Society to be considered the first? We are not talking about the events with a political connotation. There was a natural evolution of views in the organization – from cultural, educational, environmental to political. The answers to these questions are partially given in the already mentioned publication of Mykhailo Pankiv and the memoirs of the first chairman of the Society – Markiyany Chuchuk.

Among the first ones, we should include: on December 19, 1987 the concert of the group “Do not Grieve” in the premises of Ivano-Frankivsk V. Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute; in May of 1988, the celebration of T. Shevchenko’s days in the city house of culture No. 3

(a director – Stepan Henza) in the village of Mykytyntsi; the intention to give a financial assistance in the construction of a dormitory for children of the Ukrainian community in Poland – schoolchildren of the only Ukrainian primary school named after Taras Shevchenko in Poland in Biaiy Bor; on July 28, the letter was sent to the Ukrainian Society branch in Krakow; on August 27 the evening concert, dedicated to the memory of I.Ya. Franko, which took place in Ivano-Frankivsk in Franko Street near the monument to the poet; on September 3, the conservation of the remains of fortifications (a former fortress wall) of Ivano-Frankivsk in Fortress Lane; on September 8, the letter to "Heritage"; October – collection of signatures "ADDRESS TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR" (the letter addressed to the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the UkSSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR against the development of new enterprises of the Kalush production association "Chlorvinil" together with "Occidental Petroleum") – 4003 citizens opposed the development, the originals of the signatures are kept in the archive; on October 11, the letter was sent to Sambir to the V. Kobilnyk Society; on October 13 the letters with proposals for the exchange of newspapers in the cities of Lutsk, Vinnytsia and Minsk; on October 18, the letter to Taras Shevchenko Society of the Native Language Fans of Sambir and Lviv; on October 23 the collection of signatures in Shevchenko Street regarding the granting the status of the state language to the Ukrainian language and participation in the reporting and election conference of the "Lion Society" (Z. Duma, M. Chuchuk, I. Andrusiv, Ya. Shevchuk, R. Levytsky, V. Kimakovych were sent); on November 19 at 5 p.m. the evening "Feast of Kolomyika", which took place in the city House of Culture No. 1 in Shevchenko street, 1; on On November 26, the Estonian Cultural Foundation invited CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") to a concert of the Ukrainian Fellowship; on December 20 – congratulations to the "Oberih" Society in Chernivtsi (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1) and the others. The newspapers were exchanged with almost all regional centers of the Ukrainian SSR, the capitals of the Baltic republics, as well as Moscow and Leningrad.

The first attempts to implement the CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") open political demands can be dated to the records of the meeting at the beginning of December of 1988. Thus, there is the "RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 6, 1988, Item. 6 – "Rally in Memory of the Victims of Stalinism. Correction of the Statement for its Implementation. The text is prepared by R. Hladysh" (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 35).

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 18, 1988. Item. 1. "Z. Duma – about how the permission to rally was refused. As the statement was not registered, to re-submit it in the prescribed form and in the prescribed order. In parallel, to insist on a written response to the first application" (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 41).

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 20, 1988. Item. 3. "Z. Duma – about the refusal to hold a rally in memory (*crossed out* – Stalin victims) of Stalinism. It was decided to submit a new statement".

STATEMENT

We, the initiative group consisting of: Hladysh R. V., Duma Z. E., Mykytyn Z. I., Olshanska O. O., Semaniuk Y. I. (all members of the cultural and scientific society "Movement" ("Rukh")), ask to allow the rally to commemorate the victims of Stalinist terror on Sunday, December 25, 1988, in Ivano-Frankivsk ... (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 51).

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 22, 1988. Item. 3. "H. Volosheniuk proposed to hold the speeches-debates at the factories of our city, these actions will become an advertisement of the society, the creation of new branches of the "Movement"

(“Rukh”). Ya. Shevchuk suggested the creation of a group at the socio-political section, as well as to make a programme of the above-mentioned section for holding debates”. Item. 4. “Ya. Mazurok made the suggestion to ask for the premises for “The Nativity Scene”, as well as to make posters for “The Nativity Scene”. Ya. Mazurok took samples for the publishing house”. Item. 5. “Zakhariya V. V. made the speech on the preparation of the evening dedicated to O. Oles, asked for help in decorating the stage” (Evening in memory of the poet O. Oles took place on December 23, 1988 in the House of Culture No. 1 in Shevchenko Street in Ivano-Frankivsk) (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 58).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of December 29, 1988. Item. 5. “Andrukhiv I. proposed to create a political – propaganda theater”. Item. 6. “Duma Z. Proposed to purchase materials, as well as to consider slogans for the rally”. Item. 7. “Shevchuk Ya. read some amendments to the draft statute of the Society of Supporters of the Ukrainian language”. Item. 8. “The suggestion of the society members to create and justify the sign and flag of the society. This case was entrusted to V. Kimakovych and V. Mykytiuk” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 64).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of January 3, 1989. Item. 1. “Ivasiv was heard on the issue of the men’s choir organization at the society. Chuchuk Ya. and Duma Z. took part in the discussion. It was decided to appoint a day for listening to people, who wish to take part in the Chapel (Wednesday, January 25 at 6:30 p.m., Radianska Street, 10). To make an announcement”. Item. 2. “They discussed the preparation for holding a rally in memory of the victims of Stalinism: a) prepared announcements; b) discussed the organizational issues”. Item. 3. “The board of the society reported on the preparation of the “Nativity Scene”. The city committee of the party in the person of Koryta and Shukailo evade the event” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 70).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of January 5, 1989. Item. 1. “Ivasiv proposed to name the men’s choir “Red Viburnum”. Item. 2. M. Chuchuk spoke on the issue of holding the “Nativity Scene” (“Vertep”). The city department of culture forbade the city houses of culture to accept participants of “The Nativity scene” (“Vertep”). The telegramme was sent to the Cultural Foundation in Kyiv. Yu. Shevchuk told about the meeting with Comrade Sliusar, who stated: “Vertep is the propagation of religion”. Item. 3. The meeting with Koretan and Lukaschuk from the city committee of the party on the issues of holding the “Nativity Scene” (“Vertep”), the rally in memory of the victims of Stalinism – we revealed Koretan’s and Lukaschuk’s negative attitude to these events. R. Hladysh told about it” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 75).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of January 10, 1989. Item. 1. “M. Chuchuk made the report on the press received by the society. He reported on a meeting in the city executive committee on the issues of “Vertep” and the rally in memory of the victims of Stalinism” Item. 2. “The representative of the Latvian Ukrainian n/k society “Dnipro” spoke about the work of the society”. Item. 4. “The Society considered the issue of participation in the preparation of the evening dedicated to the 175th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko’s birth” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 77).

The Executive Committee of Ivano-Frankivsk City Council of People’s Deputies, by decision of January 13, 1989, No. 20, cancelling the previous decision of January 11 No. 2, decided: To give consent to the “Rukh” Cultural and Scientific Society to hold the rally in memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions on January 29, 1989, from 3:00 pm till 5:00 pm in the Park of Culture and Recreation named after T. H. Shevchenko (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 79).

The events related to the first rally were summarized by Bohdan Biletsky's article "No Time Limit" / "No Expiry Date" ("Комсомольський прапор" від 4 лютого 1989 р.) "CRIMES of Stalinism are the Crimes against the Humanity", "Shame on Stalin's Executioners" – the rally in Ivano-Frankivsk was held under such slogans. The rally to commemorate the victims of Stalin's repressions was postponed twice by the city executive committee. The reasons for this are now difficult to name, but the event, which was organized by the cultural and scientific society "Movement" ("Rukh"), was unusual for the region ... Hundreds of the city residents came to Taras Shevchenko Park of Culture and Recreation. Some people were interested in how the people's will would be illustrated, the others wanted to hear about those terrible times from the eyewitnesses, the very victims of the executioners of "the leader of all times and peoples" ... People came up to the tribune with tears in their eyes ... Leonid Bondar, a young Ivano-Frankivsk composer, performed his own song "Innocent Victims of Stalinist Repressions", R. V. Hladysh, a member of the Rukh cultural and scientific society, read the address to the participants of the rally. In the address there were figures of mass Stalinist repressions in our country, the victims of Precarpathian region were mentioned. How many of them? Who will undertake the difficult investigation of these crimes – scientists, writers, or maybe we, journalists? At least in the speeches of scientists such a desire was not heard. D. V. Shlemko, M. K. Fihlevsky, S. M. Chapuha provided new facts, made suggestions. O. S. Hryhoriev, Doctor of Economics, believed that the "Movement" ("Rukh") Society, instead of indulging, digging into Stalinism, should better deal with the environmental issues and the struggle for disarmament and peace. And according to Volodymyr Hrytsak, a young worker of the cement and slate plant, the initiative group of the society took on a heavy burden – the burden of Truth. Oksana Vasylets, a poet from Odesa, dedicated her poem to the victims of Stalinism. The participants of the rally listened to the speech of Yaroslav Rybak, the Executive Secretary of Lviv "Lion Society", with interest. Our guest, in particular, noted that according to the programme, this was not the rally, but rather a regular meeting. I cannot disagree with this statement. Not enough facts, few emotions, two hours allotted, probably, did not allow many more to speak, to take the floor. However, the first step was made and some suggestions, such as the creation of the Ukrainian language society in the region, should be listened to".

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of February 9, 1989. Item. 5. "M. Chuchuk spoke about the situation with the delegation to the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Society of Fans of the Ukrainian language named after T. Shevchenko. Only one mandate was allocated by the regional committee for the "Movement" ("Rukh") society. RESOLVED: a representative of "Rukh" with an official delegation does not go to the conference. To send a telegramme to the conference" (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2, p. 17).

In the spring of 1989, the local branches of "Movement" ("Rukh") began to appear in various settlements of Ukraine. In Ivano-Frankivsk, such a socio-political organization had been functioning for more than a year. Its activities were not limited to educational and cultural events and the territory of the region. In fact (at the end of 1987) and legally (June 22, 1988) the society functioned and carried out active socio-political activities and became a full member of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation (it was the founder of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Movement). The scientific historical literature substantiates the statement that the most active were the inhabitants of Ternopil region (in our opinion, this issue is debatable!). N. Kindrachuk's scientific argument is that in Ukraine the first one (officially) was created Ternopil regional organization of "Movement" ("Rukh"), the founding conference of which took place on March 24, 1989. Mykhailo Levytsky, the poet, became the head of the regional

organization. Lviv Regional “Movement” became the second organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine. Its founding conference took place on May 7, 1989. On July 1 of the same year, the founding conference of Kyiv organization of the the People’s Movement of Ukraine took place in the Republican House of Cinema (Kindrachuk, 2013, p. 40).

In 1989, the rapid activities of public organizations began, which played a key role in the national democratic processes in the UkSSR and gave impact to the creation of opposition parties to the CPSU – CPU. The activities of UHU, The Ukrainian Language Society, “Movement” (“Rukh”) became the legal basis for the organization and legalization of functioning centers in villages and cities of Ukraine. From the information of the State Security Committee No. 5 / 3-2021 dated 04.05.1989 with the stamp “confidential” – to comrade I. H. Postoronko, the first secretary of Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine: “Recently, politicization of some amateur groups has been noted, in particular, the scientific and cultural society “Rukh”. Some of its members try to act alternatively in relation to public organizations, to establish links with extremist groups in other cities of the country” (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2, p. 58).

From the materials to the archives of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organizations of the People’s Movement of Ukraine, you can learn about the cooperation with different organizations of the UkRSR, the USSR and the diaspora. On November 1, 1988 the text of the letter was approved at the meeting of the CSS “Rukh” of Ivano-Frankivsk: “To the Estonian People’s Front! With the aim of a better quality awareness of a modern social life in Estonia, the formation of direct contacts and possible cooperation in the field of culture and science, the cultural and scientific society “Rukh” appeals to the Estonian People’s Front through its representative A. K. Liutiuk and asks for assistance and help to receive the “Bulletin of the People’s Front” regularly” (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 104). Thus, in the letter to Kamianets-Podilsky Society “Creativity” dated 18.07.89, 2/75, it is stated: “Dear Sirs, the Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) seeks to establish a close and reliable cooperation with you. We believe that at the first stage the mutual exchange of information is the most important for both sides. We are most interested in the following topics: the organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine; the problems of elections of deputies in your city; the organization of large-scale actions by you (rallies, demonstrations, etc.); the possibility of establishing ties with the progressive forces of Moldova; the information about the most important events in your region. For our part, we promise all possible information assistance and advice! We wish you success! Markiy Chuchuk, the chairman of the Rukh Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2, p. 72).

The founding assembly of Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for reformation was to take place on the 12th of August, but due to the death of the society member it was postponed on August 13, 1989. On the day of the founding conference, one of the organizers of the CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”), Roman Levytsky, died. He was attacked and fatally injured the day before. At the founding conference of Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine, a temporary statute was adopted, a coordination council and delegates from the region were elected to the Founding Congress of the “Movement” (“Rukh”). The Coordinating Council elected Mykola Yakovyna, the artist, the chairman of the regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine (“Great Movement”), Roman Luchytsky and Ivan Shovkov –the deputies.

Regional branches of the People’s Movement of Ukraine were established in the majority of the regions of Ukraine. This process ended in Kyiv on September 8 – 10, 1989, when

All-Ukrainian Founding Congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation was held. The Congress was held in the Palace of Culture of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, which was attended by 1109 delegates from 1120 elected, who represented a 280000 community of activists. The Congress adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation, the Programme and the Charter, the appeal "To the People of Ukraine", the statement "About Elections", the appeal: "To all non-Ukrainians in Ukraine", "Against anti-Semitism", "In Support of the Aspirations of the Crimean Tatar People", "To the Ukrainians, who live in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and choose Russian as their native language". Ivan Drach was elected the chairman of the "Movement" ("Rukh"), Mykhailo Horyn, Serhiy Konev and Volodymyr Yavorivsky were elected the deputies.

On October 10, 1989, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") numbered 156 members. Among them, 75 people had diplomas of higher and incomplete higher education (historians, engineers, economists, architects, lawyers, teachers – 12, researchers, doctors – 8), workers – 45. 69 people had certificates of a secondary education, secondary special education. There is the following information in the column "Date of Joining the Society" (the date is indicated only for those people, who joined during June-October of 1989): June – 3; July – 19; August – 46; September – 19; October – 11 (98 people totally). That is, the ranks of the Society officially increased more than three times during this period (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 3). As Yaroslav Shevchuk noted in the article "If Rights are not Given, they are Obtained" (the newspaper "Halychyna" of September 19, 1991): "The society was whipped and slandered sarcastically by all the "true newspapers" of that time, beaten by the riot police (OMON) and militsiya, and it was even killed for the truth it defended at that time and stands for the truth now".

The Conclusions. In Ukraine, the People's Movement of Ukraine was formed organizationally from the All-Ukrainian Society of the Ukrainian Language named after Taras Shevchenko. However, Ivano-Frankivsk region had its own historical feature, which consisted in the fact that it was here that the "Rukh idea" crystallized in "a pure form". Thus, among 58 delegates of the Founding Congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation from Ivano-Frankivsk region (two could not come) – 23 people, or 40% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko. From Kyiv region among 199 delegates, respectively – 47 people, or 24% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Kherson region among 18 delegates accordingly – 7 people, or 39% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Cherkasy region among 27 delegates – 7 people, or 25% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Kharkiv region among 23 delegates accordingly – 6 people, or 26% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Donetsk region among 25 delegates accordingly – 10 people, or 40% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from the Crimean region among 9 delegates – 5 people, or 55% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko, etc. (Zherebetskyi, 2009). One and the same person could simultaneously belong to several societies, associations, parties.

The peculiarity of the socio-political life of Ivano-Frankivsk region consisted in the fact that there were formed and functioned actively in the region such societies as Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") with subsidiaries (in Kolomyia – "Postup", in Rohatyn – "Dzvin", in Oleshkiv village in Sniatyn region – "Renaissance", in the village of Otyniya,

in the village of Yamnytsia), the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”) at the same time became the founder of the National Organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for reformation and the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. Shevchenko, “Memorial”, “Green World” and the others. The society “gave strength” to all other political organizations and parties that emerged in Ivano-Frankivsk region. At large industrial enterprises, the state institutions and organizations there were formed public political organizations massively – strike committees and associations of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for reformation, which were registered according to by the relevant decisions of the executive committees of the city and district councils of deputies of Ivano-Frankivsk region.

Various amateur public associations interfered in the political life of Ukraine actively: clubs, societies, unions, organizations, associations, parties that claimed to gain power. In Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil regions, many local councils were dominated by non-communist deputies, who had almost all the power. The “Movement” (“Rukh”) turned into an openly anti-communist organization based on the nationalist ideology. The communists, their party committees and organizations launched a fierce campaign against the “democratic forces” (in particular, against the “nationally limited” democratic bloc – the “band bloc”, “separatists”), “nationalist ideology”, “Bandera supporters”. Ideas of a civil peace and non-violence, ensuring human rights, spiritual and national cultural revival, the transition to a socially oriented market economy, other democratic goals and universal values, but not political ambitions or ideological dogmas, could bring different positions closer, reach compromises, unite most people in concrete steps out of the crisis. The CPSU and its branch of the CPU in their programme documents defended the “process of a revolutionary reformation”, “the approval of the democratization process of the society”, “publicity” and were “the first” ones, who (in the West, this was done systematically, especially during the Cold War) condemned the cult of Stalin, Khrushchov’s “voluntarism” and Brezhnev’s policy of “stagnation”. Taking the responsibility for mistakes, miscalculations in the socio-political development of the USSR, recognizing the criminal activities of the party leadership during the 30–50-ies of the XXth century, the party proclaimed “the renewal” and called for “the renewal of the society as a whole”. People began not only to think freely in a whisper manner, but also to express their thoughts and views openly, often diametrically opposed political views, all stopped “unconditionally supporting the general line of the Communist Party”. A qualitatively new generation entered the arena of the political struggle.

The problem of the formation of mass public organizations during the second half of the 1980-ies, both in the western region and throughout Ukraine, their cooperation with the societies of the Baltics, the Caucasus and other republics of the USSR and the diaspora, requires a separate historical study. The formation of regional organizations of the People’s Movement of Ukraine differed significantly in the regions of Ukraine.

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KLECHALNY CUSTOM AS A SPIRITUAL PHENOMENON OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Abstract. The Purpose of the Article. The research paper aims at introducing a scientifically substantiated characteristics of the klechalny custom, its origin and content within the context of the Ukrainian spiritual culture. **The Methodology of the Research.** The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and comprehensiveness. The authors have applied the methods of a typological and comparative historical analysis. **The Scientific Novelty.** The scientific novelty of the obtained results consists in the attempt to reconstruct the tradition of decorating dwellings and farm buildings with tree branches and herbs as well as to present a new perspective on its origin and semantic content. **The Conclusions.** In the research it has been proved that the Ukrainians used ritual greener, primarily, to invite deceased relatives to their homes on the eve of Zeleni Sviata (Pentecost holidays) and Holy Trinity Day. Indeed, according to traditional beliefs, all major calendar holidays should occur with the obligatory presence of deceased relatives, since the success of the living people in household management and family life depended on their support and help. The meticulous analysis of the data-based materials suggests that the klechalny custom is very ancient in origin, its roots go back to the historical

period when there was no division of deceased people into different categories. The absence of ancient ideas about demons in the Ukrainian worldview testifies to the vague reception of them, their predominant identification with the spirits of ancestors (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, phytomorphic, not personified); all traditional ceremonies were ended with the ancestors' send-offs, rather than the destruction of "evil". Just only later, the reception of "close ones" (forefathers) and various demonological characters were formed on the basis of the cult of the dead. Simultaneously, we can observe the differentiation in using verdure embellishment, that is to say, in the interior the greenery was designed for "didy" (ancestors) and in the exterior the greenery was designed for "rusalky" (mermaids). In turn, this fact explains the existence of different ways the Ukrainians treat and deal with the Trinity greenery after the holiday.

Key words: spiritual culture, calendar ritual traditions, klechalny custom, the Trinity greenery, mermaids, "didy", "Provody".

КЛЕЧАЛЬНИЙ ЗВИЧАЙ ЯК ДУХОВНИЙ ФЕНОМЕН УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ

Анотація. Метою статті є науково обґрунтована характеристика клечального звичаю, його витоків та змісту в контексті духовної культури українців. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності та комплексності. Застосовуються методи типологічного та порівняльно-історичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів – спроба реконструкції звичаю замаювати житлові і господарські споруди зеленню та новий погляд стосовно його походження і смислового наповнення. **Висновки.** Дослідженням доведено, що українці встановлювали обрядову зелень передовсім для того, щоб запросити померлих родичів до своєї оселі напередодні Зелених свят. Адже за народними віруваннями, усі найбільші календарні свята в році повинні відбуватися за обов'язкової присутності померлих родичів, позаяк від їхньої підтримки і допомоги залежав успіх живих у виробничому та сімейному побуті. Скрупульозний аналіз фактичних матеріалів дає підстави говорити, що клечальний звичай є дуже давнім за походженням, його джерела сягають того історичного періоду, коли ще не було поділу покійників на різні категорії. Відсутність давніх уявлень про демонів в українському світогляді засвідчують розмитість уявлень про них, їхнє переважне отождошення з духами предків (антропоморфних, зооморфних, фітоморфних, не персоніфікованих), завершення обрядів вирядженням предків, а не знищенням "зла". Лише згодом на основі культу покійників сформувалися уявлення про "своїх" (родителів) та різних демонологічних персонажів. Синхронно виникла диференціація стосовно використання маю: всередині житлового приміщення – для "дідів", зовні – для русалок. Зі свого боку, цей факт пояснює розбіжності у способах поводження із троїцькою зеленню після завершення свята.

Ключові слова: духовна культура, календарна обрядовість, клечальний звичай, троїцька зелень, русалки, "діди", "Проводи".

The Problem Statement. In the traditional spiritual culture of the Ukrainians an important place is occupied by Zeleni Sviata (Pentecost, Whitsunday, the Trinity), which despite a negative impact of globalization processes remain an important set of beliefs and a rich layer of ancient folk customs. Among them, it is worth paying attention to the all-Ukrainian custom of decorating residential and farm buildings with the Trinity greenery. It is also called "the klechalny custom", which originates from the Ukrainian word "klechannia" (кличання – in Ukrainian), which is a synonym for the word "may" (май – in Ukrainian).

The importance of the research does not require any special arguments, as the humanities scholars still debate on the phenomenon of klechalny custom, especially its origin and content. The unresolved nature of this issue is, to some extent, due to the fact that the majority of the researchers of the calendar rituals of the Ukrainians did not study specifically the traditional customs and rites of Pentecost holidays but analyzed the customs superficially only, in the context of their scientific interests.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Dmytro Zelenin and Volodymyr Propp laid the foundations for future discussions and debates on the phenomenon of the klechalny custom (Zelenin, 1914; Propp, 1963). These researchers not only collected the information about the Trinity rites and customs of the Eastern Slavs, including the Ukrainians, identified common and distinctive features, but for the first time also put forward a number of well-founded hypotheses about its origin. The monograph by Tetiana Ahapkina is of a great importance as well (Agapkina, 2002), in which the author summarized not only the factual material, but also the views of the previous researchers on the topic. Cornelius Kutelmakh, a Ukrainian scientist and a true connoisseur of Pentecost holidays, deserves a special attention. Among the articles published by the researcher on this topic, the two of them are especially important – “On the Origins of Klechalny Custom (based on the materials from Polissia)” (Kutel'makh, 2005) and “Mermaids in the Beliefs of the Polishchuks” (Kutel'makh, 2001).

The Purpose of the Research. Accordingly, the purpose of the research is a scientifically thorough characteristics of the klechalny custom, its origins and content in the context of the spiritual culture of the Ukrainians. Ethnographic, linguistic and folklore sources from different parts of the spiritual culture of the Ukrainians (primarily, funeral and memorial rites and demonological beliefs) are involved into resolving the issue.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The analysis of fairly unbiased researches on the rituals of Pentecost holidays illustrates the unanimous opinion of scientists that the Trinity greenery is directly related to deceased relatives who, according to folk beliefs, come to visit their homes on the eve of the Trinity. In particular, in Bukovyna, before cutting down the Trinity tree or branch, the owner had to tell to it: “I invite and take you as a guest (guests) on Pentecost holidays, for you to see my yard, house” (Kozholyanko, 2007, p. 250). In other words, the quoted sentence confirms the opinion of the Russian folklorist V. Propp that “[...] the green branch is a certain personification of the deceased” (Propp, 1963, p. 113). Presumably, for this reason, during funeral mourning, the deceased was addressed the following way: “my stalk”, “flower”, “green leaf” (Vinogradova & Usacheva, 1999, p. 311). By the way, the Ukrainians also addressed to a specific trinity tree as a person: “My helper, my relative, you stand near the house (a linden tree grew near each house), you see everything, they don't go to cut you with an ax but to ask for help, they will cut off where you point at” (Makovi, 1993, p. 142). By the way, in funeral rites, the green colour (in this case, the Trinity plants) traditionally acts as a boundary between “that” and “this” world, and the deceased was usually called “guest” during funeral lamentations.

In addition to the identification of the Trinity May with deceased relatives, the Ukrainians simultaneously had a different interpretation of the function of the klechalny custom – as a kind of place where the souls of the deceased relatives were on the Earth during the Trinity period. In particular, in Poltava region, the Ukrainians believed that on the eve of Pentecost holidays, the souls of the dead flew to their native places in the form of birds to look at their house and sway on the branches (Agapkina, 2002, pp. 307–308).

By the way, regional differences in the interpretation of the klechalny custom depended on the category of the dead (“didy” / “ancestors” or mermaids), with whom the population associated the dead. Apparently, because of this, there is still no unanimous answer among the scientific community to the question: for whom (what for) did the Ukrainians clean their houses and yards on the eve of Pentecost holidays?

More than one generation of the Ukrainian and foreign researchers tried to answer this question. Thus, a well-known expert on the Slavic folk calendar T. Agapkina is convinced

that “during the Trinity period greenery and flowers were the abode of souls (it seems to us, regardless of whether they were ancestral souls or “hostages”); the thesis about greenery as the incarnation of souls is doubtful for us” (Agapkina, 2002, p. 310). Less categorical opinion was expressed by the researcher L. Vynogradova, who suggests that during a certain period “[...] all vegetation became a container or personification of mermaids-“naviy” [...]” (Vinogradova, 2000, p. 191).

K. Kutelmakh’s hypothesis is of a special scientific interest, as it concerns directly the territory of Ukraine, first of all Polissia. A key role is played by the belief in mermaids, whom the scientist singled out from the category of “ancestors”, who died during the mermaid week or were born and later died or accidentally passed away or drowned during the same period. No less interesting are his following conclusions. In particular, the house was not decorated on Friday, when “ancestors” came (according to Polissia beliefs – the souls of all deceased relatives, regardless of their gender and age – *Author*) for a funeral dinner, in particular on Saturday, when “ancestors” “left”. Instead, according to the Polishchuks’ beliefs, when mermaids came with “ancestors”, mermaids stayed until the second Monday – the first day of Petrivka. Thus, houses were decorated not for all deceased ancestors but only for mermaids, whom people met only once a year, while “ancestors” were met several times. In fact, on the ninth day of mermaid season, houses were decorated (Kutel’makh, 2001, pp. 143–144).

One could agree with such a statement of an authoritative expert on Polissia mermaids, but for a few points that require a serious analysis and clarification. Firstly, we consider too categorical the statement of this researcher that the dead ancestors stay in their native house for such a short period – one night. The main argument of this thesis was the comparison of popular ideas of the Ukrainians about the arrival of deceased relatives on other calendar days of spring and winter cycle.

It is interesting that in some areas of Polissia, where the rite of “mermaid farewells” is unknown, Monday or Tuesday (following the Mermaid week) were also called “Farewells” (Vinogradova, 2000, p. 170). We emphasize this point especially because we believe that in this case “real ancestors” were given a farewell. Thus, K. Kutelmakh’s statement about the one-day stay of the souls of deceased ancestors in their native places during Pentecost holidays is not convincing enough. In our opinion, the “ancestors” left for “that world”, joined the majority together with the mermaids, i. e., only a week after the Trinity.

Obviously, the sources of the relevant ideas of the Ukrainians originate from funeral rites. In this regard, a well-known expert in this sphere F. Kolessa said: “It is generally believed that the soul “circles about the body, guards the body, generally remains at the body in the house until the funeral. When a dead body is taken to the grave, the “soul sits in the heads”, it must follow the body to the cemetery, and it then returns to the house and stays there or visits the house in 3, 9, 12 – up to 40 days” (Kolessa, 2001, p. 16).

Secondly, taking into consideration our assumption about the simultaneous stay of “ancestors” and mermaids during Pentecost holidays, we can doubt the assertion of K. Kutelmakh that houses were decorated only for mermaids. A detailed review of the field materials of Lviv ethnologist revealed an interesting evidence, to which the author paid little attention. In particular, the researcher recorded that the Polishchuks of Kyiv region “went to the forest, cut down birch trees, dug them and nailed them near windows. That was done for the mermaids to go for a walk”; “Around the house, I recollect, when we lived on the farm, so my father, how many windows there were in the house, so many birch trees he cut down. Such birch trees were young to be at the same level with the window. He cut them down and dug them: he punched a

hole and nailed. It is for mermaids to sway” (Kutel'makh, 2001, p. 190). Thus, as evidenced by the above-mentioned facts, there was a prevailing opinion among the Polishchuks, according to which, the klechalny custom was performed, primarily, in the yard, for mermaids because these demonic beings “sway”, “rest”, “sit” on it, visiting their relatives.

Thirdly, another important point requires a further clarification. The point is that the branches of young trees, with which the Polishchuks decorated the houses from the outside, were mostly burnt or thrown into the river. “On the second Sunday after the Trinity, the bonfire was made of birches and maples, which were used to decorate the houses on the Trinity – to burn the mermaid [...]”; “Those birches should be burnt on mermaid week. Mermaid was burnt” (Vinogradova, 2000, p. 188). By the way, fire and water were a kind of means of communication with the afterlife, or rather – the ways of transition (in this case – the mermaids) to “that world”. In addition, it is known that in pre-Christian times, fire was believed to a cleansing element. Therefore, the “demon” dead ones (which included mermaids) were not buried but burnt. That is, in ancient times the place of burial was not so important as compared to the method of burial. Sometimes the demonic characters could be “stretched” on the branches” (Kutel'makh, 2005, p. 473). Thus, one important question remains unclear: why did the Polishchuks decorate mainly the yard and not the interior of the house for mermaids? Finding it out, it should be mentioned about the local beliefs about the need to hang clothes for the period of the Trinity holidays near the house, as if intended for these mysterious creatures. It should be clarified that this custom concerned, primarily, those who allegedly had mermaids in the family.

We assume that the basis for solving the problem formulated by us are different ideas about the origin of mermaids – from not quite “ancestors” (“native” and “strangers”), to “indisputable” dead, among whom there stood out the category of dead children, especially born dead and unbaptized. It is interesting that the Ukrainians did not bury them as all the others “demon” dead (in fields, crossroads, swamps, etc.), but as the souls of ancestors – in the yard, at the front gate, under the threshold and corners of the house. In this context, it is worth focusing on killed adulterine children, who also belong to the “demon” dead, as they are all united by the motive of premature death. V. Hnatiuk recorded the interesting information about this category of children in Sniatyn region: “when an unmarried girl gives birth to a baby and kills a baby (drowns a baby, buries a baby) on the very afternoon a tree will be seen above the house roof [...]” (Hnatiuk, 1912, p. 323), which is not a coincidence. After all, it is known that in the funeral rites, a branch placed on the roof of the house was a sign of announcing death. In particular, in Hutsul region, if someone died, his entire estate was decorated with birch twigs or some herbs (Petrov, 1994, p. 248).

It is obvious that mermaids belonged to a separate category of the souls of the dead, whose status allowed them to be present on the decorated branches only, which were put outside the house. The only exceptions were dinners for “ancestors” / “diddy” and breakfast or lunch for “ancestors” / “baby”, when mermaids, along with other deceased ancestors, were at home having a common funeral meal. On other days of the Trinity week, these demonic characters were mostly in the rye field, in the woods, near the river and the cemetery, in the swamps (Vinogradova, 2000, p. 156), and if they found themselves in the house, it was quite by accident (Kutel'makh, 2001, pp. 101–102, 108–109, 125]. Sometimes mermaids came deliberately to do harm to people, who did not follow certain prohibitions.

Thus, the above-mentioned information illustrates clearly that for mermaids, the klechalny custom as a kind of invitation was set, primarily, outside the house. Decorating the living

room was, obviously, for the dead ancestors. Appropriate in this case is the statement of K. Kutelmakh that the tradition of keeping the klechalny greenery during the Trinity period still exists even in those villages where the ritual of mermaids' farewell was not observed (Kutel'makh, 2005, p. 476). To confirm the original content of the corresponding custom, even more significant are the individual recollections of the Polishchuks such as: "It is necessary on the Trinity to decorate the house in greenery, and near each window outside there was a tree... in that green tree souls of ancestors are hidden..." (Davydyuk, 2008, pp. 32, 35).

The Conclusions. In the research it has been proved that the Ukrainians set up ceremonial greenery primarily to invite deceased relatives to their homes on the eve of Pentecost holidays. After all, according to folk beliefs, all the major calendar holidays of the year should take place in the presence of deceased relatives, because the success of the living in work and family life depended on their support and help. A meticulous analysis of the factual material gives grounds to state that the klechalny custom is very ancient in origin, its sources date back to the historical period when there was no division of the dead into different categories. The absence of ancient ideas about demons in the Ukrainian worldview testifies to the vagueness of ideas about them, their predominant identification with the spirits of ancestors (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, phytomorphic, not personified), the completion of rites by the klechalny custom (greenery decoration for ancestors), not the destruction of "the evil". Only later, on the basis of the cult of the dead, ideas about "their" (parents) and various demonological characters were formed. Simultaneously, there was a differentiation regarding the use of greenery: inside the house – for "ancestors" / "diddy", outside – for mermaids. This fact, in turn, explains the differences in the ways of using the Trinity greenery at the end of Pentecost holidays.

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THE HISTORIOGRAPHIC SITUATION REGARDING OSTAFIY DASHKOVYCH'S COAT OF ARMS

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to carry out a historiographical and source analysis of scientific claims regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers, to consider the ways of spreading these statements and the impact of Polish historical science on the Ukrainian researchers, to analyze historical information directions. The methodology of the study is based on the principles of historicism, systematic, scientific, and interdisciplinary. The following general historical methods have been used: historiographical analysis, historically genetic and comparative. The Scientific novelty: for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography the article looks into the question of Ostafiy Dashkovych's coat of arms reality, with the historical science attributing it to his family, in detail; on the basis of the analysis of historical and historiographical sources; the article refutes the conventional ideas regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers, outlines the possibilities for finding new information; the opinion about this issue dependence of the Ukrainian historiography on the Polish has been expressed.*

The Conclusions. Based on the analysis of historical and historiographical sources, it can be argued that in the XVIIIth century the Polish heraldist Kasper Niesiecki created the scientific myth about Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" coat of arms bearers. In later scientific literature, because of the Dashkevych and the Dashkovych different families, there was a constant confusion with their belonging to the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers. The family of Ostafiy Dashkovych was assigned to each of them fairly automatically, without analyzing the sources and having a proper basis. As to this matter the Ukrainian historical science, in general, entirely relied on the results of the Polish historians' studies. At the same time, it should be noted that there are more valid reasons to consider the possibility of Ostafiy Dashkovych belonging to the "Mogiia" coat of arms bearers.

Key words: Ostafiy Dashkovych, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, coat of arms, heraldry, "Leliwa" coat of arms, "Korybut" coat of arms, "Mogiia" coat of arms.

ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНА СИТУАЦІЯ НАВКОЛО ГЕРБА ОСТАФІЯ ДАШКОВИЧА

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – здійснити історіографічний та джерельний аналіз наукових тверджень щодо належності пана Остафія Дашковича до гербів "Леліва" та "Корибут", розглянути шляхи поширення цих тверджень та впливу польської історичної науки на українських дослідників, проаналізувати історичну інформацію стосовно реальних підстав для здійснення пошуку в інших напрямках. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, міждисциплінарності. Використано такі загальноісторичні методи: історіографічний аналіз, історико-генетичний та порівняльний. **Наукова новизна:** вперше в українській історіографії детально розглядається питання щодо реальності герба пана Остафія Дашковича, який приписується його роду в історичній науці; на основі аналізу історичних та історіографічних джерел спростовуються загальноприйняті уявлення щодо належності пана Остафія Дашковича до гербу "Леліва" чи "Корибут" і окреслюються можливості пошуку нової інформації; висловлюється думка про залежність української історіографії від польської у зазначеному питанні. **Висновки.** На основі здійсненого аналізу історичних та історіографічних джерел можна стверджувати, що у XVIII ст. польським геральдистом Каспером Несецькі було створено науковий міф про належність пана Остафія Дашковича до гербу "Леліва". У подальшому в науковій літературі через наявність різних родів Дашковичів та Дашкевичів відбувалася постійна плутанина з їх належністю до гербів "Леліва" і "Корибут". Рід Остафія Дашковича причислювався до кожного з них достатньо автоматично, без аналізу джерел та наявності відповідної підстави. Українська історична наука у цьому питанні взагалі повністю покладалася на результати досліджень польських істориків. Водночас, слід зазначити, що є більш вагомі підстави розглядати можливість належності пана Остафія Дашковича до гербу "Могіла".

Ключові слова: Остафій Дашкович, Велике князівство Литовське, герб, геральдика, герб "Леліва", герб "Корибут", герб "Могіла".

The Problem Statement. The figure of Ostafiy Dashkovych (1455 – 1535), the head of Cherkasy and Kaniv in the government system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, is without exaggeration a legendary person for the Ukrainian society, described in many scientific and popular publications. His early XVIth century activity became the basis for many scientific ideas on the process of the Ukrainian Cossacks formation and the creation of the boundaries defensive system. At the same time, most of these publications fail in duplicating provisions that are either manifestly erroneous or unconfirmed. One of them concerns Mr Ostafiy's affiliation to the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Since the XVIIIth century the Polish and Ukrainian scholars have been mentioning Ostafiy Dashkovych's "Coat of Arms" in a number of their works. Among the researches of the Ukrainian scientists of the end of

the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries one should mention the publications of I. Yermieiev (1998), O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko (2008; 2009), V. Lastovskiy (2014). However, in none of these works this issue has been researched in detail.

The Purpose of the article is to find out the reality of historical grounds and the validity of scientific claims regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In the literature Ostafiy Dashkovych is known, primarily, as a military and political figure, whose activities were connected with organising military campaigns against the Moscow State and the Crimean Khanate, the defence of the Cherkasy Castle in 1532, with proposals for creating an effective system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania boundaries protection (Lastovskiy, 2014; Lastovskiy, 2020). At the same time, he is often unjustifiably credited with the status of the first Cossack Hetman.

A rather common axiom is the information about Ostafiy Dashkovych's coat of arms. It comes to the fact that Mr Ostafiy Dashkovych and his family belonged to the "Leliwa" coat of arms bearers. This information has virtually been unchanged in the directories on the emblems of the nobility. However, the situation with Ostafiy Dashkovych coat of arms affiliation is, in fact, very confusing and far from clear. Moreover, with the information analysed, it can be stated that, in fact, none of the scientists, who described the Ostafiy Dashkovych's emblem, had no documentary grounds for this. This situation in the Ukrainian historical science was facilitated by the lack of cooperation with the Polish scholars. It can be noted that only in recent years it has gained a real meaning, resulting in joint projects and researches (Morawiec, Lastovskiy, 2019).

Primarily, it is necessary to determine, what exactly can be taken for granted as accurate information regarding the belonging of a particular nobleman to a certain coat of arms? Firstly, it is anything with depicted armorial bearings that exactly belonged to the person concerned; secondly, any document with a fixed image; thirdly, the affirmation of belonging to a particular coat of arms of that person's descendants.

According to these criteria, it should be noted that in reality, there is no belief in Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with a clearly defined coat of arms: firstly, there is no evidence, depicting his coat of arms, been preserved, secondly, there are no documents with such an image have been passed to our time, thirdly, there are no records about him having descendants and family ties with other carriers of the same surname.

We will note three significant works and valid works on heraldry, which appeared in the Commonwealth during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, the era that Ostafiy Dashkovych himself was a part. These are the works, concerning not only the Polish families but also the Ukrainian and Belarusian ones, by Bartosz Paprocki (1543 – 1614), Szymon Okolski (1580 – 1653) and Albert Wijuk Kojaiowicz (1609 – 1677). The first one of them wrote "Herby rycerstwa polskiego" in 1584, the second one – "Orbis Polonus" in 1641, and the third one created "Herbarz rycerstwa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego" in 1650 and its edited version titled "Nomenclator" in 1658.

Only two of these scholars' writings mentioned Ostafiy Dashkovych. Bartosz Paprocki referred to him as "an" Eustachy, who founded Cherkasy (Paprocki, 1858, p. 221). In its turn, Albert Wijuk Kojaiowicz already had more information about Ostafiy Dashkovych. Albert first mentions him in the context of the Prince Yurii Slutsky's military activity (Olelkovych-Slutsky; in the text of the book – Kopylsky) (Kojałowicz, 1897, p. 15), and then he cites several facts from his biography (Kojałowicz, 1905, p. 121). None of these cases has ever

indicated Mr Ostafiy's affiliation with any emblem; or there was depicted his coat of arms. As for Szymon Okolski, he did not mention Ostafiy Dashkovych at all; moreover, there was not even any single notice of the Dashkovych or the Dashkevych families.

For the first time, the information about Ostafiy Dashkovych's coat of arms appeared only in the XVIIIth century. It was mentioned by the Polish priest Kasper Niesiecky (1682 – 1744) in volume 2 of his famous work "Korona Polska", published in Lviv in 1738. In particular, it was written about Ostafiy Dashkovych that "DASZKOWICZ herbu Leliwa, przydaia iedn6k do Leliwy Strzaik bez pior, 6 n6 heimie kiada trzy pior6 strusie wediug Koiai. Eustachi Daszkowicz fortunny przeciwko Tat6rom woioownik, atoli potym z Ukr6iny do Moskwy sik przeniosi, y lubo sik go Alex6nder Krol Polski, wediug umowionych z Moskwa p6ktow upominai, przeciki6 go nie oddano 1503" (Niesiecki, 1738, p. 17). It should be noted that it was the above mentioned Szymon Okolski to provide with an extremely detailed description of the "Leliwa" coat of arms and the families affiliated with it in 1641 (Okolski, 1641, pp. 61–102).

In 1796 Wojciech Wincenty Wiel6dko, a historian, poet and writer, also published the fourth volume of the "Heraldry" (1749 – 1822). This edition also literally repeated the Kasper Niesiecky's information regarding Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" coat of arms. Moreover, for the first time, the Polish heraldist also introduced information about the Dashkiewicz clan belonging to the "Korybut" coat of arms, indicating that K. Niesiecky did not write about them because he had no information (Wiel6dko, 1796, pp. 44–45). It is very important, as later heraldic researchers split their opinions on Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms bearers.

In 1838 K. Niesiecky's work was reprinted already containing an additional information from the Wojciech Wincenty Wiel6dko's "Heraldry" about a certain Leon Antoni Daszkiewicz (1763), recorded in the Vilnius Acts. Most likely, the usual confusion has occurred. In Belarus, the family names of Dashkovych or Dashkevych were very common. Their representatives resided in Novogrudok, Braslav and Grodno counties, and they belonged to the "Korybut" and "Leliwa" coats of arms bearers (Vyarovkin-Shelyuta, 1996, p. 213). But there is another possibility to be taken into account that K. Niesiecky may have used the information of a fraudster, who simply wanted to enjoy the Ostafiy Dashkovych's fame, and subsequent generations of scientists only followed this information and mistakenly supplemented it.

It should be noted here that Polish experts on the XVIIIth century heraldry did not take into account (however, they may not have known) that 1) Ostafiy Dashkovych had no descendants, 2) there was no direct evidence of his family ties with other Dashkovych or Dashkevych families.

Later on, the researchers of the heraldry, based on the works of K. Niesiecky and W. Wiel6dko, in one way or another attributed the Dashkovych or Dashkevych families to the "Korybut" and "Leliwa" coat of arms bearers. For example, in 1859 Aleksander Czoioowski indicated that both the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych families belonged to the "Leliwa" and "Korybut" coat of arms (Czoioowski, 1859, p. 90). Zbigniew Leszczyc did the same in 1908. He attributed both families' representatives to both coats of arms (Leszczyc, 1908, p. 185, 203). In his research, the German heraldist Emilian von Żernicki-Szeliga attributed the Dashkovych family to the "Leliwa" coat of arms and the Dashkevych family to the "Korybut" coat of arms (Żernicki-Szeliga, 1904, p. 44, 151). Moreover, these cases had nothing in common with the personalty of Ostafiy Dashkovych. By the way, the modern Polish expert on heraldry Tadeusz Gajl attributed the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych also to the "Sas", "Prawdzc" and other coat of arms (Gajl, 2003, p. 52).

The Polish lawyer and historian Adam Boniecki (1842 – 1909) the most detailly revealed the situation with the confusion in the “Leliwa” and “Korybut” coat of arms and their affiliation with the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych families. He noted that there remained the question unsolved whether both of these families had ever had “jeden dom”, they originated from. Separately, the researcher focused on Ostafiy Dashkovych’s personality, his family connections, and biography, not been able to directly identify or trace his affiliation with any emblem (Boniecki, 1901, p. 109).

The situation with Ostafiy Dashkovych’s belonging to a particular coat of arms was also not particularly investigated in the Ukrainian heraldic science. Therefore, it led to the usual borrowing and usage of information provided by the Polish scientists without any thorough analysis as well as critical treatment of sources, thus, giving rises to some far-fetched ideas. Therefore, in 1935, a Ukrainian military figure and diplomat of the Pavlo Skoropadskyi time, Volodyslav Dashkevych-Horbatskyi (1879 – 1952), considering Ostafiy Dashkovych to be his ancestor, published an article in which he stated that his kin affiliated itself with the “Korybut” coat of arms (Dashkevych-Horbatskyi, 1935, pp. 197–201). But in 1998, I. Yermieiev wrote that this affiliation was wrong and Volodyslav Dashkevych-Horbatskyi’s coat of arms, after all, was the “Leliwa” (Yermieiev, 1998, pp. 7–8). Then, in 2008, there appeared another book by O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko. It contains the information about O. Dashkovych’s seal, with its image belonging to the same coat of arms. O. Odnorozhenko published the same information in his dissertation in 2009 (Odnorozhenko, 2009, p. 283). And only in 2014 it was stated that there were no documents, no evidence dated the beginning of the XVIth century (and later) containing records supporting the O. Dashkovych and his family bearing a particular coat of arms (Lastovskyi, 2014, pp. 244–247).

The book by O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko, dedicated to the personal seals of the XVth – XVIIth centuries, contains a description of the Ostafiy Dashkovych’s seal drawing, which should be discussed separately. The authors write that the seal depicts a Spanish shield with an arrow pointing upwards with a six-pointed star at the end and above the crescent moon, lying upwards; there is a helmet above the shield and five ostrich feathers at the crest; the very shield is surrounded with a tent (Alforov & Odnorozhenko, 2008, p. 44). According to the document, dated 1527 and stored in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (f. 220, d. 1, c. 662, p. 1), the seal is round, its diameter is 28 mm, as well the document contains the information about its location.

It would seem that this publication by O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko puts a final point on the issue of O. Dashkovych’s coat of arms. After all, the published text provides us with a very clear description of the “Leliwa” coat of arms. However, in fact, this publication is at least astonishing. The problem is that the researchers saw, described, and published what they really were not able to see and to describe. Back in 1974, L. Histsova and N. Faustova published a paper, which briefly described the document that once featured the Ostafiy Dashkovych’s seal. In particular, it stated the language to be Ukrainian, the text to be defective; it contained a seal’s print (Histsova & Faustova, 1974, p. 56). Since then, of course, the situation with the document has not changed: the seal on it has not appeared (checked *de visu*). No other documents with the appropriate seal appeared. Thus, we may consider the publication of O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko to be at least a simple desire of something to become real. The same we should take the O. Odnorozhenko’s words about “seeing the sign” in his dissertation research in 2009. Perhaps, these words would make sense if O. Alforov and O. Odnorozhenko were able to explain the methodology by which they discovered and saw a sign where it contained only a “print mark”.

It can be noted, that these researchers' formal description of the seal is quite standard as for the description of the "Leliwa" coat of arms and practically does not differ from other descriptions. For example, Aleksander Czojowski provides us with an analogous text: "W polu błękitnem tarczy jest księżyc jak na nowiu niepełny do gory rogami obrocony, we środku jego gwiazda o sześciu granach, a na hełmie w koronie pawii ogon, w którym takież sam księżyc z gwiazdą, jak na tarczy" (Czojowski, 1859, p. 90). It means that the actual description of the missing seal was actually done based on the emblem's existing standard description. For comparison, the same standard description of the "Leliwa" emblem can be found in A. Kobylianskyi and Ye. Chernetsky's Reference Book: ... in a blue field there is a golden crescent with horns upwards and a golden six-beam star above (Kobylianskyi & Chernetskyi, 2014, p. 82).

In fact, everything described above indicates that, having thoroughly investigated the issue, we may in no way claim that Eustachy Daszkiewicz belonged either to the "Leliwa" or the "Korybut" coat of arms bearers. The main problem for all the researchers was that 1) they too trusted the information about Ostafiy Dashkovych's affiliation with a particular coat of arms and did not check it, 2) they tried to artificially tie this figure to one of those families who were known for their belonging to one of the coat of arms. In the latter case, there was not raised any question about the Ostafiy Dashkovych's possible affiliation with another kin, unrelated to the already known Dashkovych or Dashkevych families. Despite the fact that all the existing information given in the sources supports that idea. No wonder that some historians rightly associated Mr Ostafiy's family rather with the Kyivan lands, with almost all of its property been located, than the lands of modern Belarus.

Accordingly, there arises a question whether it is still possible to determine the coat of arms, Ostafiy Dashkovych could belong to. Probably the unambiguous answer to this question is not yet possible. However, we can point out two facts that directly relating to O. Dashkovych, with the coat of arms image appearing.

Fact 1. After his death (probably in 1535), Ostafiy Dashkovych was buried in Kyiv Pechersk Monastery. His tombstone contained an image correlating with an earlier version of the "Mogiiia" coat of arms. Information about this tombstone and the image on it was first published in 1976 (Kholostenko, 1976, pp. 131–165). The only problem remained was that after that the tombstone disappeared thus leaving many questions concerning its identification and the texts' reading, since it itself was apparently a gravestone over the double burial.

Fact 2. The Cherkasy Castle List, dated 1552, noted that it was armed with two bronze guns, both been equal and the same shape, each 8 span lengthwise, with a bullet size been of a chicken egg. The date "1532" and the coat of arms are written in Latin on them (Kushtan & Lastovskiyi, 2016, p. 248). The text was followed by the image identical to the tombstone from Kyiv Pechersk Monastery. In this case, the emergence of these guns can be attributed to the city of Cherkasy defence against the army of the Crimean Khan Saadet-Geray in 1532. This very defence was headed by the then head of Cherkasy Ostafiy Dashkovych (Lastovskiyi, 1999, pp. 76–96).

It should be noted that both of these facts themselves do not, however, indicate that Ostafiy Dashkovych could have belonged to the "Mogiiia" coat of arms bearers. However, of all the historical sources, these ones are to a certain degree related to his name.

The "Mogiiia" coat of arms was the most common one depicting three crosses (right, top and left) around the rectangle, symbolizing the burial site. A more rare variant is the "Mogiiia" coat of arms with two crosses (exactly in the version that we can see in the Cherkasy Castle List in 1552 and on the Ostafiy Dashkovich's tombstone). Such a coat of arms, in particular, was owned by the Bykhov family in Minsk Province (Kojaiowicz, 1897, p. 169; Gajl, 2003, p. 243).

The Conclusions. Thus, it can be argued that the myth of Ostafiy Dashkovych belonging to the “Leliwa” coat of arms was created directly by the Polish heraldist Kasper Niesiecky. Later in the scientific literature, due to the presence of different families of the Dashkovych and the Dashkevych, there was a constant confusion with their belonging either to the “Leliwa” or the the “Korybut” coat of arms bearers. Accordingly, without accurate historical information about Ostafiy Dashkovych affiliation with one of them, the researchers ascribed him one or the other emblem. However, there are no documentary sources testifying this possibility. At the same time, it should be noted that there are also grounds to consider the Ostafiy Dashkovych's possible affiliation with the “Mogiia” coat of arms bearers.

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**FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN DNIEPER
UKRAINE IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 18th – EARLY 20th CENTURY
IN MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to attempt a historiographical analysis and systematization of scientific research of modern Ukrainian researchers on the history of creation and operation of financial institutions of the Russian Empire in Dnieper Ukraine in the last quarter of the 18th – early 20th centuries, to find out the state of research of the problem and to determine the prospects of further scientific research. **The methodology** is based on the principles of historicism and objectivity, along with the integrated use of general scientific methods – analysis, synthesis, abstraction; historiographical – concrete-historiographical analysis and synthesis; and historical – comparative-historical, typological and chronological methods. **The scientific novelty** is due to the lack of special historiographical works on the problem within the specified chronological limits. The article for the first time systematizes and generalizes the scientific achievements of modern domestic scholars on the study of the history and activities of financial institutions of the Russian Empire in the Ukrainian lands in the last quarter of

the 18th – early 20th century. **The Conclusions** Thus, the research degree analysis of the history of the Russian autocracy's financial bodies in Dnieper Ukraine in modern Ukrainian science showed the lack of generalizing work on this issue. At the same time, the modern historiography accumulated a lot of research on the history of the creation, evolution and activities of imperial financial institutions in Ukraine. The analysis of modern scientific achievements allows us to assert the formation of scientific schools on the history of economic and financial policy – Kyiv Historical School of the Corresponding Member of the NAS of Ukraine O. Reient; Kharkiv Historical and Legal School of prof. O. Holovko; Kropyvnytskyi School of Economic History of prof. V. Orlyk.

Among the promising aspects of the problem for further research, in our opinion, there are: the daily life of local financial officials, their participation and role in social and cultural processes in Ukraine, relations between society and financial institutions, study of history and activities of financial authorities in the context of institutions, the use of the anthropological approach to the study of bureaucracy by the scientists.

Key words: historiography, financial policy, financial institutions, Russian Empire, Dnieper Ukraine.

ФІНАНСОВІ УСТАНОВИ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ У НАДДНІПРЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ В ОСТАННІЙ ЧВЕРТІ XVIII – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ. У СУЧАСНОМУ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у спробі здійснити історіографічний аналіз і систематизацію наукового доробку сучасних українських дослідників з історії створення та діяльності фінансових установ Російської імперії в Наддніпрянській Україні в останній чверті XVIII – на початку XX ст., з'ясувати стан дослідженості проблеми та визначити перспективи подальших наукових пошуків. **Методологія** ґрунтується на принципах історизму та об'єктивності поряд із комплексним використанням загальнонаукових методів – аналізу, синтезу, абстрагування; історіографічних – конкретно-історіографічного аналізу й синтезу та історичних – порівняльно-історичного, типологічного, хронологічного. **Наукова новизна** зумовлена відсутністю спеціальних історіографічних праць з порушеної проблеми у вказаних хронологічних межах. У статті вперше систематизовано й узагальнено науковий доробок сучасних вітчизняних науковців щодо дослідження історії та діяльності фінансових установ Російської імперії на українських землях в останній чверті XVIII – на початку XX. **Висновки.** Отже, аналіз ступеня дослідженості історії фінансових органів російського самодержавства в Наддніпрянській Україні в сучасній українській науці засвідчив відсутність узагальнювальної праці з цієї проблеми. Водночас в сучасній історіографії накопичено немало досліджень з історії створення, еволюції та діяльності імперських фінансових установ на українських теренах. Аналіз сучасного наукового доробку дає підстави стверджувати про формування наукових шкіл з історії економічної та фінансової політики – Київської історичної школи члена-кореспондента НАН України О. Реєнта, Харківської історико-правової школи проф. О. Головка і Кропивницької школи економічної історії проф. В. Орлика. Серед перспективних для подальшого дослідження аспектів проблеми, на нашу думку, такі: повсякдення чиновників місцевих фінансових органів, їхня участь та роль у суспільних і культурних процесах в Україні, взаємини суспільства та фінансових інституцій, дослідження історії й діяльності фінансових органів у контексті розгляду всієї системи губернських інституцій, використання ученими антропологічного підходу стосовно дослідження чиновництва.

Ключові слова: історіографія, фінансова політика, фінансові установи, Російська імперія, Наддніпрянська Україна.

The Problem Statement. Among the wide range of problems developed by modern Ukrainian historical science, a considerable place is occupied by research on the history of Ukraine in the imperial era. Comprehension of the history of Russian tsarist politics in Dnieper Ukraine is one of the directions of such scientific studies. An important component of this imperial policy was financial one, because Ukrainian finance was incorporated into the Russian financial system in the second half of the 18th century (Orlyk V. Orlyk S., 2019a, pp. 5–27). In recent decades, a whole body of works appeared, which deals with various issues in the history

of financial policy in Ukraine, including the period of the imperial era. One of the scientific problems addressed not only by historians but also by specialists in other fields of knowledge, in particular, lawyers and economists, is the formation and operation of financial institutions of the Russian Empire in the Ukrainian lands in the last quarter of the 18th – early 20th century.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. There was not created a purely historiographical complex work in which the modern scientific achievements on the history of local financial bodies, their role and place in economic and social development were analyzed. However, it should be noted that in a number of works the subject of the study is the historiographical analysis of publications, which directly or indirectly consider the history and activities of individual imperial local financial institutions of different time limits in the Dnieper region.

Perhaps the first special historiographical work published in 2004 was the article by Ukrainian historian V. Orlyk *Problems of the history of tax policy of the Russian Empire in the Ukrainian countryside of the late 18th – early 20th centuries in “agrarian” historiography* (Orlyk, 2004, pp. 224–239). In the next two years, the scholar published two more articles on the historiography of the tax authorities of the Russian Empire in Ukraine (Orlyk, 2005, pp. 190–199) and the historiography of the financial policy of the Russian Empire in the Ukrainian provinces in the 19th century (Orlyk, 2006, pp. 85–95). The first of them directly relates to the topic of our research. V. Orlyk analyzed the publications of authors of the predominantly imperial era, emphasizing that “the historiographical array covers mostly the scientific heritage of contemporaries of that era: theoreticians and practitioners of the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Empire, in which prevails formal and legal coverage of the topic quite characteristic of the studies of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century” (Orlyk, 2005, p. 196). Among the works of modern authors, the scientist analyzed a thorough monograph by V. Zhvaliuk, positively evaluating it and at the same time pointing to insufficient historiographical analysis of the researched problem and non-use of works of Ukrainian and Russian scientists published in the late 90’s of the 20th century, in particular the monograph of V. Shandra (Orlyk, 2005, p. 194).

A review of the literature on the spread and evolution of imperial power institutions in the Right Bank of Ukraine was carried out by M. Barmak (Barmak, 2007, pp. 185–193). Analysis of scientific publications over a period of more than two centuries allowed the scientist to conclude that the subject of research of jurists, historians and political scientists were the legal framework for the formation and operation of the autocratic apparatus, its structure, specifics and tools for implementing Russian policy on the ground, a developed methodology for studying government agencies and bureaucracy (Barmak, 2007, p. 190). The author noted that the study of local government was dominated by two approaches: the first approach – the study of local government structures, the second one – the consideration of bureaucracy and the definition of its socio-cultural characteristics (Barmak, 2007, p. 185).

L. Hodunova considered the modern historiography of the formation and functioning of the institute of tax inspectors as an important component of imperial financial bodies in the Dnieper region in the late 19th – early 20th centuries, emphasizing that there were no special historiographical studies on that problem in Ukrainian historical science (Hodunova, 2014, pp. 182–188). The researcher noted that although the problem was the subject of research, it needed further study, “especially on the problems of socialization of taxpayers, their political preferences, ethnicity, and especially the activities of Russian fiscal institutions in Ukraine during the First World War” (Hodunova, 2014, p. 185).

A. Istomina analyzed historiographical studies on the problems of conducting financial policy by the Russian autocracy in Ukraine in the post-reform period (Istomina, 2019, pp. 69–83). The scientific works of those modern scientists who made the greatest contribution to the study of financial policy – A. Berestovyi, L. Hodunova, V. Zhvaliuk, V. Zhelizniak, O. Morozov, V. Orlyk, S. Orlyk and others were the object of historiographical analysis of the researcher. Positive, in our opinion, is that A. Istomina not only comprehensively analyzed historiographical works, pointing out certain inconsistencies in some publications, but also clarified a number of current issues of financial policy, which were waiting for further research (Istomina, 2019, p. 75). The next step in the study of imperial financial policy in Ukraine in historiography was the preparation and defense of A. Istomina's PhD thesis (Istomina, 2020, p. 22). Having chosen the main trends, content and features of scientific understanding of the problem of financial policy of the Russian Empire in Ukraine in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries, the scholar paid some attention to research in modern Ukrainian science of local financial institutions. Working on a set of historiographical sources concerning the history and activities of local imperial financial bodies, primarily tax and customs ones, allowed the researcher to conclude that there was no generalized fundamental work on that issue in Ukraine that day (Istomina, 2020, p. 15).

Imperial historiography of financial activity of city self-government institutions of the South of Ukraine in the pre-reform period was analyzed by O. Bondarenko, noting that the activity of city public administration in the financial and economic sphere was insufficiently covered (Bondarenko, 2010, p. 81).

A set of sources on the financial policy of the tsar and the history and activities of state chambers in the Ukrainian lands was analyzed by O. Shportun (Shportun, 2019, pp. 198–207; Shportun, 2018, pp. 71–77). In them, the author considered scientific works, which considered certain aspects of the activities of state chambers, as key bodies of financial management of the Russian Empire in Ukraine.

The Purpose of the Article. Based on the analysis of publications of modern domestic scientists concerning the history of formation and activity of Russian financial institutions in Dnieper Ukraine during the last quarter of the 18th – early 20th centuries, to determine the study degree of the problem, to identify little-studied aspects and directions of further research.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The whole array of scientific works devoted to the study of local financial institutions of the tsar in the Ukrainian provinces in the last quarter of the 18th – early 20th century, it is advisable, in our opinion, to divide into the following groups: 1) historical research on the introduction of the administrative, in particular the financial state apparatus of the tsardom in the Dnieper region; 2) scientific works, which examine the history of creation and operation of financial bodies, especially treasury chambers and treasuries, financial control bodies, customs institutions, urban and rural self-government institutions, on which the state directly entrusted financial functions.

The problems of the first group of works concern historical and historical-legal researches on introduction of administrative, in particular financial institutions of the Russian autocracy on the Ukrainian lands. Modern domestic scholars repeatedly addressed this problem, considering the history of the formation, functioning, evolution, powers of imperial local government institutions. Among the authors, whose works directly or indirectly consider the problems of distribution of administrative and financial bodies in Dnieper Ukraine in the last quarter of the 18th – early 20th centuries, we single out M. Barmak, O. Holovko, V. Hrytsak, V. Hrukach, I. Savchenko, V. Shandra, etc.

V. Hrytsak was one of the first to raise this issue, analyzing the relationship between Kharkiv governors and local authorities of Russian central institutions – the State Chamber, the Chamber of State Property, the Chamber of State Control, the Excise Administration, the bodies of city and zemstvo self-government during the second half of the 19th century (Hrytsak, 1999, 21 p.). The author concluded that because the treasury was subordinate to the Senate and the Ministry of Finance, relations with the governor were limited to the annual submission by the chairman of the treasury of information on unresolved cases. In addition, in the matter of tax collection and collection of arrears, the legislation did not provide for control or concerted actions of the State Chamber with the governor (Hrytsak, 1999, p. 14).

V. Shandra made a significant contribution to the study of Russian administrative institutions on Ukrainian lands. In 2005, her thorough monograph *Governor-General in Ukraine: 19th – early 20th century* was published (Shandra, 2005, 427 p.). In this and other publications (Shandra, 1998, 75 p.; 2001, 355 p.; 2009, 544 p.), the author considered the powers of governors-general, clarified their role in integrating the Right Bank of Ukraine into the empire, highlighted the powers of local government institutions to implement management, supervision and control of the annexed lands. Analyzing the structure and functions of local government bodies, the researcher emphasizes that their activities were carried out under the strict control of the central government and were obliged to perform tasks: tax collection, conscription and justice (Shandra, 2009, p. 281). In addition, the functions of local government included the management of industries that were subordinated to the ministries, primarily – financial, excise, accounting and control ones (Shandra, 2009, pp. 296–297, 298). However, the author did not separately study the powers and activities of local financial institutions.

Considering the place and powers of the governor in the system of state local government of Volyn province in the late 18th – early 20th centuries, and in particular public finances, V. Zhelizniak noted that “the only institution over which the governor had no influence was the Chamber of Control”, which was subject to state control (Zhelizniak, 2013, p. 14). This statement contradicts the position of other authors, who emphasize the independence from the governor and the state chambers, which were directly subordinated to the Ministry of Finance.

The second group includes scientific works, the authors of which chose the history of the imperial local financial institutions in Dnieper Ukraine as the object of research. It is noteworthy that in modern domestic historiography, the first works on the study of financial institutions belong to researchers-lawyers. It should be noted, however, that their works were usually based on an analysis of legal acts and a limited range of archival documents.

V. Zhvaliuk, a representative of Kharkiv Historical and Legal Scientific School, was perhaps the first to address the study of local tax authorities, conducting an analytical and generalizing review of their various activities (Zhvaliuk, 2000, 20 p.). His monograph, prepared on the basis of a dissertation, became the first special work in domestic historiography devoted to this issue (Zhvaliuk, 2001, p. 176). The author considered the functions of state chambers and the powers and activities of tax inspectors, pointing to the “vagueness and “comprehensiveness” of the competence of state chambers” in the pre-reform period (Zhvaliuk, 2001, p. 95). In addition, the researcher analyzed the organizational structure, staffing, financial support of heads and officials of state chambers and tax inspectors with assistants, paying attention to the educational selection criteria and professional training of employees. Despite the positive assessment of V. Zhvaliuk’s contribution to the study of local tax authorities, we agree with L. Hodunova, who notes that not all statements of the author

are perceived as indisputable, although they are based on deep knowledge of the subject and supported by relevant factual material (Hodunova, 2014, p. 183). In addition, the scientist's assessment of the tax collectors of that time as ascetics and as an example of "representatives of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia to serve their people" (Zhvaliuk, 2001, p. 101) was not confirmed in later studies.

Another representative of Kharkiv School of History and Law, O. Holovko, traced the history of local financial institutions in the Dnieper region (Holovko, 2003, pp. 218–224; 2005, 449 p.; 2005, pp. 286–293; 2006, 40 p.). The scientist analyzed the functions and competence of state chambers, county treasuries, chambers of state property, tax inspectors, etc. The treasury chambers, in his opinion, "were a real center of the entire local financial administration". The author emphasized the lack of a system of local special financial control bodies, emphasizing that "in fact, the state chambers checked themselves" (Holovko, 2003, p. 220). In our opinion, O. Holovko rightly noted that the apparatus of imperial public finance management used Ukrainian lands as a "testing ground" for innovations in the structure and regulation of public finance management bodies (Holovko, 2006, pp. 29–32).

A significant milestone in the domestic historiography of the problem was the publication of a fundamental monograph by V. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2007, 631 p.), which is characterized by the depth of analysis of the financial system of the Russian autocracy, introduced in Dnieper Ukraine. The researcher studied the fiscal component of the incorporation processes of the tsar, characterized the subjects and objects of imperial tax policy, comprehensively analyzed the principles and legal framework of taxation of the Ukrainian population, differentiated taxes by religion and ethnicity. The researcher was the first in Ukrainian historical science to trace in detail the structure and powers of local financial institutions – treasury chambers, county treasuries, chambers of state property and other fiscal institutions. V. Orlyk drew attention to an important feature of imperial public administration. According to the researcher, it was manifested in the absence of a clearly defined competence of the vast majority of institutions, which were usually responsible for various management issues, sometimes not even related to each other. (Orlyk, 2003, p. 67).

The scientific direction of studying the activities of the State Chambers was continued by other researchers. Thus, in particular, B. Shevchuk considered the powers, structure, staff of Volyn State Chamber, its activities in relation to the implementation of the tsarist policy in the field of fiscal policy (Shevchuk, 2018, 270 p.). And O. Shportun, V. Orlyk's student, conducts a comprehensive study of the activities of this power institution on the Ukrainian lands (Shportun, 2020, pp. 187–197).

A number of researchers drew attention to the financial powers of zemstvo, city and village government institutions. Thus, in particular, in one of her articles, S. Orlyk traced the implementation of the fiscal policy of the Russian autocracy by the zemstvo self-governing institutions of the Ukrainian provinces (Orlyk, 2012, pp. 5–13). N. Petrovska, considering the legal basis and activities of peasant self-government bodies on the lands of the Left Bank of Ukraine in the post-reform period, stressed that they, among other things, performed economic and financial functions, including tax collection and providing measures to eliminate existing debts, fundraising and distribution on worldly expenses (Petrovska, 2009, 21 p.). According to the researcher, the legal framework of peasant public self-government bodies did not fully meet the needs of rural residents, which was manifested, firstly, in the entrustment of public self-government functions of public administration, which did not meet self-governing principles, and secondly, the current imperial legislation competencies of central and local governments in the field of control over rural self-government bodies (Petrovska, 2009, pp. 16.). The tax policy

of the Russian autocracy in the Ukrainian countryside in the post-reform period was studied by A. Berestovyi (Berestovyi, 2011, p. 20; 2012, pp. 93–97). The author emphasizes that tax inspectors, having a wide range of responsibilities, primarily monitored the collection of direct taxes and supervised the public and state bodies that were directly involved in their collection. Tax inspectors were obliged to report all violations to the state chambers.

The customs authorities were an important component of Russian financial institutions on the Ukrainian lands. According to O. Morozov, the scientific literature on the history of the creation and operation of customs authorities in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire is presented quite modestly, in contrast to the historiography of customs and trade policy. Recently, according to the scholar, a new vector is being formed in the study of the history of customs and politics in Ukraine – the preparation of historical and historical-journalistic essays on the history of individual Ukrainian customs (Morozov, 2012, p. 33; 2009, pp. 11–17).

An article by Yu. Holovko is devoted to the history of organizational and legal formation of imperial customs in the Dnieper region (Holovko, 2007, pp. 38–44).

A thorough study of the financial policy of the tsar in the occupied territories of Galicia and Bukovina during the First World War was carried out by S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2018, 806 p.; 2018, 716 p.). The scholar considered the powers of the occupying power to implement the financial policy of the Russian tsar and the creation of financial authorities in Western Ukraine (Orlyk S., Orlyk V., 2019b, pp. 85–93).

The Conclusions. Thus, the analysis of the state of the history study of the Russian Empire financial institutions in Dnieper Ukraine in the last quarter of the 18th – early 20th centuries in modern domestic science testified to the lack of generalizing work on the problem. At the same time, we can say that modern historiography accumulated a lot of research on various aspects of the history of formation, evolution and activities of imperial local authorities in Ukraine, especially the state chambers, tax inspection, county treasuries. In addition, the analysis of modern historiography allows us to conclude on the formation of scientific schools on the history of financial policy. It is possible to state with full confidence the fact of existence of Kyiv Historical School of the Corresponding Member of the NAS of Ukraine O. Reient, Kharkiv Historical and Legal School of prof. O. Holovko and Kropyvnytskyi School of Economic History of prof. V. Orlyk.

The peculiarity of research on the history of formation and operation of financial institutions is that modern scholars, especially representatives of historical and legal science, usually give priority to the study of their organizational structure and competencies. It is necessary to emphasize another characteristic feature of modern historiography on the problem – exaggerated attention to the accumulation of historical facts instead of their theoretical generalization and understanding of the trends of the processes being studied. Among the least developed issues in Ukrainian historiography, therefore, in our opinion, promising for further study there are: the daily life of officials of financial institutions, their role in social and cultural processes in the Dnieper region, the history and activity of financial institutions in the context of studying the whole system of provincial state institutions, use of anthropological approach by scholars to study the bureaucracy of financial institutions, the relationship between society and financial institutions.

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**CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATION DURING THE UKRAINIAN
REVOLUTION OF 1914 – 1923: MAIN DIRECTIONS
OF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to analyze the place and role of the national unification movement during the Ukrainian revolution of 1914 – 1923, to elucidate the origins of this process and the influence of party-political, the state-building factors on it. The methodology of the research is based on the objective critical analysis of the historiographical complex, the elucidation of factors influencing the vision formation of the studied historical processes, a comparative historical identification of ideological differences assessments, typology of different blocks of scientific works according to logical characteristics. The Scientific novelty of the research consists in proving in modern state historiography the dominance of the state paradigm in the unification processes coverage, which was created by direct participants of the events, highlighting the key trends in the approaches of the authors of the so-called “Pro-*

UNR” and “Pro-ZUNR” currents to understanding the origins, goals and role of the Dnieper Ukraine and Western Ukrainian political and state elites, respectively, in the national consolidation process. **The Conclusions.** The analysis of the Ukrainian historiography has shown that most authors, describing the problem of conciliarity/ unification during the first stage of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914 – 1923, usually focus on the cultural and educational processes of a national nature combined with support for the first military national formation – the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. It has been proved that the conciliar and consolidation-state processes of the period March of 1917 – April of 1918 were covered in the form of gaining a territorial unity and initiating a national-state dialogue with Western Ukraine. At the same time, we believe that the conciliar processes during the period of the Hetmanate have not yet become the subject of special studies in the national historiography. What concerns the very year of 1918, the central place is occupied by the relations between the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR) and the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (ZUNR), and the core problem remains the Act of Unification. The national historiography identifies as one of the main obstacles to the state consolidation, the conciliar processes different in content vectors of the state-building in the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (ZUNR) and the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR). It has been stated that the national historiography, although rather slow, still overcomes another research stereotype about a separate international policy of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (ZUNR) or the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR).

Key words: national unification process, conciliarity/unification, military revolutionary era, Ukrainian revolution, consolidation of the nation, statehood, republic.

КОНСОЛІДАЦІЯ НАЦІЇ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ 1914 – 1923 рр.: ОСНОВНІ НАПРЯМИ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНОГО ДИСКУРСУ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає в аналізі місця і ролі національного об’єднавчого руху в Українській революції 1914 – 1923 рр., з’ясуванні витоків цього процесу та впливу на нього партійно-політичних, державотвірних чинників. **Методологія** ґрунтується на об’єктивно-критичному аналізі історіографічного комплексу, з’ясуванні чинників впливу на формування бачення досліджуваних історичних процесів, порівняльно-історичному виявленні ідеологічних розбіжностей оцінок, типологізації різних блоків наукових праць за логічними ознаками. **Наукова новизна** визначається доведенням домінування у сучасній національній історіографії державницької парадигми у висвітленні об’єднавчих процесів, яка була створена ще безпосередніми учасниками подій, виокремленні ключових тенденцій підходів авторів так званих “проунрівської” і “прозунрівської” течій до розуміння витоків, цілей, і ролі відповідно наддніпрянської та західноукраїнської політичних і державницьких еліт у процесі національної консолідації. **Висновки.** Аналіз української історіографії засвідчив, що більшість авторів, описуючи проблему соборництва впродовж першого етапу Української революції 1914 – 1923 рр. зосереджуються, як правило, на культурно-освітніх процесах загальнонаціонального характеру у поєднанні з підтримкою першої військової національної формації – Українських січових стрільців. Доведено, що соборницькі й консолідаційно-державницькі процеси періоду березня 1917 – квітня 1918 рр. знайшли висвітлення у формі здобуття територіальної єдності та започаткування національно-державницького діалогу із західноукраїнськими теренами. При цьому соборницькі процеси в добу Гетьманату, вважасмо, ще не стали предметом спеціальних досліджень національної історіографії. Стосовно 1918 р. центральне місце займають взаємини між Директорією УНР та ЗУНР, а стрижневою проблемою залишається сам Акт Злуки. Національна історіографія виокремлює як одну з головних перешкод на шляху консолідаційно-державницьких, соборницьких процесів різні за змістом вектори становлення державного будівництва в ЗУНР та УНР. Констатовано, що національна історіографія хоч і досить повільно, та все ж долає ще один дослідницький стереотип щодо окремишньої міжнародної політики ЗУНР чи УНР.

Ключові слова: національно-об’єднавчий процес, соборність, воєнно-революційна доба, Українська революція, консолідація нації, державність, республіка.

The Problem Statement. During the period of the centenary of the Ukrainian Revolution at the beginning of the XXth century, one of the most significant and important topics is

the problem of the consolidation of the nation. In the Ukrainian historiography, there is a tradition to understand this process under the term “conciliarism”¹.

The conciliar idea of the period of the Ukrainian Revolution is quite naturally and justifiably found in the national historiographical field. At the same time, the most distinctive, specific feature of the historiographical analysis of the conciliar movement during the Ukrainian Revolution is the need to study the process of its practical implementation, the first attempts of which took place at that time. **The purpose** of this article is to clarify the development of the national historiography concerning the directions and vectors assessment of the practical implementation of the Ukrainian lands unification and the national state formations during the Revolution of 1914 – 1923.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The problem of the national consolidation during World War I and at the beginning of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914 – 1923 became the subject of consideration already during the events by its direct participants. Thus, the head and one of the founders of the Chief Ukrainian Council (CUC), and later – the General Ukrainian Council (GUC), Kost Levytsky emphasized that the unification of the Ukrainians was the problem, which should have been resolved during the Great War. Therefore, taking the side of the countries of the Triple Alliance, the Galician Ukrainians “formulated ... the main claim: the liberation of great (the Dnieper) Ukraine from the Russian (tsarist) yoke, and they reasoned that when Great Ukraine became an independent state, the Galician land would soon join it” (Levytskyi, 1928, pp. 10–11). In his famous work, the author emphasized that it was with the aim of gaining a single independent state and the question was raised about the creation of the

¹ Currently, there is a rather paradoxical situation when the term *unity* (Ukrainian: *sobornist*) is used by scientists, public, political, statesmen; its established and generally accepted interpretation has not been introduced in scientific circles. In particular, *Dictionary of the Ukrainian language in 11 volumes* (edited by I. Bilodid, vol. 9, p. 433) explains unity, referring to the meaning of *united*: “UNITY, *fem., obs.* is a property with the meaning **united** 3”. **The third property of the term *united* means “joined”, “indivisible”.** The most modern *Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine* does not explain this term either in the 9th or in the 3rd volume, where there should probably be an interpretation of such a phenomenon as a *Union (Zluka)*. We do not find an explanation of the term *unity* both in the 8th volume of the *Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies* (dictionary part) and in its general part. In the latter, however, there are considerations about the path chosen by the authorities to implement unity during the Ukrainian revolution of 1914 – 1923 (p. 531). There is an explanation of the term *unity* in the *Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary*, but in the understanding of Orthodox Christian unity and the way of mental existence, worldview (p. 591). Without claiming the final filling of a clearly obsolete gap, we consider it possible to offer our own vision. The concept of *unity* is borrowed from religious vocabulary, and it was first used in a purely political sense. The initial stage of the idea genesis of unity is associated with feudal fragmentation, foreign domination, lack of religious unity. It appeared in various interpretations during the Ukrainian national liberation revolution of 1648 – 1654, the liquidation of the Hetmanate, and in the conceptions of the figures of the Russian Trinity and the Cyril and Methodius Society. *The Statute of the Slavic Society of St. Cyril and Methodius* and also *The Book of the Existence of the Ukrainian people are the program documents of the latter organization which are permeated with the ideas of “tribal and religious unity”, Ukrainian messianism. The statelessness of the 19th century contributed to the revival in socio-political thought of the idea of unity, calls for the struggle for the unity of ethnic Ukrainian lands, and the culture of their people and church. This period is marked by fundamental changes in ethno-political processes. The formation and consolidation of the Ukrainian nation (as the highest form of ethnic development) took place. A necessary condition for this process is believed to be a commonality of the territory, language, economy, culture, and national consciousness. It was the first component that was absent due to the fact that the border along the Zbruch River divided the Ukrainian community into two parts with all the consequences. Socio-political and ethno-social processes of the 19th century gradually prepared the ground for the perception of the “Ukrainian idea” by an increasing part of the population of Ukrainian lands divided by borders; they convinced people of the need to fight together for their social, national and political rights. The growth of economic contradictions and social tensions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mass demonstrations by peasants and workers, and the opposition movement of intellectuals accelerated the formation of national political parties and organizations. Their program provisions (albeit to varying degrees) reflected the desire of Ukrainians to live in a single national sovereign state. The apogee of attempts to realize this goal in practice was the Ukrainian revolution of 1914 – 1923 (for more information, see: Reient O.P. *Ukraina soborna* [Unity of Ukraine: Scientific Research and Reviews] (to the 15th anniversary of Ukraine’s independence). K., 2006. 155 p.; Reient O.P., Lysenko O.Ye. *Ukrainska natsionalna ideia i khrystianstvo* [Ukrainian National idea and Christianity]. K., 1997. 128 p.). Therefore, we declare the understanding of the term *unity* as a phenomenon of consolidation of national state, territorial, political, social, cultural, artistic life in order to unite disparate people within a single ethno-national space, to develop a single paradigm of existence and development.*

first national military formation in the Austro-Hungarian Army – the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. K. Levytsky points at the cooperation of the the Chief Ukrainian Council, and later the the General Ukrainian Council with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine to organize and propagate, primarily, the Ukrainian ideas among the Russian army prisoners of war of the Ukrainian origin in the Austro-Hungarian imperial camps.

Thus, it is cultural, educational and political activities in combination with the support of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen as a national military formation became the main directions of the consolidation, a conciliar movement at the first stage: during 1914 – 1917. This refrain can be found in the vast majority of works by the Ukrainian historians about this stage, among which we single out the works of O. Reient (Reient, 2006, pp. 7–24), I. Pater (Pater, 2000), S. Adamovych (Adamovych, 2005) and the others. At the same time, Galicia was the promoter of these processes, it largely determined the vectors and dynamics.

The issue of the Ukrainian conciliarity during the period of the Central Rada, beginning with M. Hrushevsky and ending with a representative group of modern researchers (Bevz, 1994, pp. 57–62; Verstiuk, 1995, pp. 66–78, Horban, 1999, pp. 29–37; Hrushevskyi, 1992, pp. 138–140), is considered in two main areas: 1) achieving a territorial unity within the Dnieper Ukraine; 2) its relations with the Ukrainians, who lived in enclave groups in different parts of Russia. The related processes and phenomena are represented as the stage of uniting of the Ukrainian ethnic territories and the precondition for the transition to the all-Ukrainian national-state consolidation. Its relations with the Western Ukrainian branch of the national organism became an integral part.

A number of I. Hoshuliak's publications on the Central Rada's relations with various Ukrainian ethnic areas are thorough in terms of facts. Considerable attention is paid to the relations with Eastern Galicia. In a chronological order, there is reproduced the growth of centripetal tendencies, which were the main content of the all-Ukrainian national consolidation process from March of 1917 till November of 1918. The main analysis of the events was connected with the negotiation process in Brest, but the direct contacts between the two political leaders were clarified superficially (Hoshuliak, 1994, pp. 42–51; Hutsal, 2005, pp. 267–273).

In the works of the “Pro-UNR” orientation it was always asserted that the “revolutionary Dnieper region” was ahead of the conciliar movement, leading “conservative” Galicia. Substantiating this position, modern researchers make interesting, but sometimes controversial statements. Thus, V. Yaremchuk claims that Galician Ukrainians only under the influence of the universals of the Central Rada embarked on the path of conciliarity and at the same time distanced themselves from Vienna (Yaremchuk, 2003, pp. 38–45). However, we believe that the radicalization and transition of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia to the position of independence and conciliarity/unification until November 1918 were stimulated, primarily, by the internal processes. In the coverage of the events, the researchers of the “Pro-Zunr” orientation dwell on first relations with the Poles and Vienna not accidentally, and only then on the influence of the Central Rada.

The problem of the Ukrainian conciliarism during the period of Hetman P. Skoropadsky looks even more complicated. Despite a number of scientific works on the history of this state formation stage, we believe that it has not yet become the subject of a special research. Its coverage is marked by a considerable controversy. In its turn, this leads to the polarity of assessments of the Hetman's regime. Against this background, a number of important issues for the state-parliamentary process are raised, concerning the sending of Kyiv Ye. Konovalts

Sich Riflemen to Galicia, the relations with the western Ukrainian region of P. Skoropadsky government and the others. Among them, a special place is occupied by the plans to introduce in Ukraine a monarchical form of government in the form of the Hetmanate (Snyder, 2011).

Modern researchers of the Hetmanate: Yu. Pavlenko, Yu. Hramova, R. Pyrih, F. Prodaniuk, O. Reient prove that this political regime was the “central moment”, the “apogee” of the state-building process of Ukraine in 1917 – 1920. The above-mentioned authors positively, although from different angles, evaluate the national unification aspirations of its leader. The historians argue that the idea of conciliarity/unification was one of the main policies of P. Skoropadsky. After all, he proclaimed himself “Hetman of All Ukraine” and with this step proved his desire to unite all Ukrainian ethnographic territories. They prove his commitment to the idea of unification with Eastern Galicia, but the practical rapprochement seems to be hampered by the political leadership. The latter feared the prospect of becoming the part of the “united Russia² and at the same time hoped that the Ukrainians of the region themselves would be able to realize the right of the peoples of Austria-Hungary to self-determination.

The memoirists, and with them researchers of the “Pro-Zunr stream” (H. Mykytei, O. Nazaruk, L. Tsehelsky, S. Yaroslavyn, M. Lytvyn, O. Pavliuk, O. Pavlyshyn, etc.), despite numerous nuances, generally adhere to this opinion that already during the Hetmanate official relations between the Ukrainian political leaders of the Dnieper region (Naddniprianshchyna) and Galicia began. At the same time, in their view, it was the latter, who initiated and took concrete steps to get closer to Kyiv. Without denying contacts with the political forces opposed to P. Skoropadsky, the historians argue that the Galicians sought to “reconcile” both sides, so they not only “did not support” the anti-Hetman uprising, but also opposed it.

Thus, despite the different views on certain aspects of the relations between the Hetmanate and the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic, in a domestic historiography the idea that these contacts became the first “stage” was established, even the “precondition” for further national consolidation steps, which were soon crowned by the Act of Unification.

The relations between the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic and the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic occupy a central place in the historiography of Ukrainian Unification during the military revolutionary era. It is in the very context that a wide range of issues concerning the conclusion of the Act of Unification on January 22, 1919 and its consequences are considered. In clarifying the consequences, we observe the situation, in which a variety of research topics is imposed on numerous ideological and theoretical methodological approaches. The works of political scientists, lawyers and representatives of other social sciences add their expressive colors and less noticeable details to it. In this article we mention at least the latest works of I. Monolatii, a famous Ivano-Frankivsk scientist (Monolatii, 2020). This, of course, affects the content characteristics of the historical works and at the same time complicates significantly the development of a “historiographical image” of this issue. The prevailing tendency consists in the following item: in the works on the history of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic the problem of conciliarity and consolidation of the nation occupies more space than in the publications devoted to the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic. This is evidenced by the works of modern researchers of Western Ukrainian statehood in 1918 – 1919 – I. Vasiuta, O. Vivcharenko and V. Tyshchuk, M. Lytvyn, K. Naumenko, S. Makarchuk, O. Krasivsky, V. Kondratiuk, V. Rehulsky, M. Senkiv, O. Pavliuk, O. Pavlyshyn, a collective monograph edited by O. Karpenko and the others. They provide a detailed documentary reconstruction of the national consolidation process. Its significance is assessed in a more attractive light than in the

works on the history of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The main paradigm of the conciliar movement is presented as a bilateral counter-process, which reflected the legitimate desire to unite the two Ukrainian states and political formations. Numerous objective and subjective factors hindered the conciliar process. Such an "integral" of the consolidation process elucidation is accompanied by numerous controversial approaches and interpretations.

In the works devoted to the Directory, as well as in generalizing works on the history of the Ukrainian Revolution, the issue of the unification of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) is often covered, let's say, "occasionally" or as a "component" of other "central" socio-political events, including the Labour Congress, etc. This phenomenon more or less clearly follows from the works of B. Andrusyshyn, V. Verstiuk, M. Lytvyn, O. Kopylenko, M. Kopylenko, O. Reient, O. Rubliov, V. Semenenko, V. Soldatenko, M. Yatsiuk and the others. At the same time, the study of the history of the Ukrainian People's Republic or the Western Ukrainian People's Republic has one indicative feature: the state-building processes in both Ukrainian republics are considered almost completely separated from each other. This phenomenon, to some extent, reflects the real state of affairs, significantly grounding, levelling numerous arguments, which were used to prove the "natural" character of the national consolidation process.

The issue of uniting the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic also occupies a prominent place in special monographic studies on the history of the Ukrainian conciliarity, which became a new phenomenon in the Ukrainian historiography. The closest to the monographic studies in thematic terms is the book by M. Senkiv. The author summarized the results of published works, supplemented with memoirs and source materials, recreated in detail the development of the state-parliamentary process in the western Ukrainian lands in 1918 – 1919 (Senkiv, 1999). The project, unique in domestic science, was implemented by the author's team of the Institute of Political and Ethno-National Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (I. Hoshuliak, V. Kryvosheya, V. Soldatenko, V. Yaremchuk) in the form of a two-volume popular science publication. It traces the origins and stages of the conciliar idea formation (Hoshuliak, Drobot, Kryvosheya, Kucher, Obushnyi, 2000). The controversial historiosophical understanding of the conciliar idea formation is contained in the monograph of I. Kuras and V. Soldatenko (Kuras & Soldatenko, 1999, p. 4–21). A collection of documents on the history of the Ukrainian conciliarity, published by V. Serhiichuk, gained recognition. The author's comments in it reflect important aspects of its implementation during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1920 (Serhiichuk, 1999).

The solemn proclamation of the Act of Unification on January 22, 1919 is invariably presented in a public opinion and historiography as the "apotheosis of the Ukrainian conciliarity". The course of this event is restored on the basis of a rather limited range of sources, including the memories of the very participants (Bachynskyi, 1927, p. 2), written on the "hot tracks" of reviews of famous figures (Yefremov, 1919) and the others. Here we see an unexpected "rethinking" of the very atmosphere of this event. The participants talked about conciliarity without obvious admiration, even in frankly gray, indistinct colors, inspired by reflections on the difficult situation and prospects of the struggle. However, in modern historical literature, especially during the first half of the 90-ies, under the influence of the national patriotic feelings, the minor tone changed into a major one. Thus, the gathering on Sofia Square began to be considered as a solemn, elevated national manifestation.

In modern national historiography and public consciousness the Act of Unification became a symbolic embodiment of the Ukrainian conciliarity of the Revolution of 1914 – 1923

(and to a large extent of the entire recent history of Ukraine). It is associated with the main achievements, drawbacks and unjustified expectations of the national unification process of that period. In this regard, in modern historiography there have been outlined a number of debatable issues that reflect both the individual content characteristics and the general historical significance and consequences of this event.

We state that in the national historiography there has been established a rather interesting algorithm of development of the state-consolidation and conciliar processes. In particular, the events, which took place “before” the Act of Unification on January 22, 1919 are presented in the context of the growth of centripetal forces, and those events, which took place “after” it – as centrifugal processes. Accordingly, the accents in the reproduction of the dynamics of the national unification movement change: from showing the growth of “conciliar aspirations” and “counter-steps” – to emphasizing the differences, contradictions, the “objective factors”, which led to its defeat during the first decades of the XXth century. Under this paradigm, under the conditions of interpretation of these processes from the “Pro-UNR” or “Pro-ZUNR” positions, we observe numerous controversial views, polar assessments and characteristics.

Therefore, the researchers, especially the “Pro-ZUNR”, are forced to “reconcile” constantly the historical realities, declared aspirations, the actual steps of the leaders of the UNR and the ZUNR, and, finally, their own conciliar beliefs. This is manifested, for instance, in the statements that the government of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic never recognized the power of the Directory as the supreme power in the territory of Eastern Galicia, although, it never abandoned the search of the ways and forms of creating a nationwide body (Pavlyshyn, 2002, pp. 327–349). The same assertion that the government of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic took a “completely independent position” concerning the Directory, and the assertion that the government of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic was “forced to coordinate” with the Directory the most responsible state steps (in the relations with Soviet Russia, etc.) (Makarchuk, 1997) do not contradict the formal scientific logic. The assertions reflect rather the complexity and contradictions of the domestic and international situation of both republics.

Finding out the reasons for the split of the unification front is one of the most favourite topics in the historiography of the Ukrainian Revolution. Despite the distinct “national sounding”, there is a tendency to cover it from “Pro-UNR” or “Pro-ZUNR” positions and views. This approach implies an axiological variety of the events. Here is a collision peculiar to the assessment of this event. If domestic historians made significant progress in accumulating the factual material for the reconstruction of the conciliar process, however, in clarifying the reasons for its failures and consequences, the interpretations of the first chroniclers of the Ukrainian Revolution continue to be used. The interpretations cover all aspects of relations – from the socio-economic and international to the party-political and interpersonal.

From the “submission” of the leaders of the Ukrainian People’s Republic V. Vynnychenko and M. Shapoval, an almost axiomatic view was established that in Eastern Ukraine the basis of the state-building processes was the “social” factor – a social revolution, and in Western Ukraine – the “national” factor – a national revolution. Hence, the revolutionary processes in both parts of the country had different ideals during the Revolution of 1914 – 1923. That is why, this “Ukrainian dilemma” actually foretold the failure of all aspirations and steps towards consolidation. This aspect, in fact, cannot be denied. However, we believe that it should not be absolutized. Moreover, all the differences are often reduced to different principles of an agrarian transformation: the Directory advocated the socialization of the land, while in Galicia it was even forbidden to campaign for the socialization of the land

under threat of imprisonment. When clarifying this phenomenon, the historians sometimes “arbitrarily” interpret the nature of the liberation struggle and the national relations in Eastern Galicia. In particular, V. Tkachenko came to the following conclusion: since the land in Eastern Galicia belonged to the Poles, the Galician army fought bravely against the Polish army, defending the right of the Polish landowners to own land. The ban on socialization of land by the Ukrainian People’s Council, according to the author, was due to fears that it would not liked by the Entente (Tkachenko, 1994, pp. 90–98).

In fact, the “national” and “social” postulates were present in the programmes and practical actions of the political leadership in both the Dnieper region (Naddnyprianshchyna) and Eastern Galicia, that is why, to assert the superiority of one of the postulates in the state-building processes of one or another side can only be conditional. During the Revolution, their absorption had a party-ideological basis, but in our opinion, a modern historiography should abandon it, because such approach simplifies, stereotypes the complex multifaceted events and phenomena of the conciliar-unification movement.

The institutional aspect of the consolidation-conciliar process is developed in the context of historical, political science and sociological researches. The first historians-memoirists of the Ukrainian Revolution and authors of the Ukrainian diaspora determined the main forces, primarily, governmental state factors. The party-political structures were assigned a “secondary”, mostly “destructive” role. It came to the point that the socialists from Naddnyprianshchyna and the Galician national democrats were located on the opposite sides of the barricades. Each side was exhibited in such colours that any compromise between them seemed to be a hopeless affair.

Such stereotypes are difficult to overcome by a domestic historiography, although, the political parties are already considered as independent factors that influenced significantly, and sometimes played a decisive role in the national consolidation movement. These issues are studied in the context of the formation of the Ukrainian party-political system, in particular, in Eastern Galicia (O. Zhernokliev, M. Kuhutiak, T. Panfilova, V. Rasevych, etc.) or as one of the development directions of ideology and practical activity of the political parties (T. Bevz, I. Drobot, O. Liubovets, O. Pavlyshyn, etc.). The approaches to a comprehensive study of the problem are intensified.

At the same time, historians cannot get rid of one collision. On the one hand, the differences between the dominant party-political influences in Galicia-ZUNR (the national Democrats, less radicals) and Naddnyprianshchyna-UNR (the socialists) are presented as one of the main obstacles and reasons that led to the collapse of the Ukrainian national unification front. On the other hand, when it comes to the role of the parties in the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood, it is organically embedded in the conciliar channel. This is clearly manifested in the works of M. Kuhutiak, T. Panfilova, V. Rasevych on the history of the Ukrainian national democracy (Kuhutiak, 2000, pp. 163–170; Panfilova, 2004; Rasevych, 1999, pp. 270–278). This situation is explained not only by the stereotype of “the primacy of party-political interests over the national ones”, but also by the principled defense of the ideological foundations, which, however, also declared devotion to the idea of conciliarism.

A number of original, though sometimes debatable scientific and theoretical generalizations on this issue were proposed by O. Liubovets (Liubovets, 2000). The researcher elucidated the issue that during the pre-revolutionary times the idea of conciliarity did not dominate in the parties programmes, but during the process of building the state and political formations, the idea of conciliarity acquired the status of the official doctrine. The conclusions made by O. Liubovets also look interesting: a) in 1917 – 1919 the principle of conciliarity became the

only universal basis of the programmes of all political parties; b) the proclamation of the Act of Unification marked the programmes implementation in practice. This means that the political parties, which did not share the idea of the internal civic conciliarity are also responsible for the inability to achieve a territorial unity (it was undoubtedly to become the main unifying factor in the society). However, here we see another extreme: the absolutization of the role of parties in the national consolidation process does not take into account other equally important factors (military, political, international, etc.), which also influenced the nature and consequences of the consolidation process. In general, this formulation of the question makes sense and encourages clarification of the role and importance of the political parties in the implementation of the idea of conciliarity, and not as destructive, but creative factors.

The study of the Ukrainian conciliarity in the context of international relations has a long historiographical tradition, markedly enriched by the works, in which its individual aspects were interpreted in the context of such a popular topic among domestic historians, as “The Ukrainian Issue in International Politics” during the military revolutionary era. During the last decade, its development was significantly intensified in the context of various foreign policy vectors.

The approach is alarming, according to which the Ukrainian national unification process is considered in the context (as a component) of a foreign policy of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic or the Ukrainian People’s Republic. This approach is gradually established in modern historiography, a typical, expressive example of which is given in the monograph “Western Ukrainian People’s Republic. 1918 – 1923: History”. The issue of the Ukrainian conciliarity, in particular, the Act of Unification of January 22, 1919, is clarified in the context of a foreign diplomatic activity of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (Karpenko, 2001). We believe that “inter-Ukrainian” relations, in particular, between the two national state formations – the ZUNR and the UPR, on the one hand, and the interstate relations of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic with foreign states, on the other hand, have a qualitatively different – both formal and legal, national political nature. Therefore, it is difficult to consider expedient and justified their study in the same scientific and social planes.

It seems productive to study the Ukrainian consolidation processes in the context of international relations. We note the increased attention of the historians: V. Verstiuk, O. Kopylenko, R. Symonenko, V. Soldatenko, P. Prytuliak and the others (Prokhoda, 1968/69, pp. 260–270) to the Brest Treaty, concluded on February 9, 1918 between the UNR and the states of the Quaternary Union. Along with its traditional interpretation as the first international legal act to grant Ukraine the formal status of an independent neutral state, the researchers consider it from the point of the national unification processes. The reason for this is the secret appendix, according to which Galicia and Bukovyna were to gain autonomy within Austria-Hungary. Thus, in historiography there begins to be established the view of the Brest Treaty as a real manifestation of the conciliar aspirations of the Ukrainians. Although, the agreements of that period remained unfulfilled, they began to be associated with the beginning of the defense of all-Ukrainian conciliar interests in the international arena.

If the “pro-German vector” of relations is mostly shown as the manifestation of a “real” policy in resolving the “Ukrainian issue”, the orientation to the Entente is often interpreted as the illusory hopes of the Ukrainian leaders, which only intensified the internal strife, prevented the search of an acceptable platform for the internal unity. This tendency can be traced in the works by the historians of the Ukrainian diaspora and modern scientists: M. Stakhiv, V. Fedorovych, L. Vasylykivsky I. Zavada, I. Hoshuliak, O. Pavliuk, T. Halytska-Didukh

and the others (Vasylykivskiy, 1970, pp. 109–123; Halytska-Didukh, 2005, pp. 202–217; Hoshuliak, 1997, pp. 26–41; Pavliuk, 1996; Stakhiw, 1964; Fedorovych, 1990, pp. 12–18). Despite various nuances in the interpretation of certain aspects of the issue in historiography, the following key provisions are asserted: relying on the help of the Entente did not live up to expectations, as the restoration of united Ukraine did not meet the interests of Britain, France and the United States. The latter sought to achieve a political balance in Europe through the restoration of united and indivisible Russia. The Entente policy intensified the division and tension in the relations between the UPR and ZUNR; The Act of Unification created a formal basis for defending the interests of an independent conciliar Ukrainian state in the international arena, but internal contradictions hindered joint foreign policy activities. Thus, the postulate was established: different foreign policy orientations became one of the main obstacles to the Ukrainian conciliarity.

The authors, who specialize in the study of the history of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic or the Ukrainian People's Republic, based on the key positions of their research, shed different light on the influences of certain foreign policy factors on the Ukrainian consolidation processes. This is most evident in determination of the role and place of the "Polish factor". The researchers of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic believe that the Polish-Ukrainian war in Western Ukraine became a powerful catalyst for the unification processes. However, the authors of the works on the Directory are almost unanimous in the idea that it was the prospect of getting another enemy in the face of Poland that raised concerns among the leaders about unification with Eastern Galicia. As a result, their enthusiasm vanished, it was replaced by skepticism. At the same time, the representatives of the first and second groups of scholars agree that the leaders of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic mutually relied on the military and political support from each other to solve their own problems of the state building.

In modern historiography, the Ukrainian conciliarity begins to be considered as a significant factor influencing the international activities of the UNR and ZUNR. This approach is clearly presented in the works of O. Pavliuk, in which the national unification process is once again considered as a component of the foreign policy of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic from November 1918 till March 1923. The author traced its transformation consistently from the focus on the unification with Greater Ukraine to the plans for the federation with Czechoslovakia, non-Bolshevik Russia, and, finally, the defense of the independence of the Galician state. Explaining this inconsistency in the complex military political and international situation, O. Pavliuk proves, and that the unification with the UNR corresponded to the aspirations of the Galician Ukrainians, and that other orientations were conditioned by a forced reaction to the international situation and the policies of the neighbouring states. We should pay attention to the evolution of the views of the scientist: his first works are characterized by critical and sarcastic expressions such as "unprincipled", "conjunctural" policy of the "top" of the ZUNR, etc., gradually changed into restrained balanced interpretations (Pavliuk, 1994, pp. 7–8; Pavliuk, 1992, pp. 176–178.).

The Conclusions. Summarizing the achievements of the Ukrainian historiography in covering the process of the nation consolidation during the Revolution of 1914 – 1923, we single out the directions of the study and state the following. Firstly, the Ukrainian historiography, describing the issue of conciliarism during the first stage of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914 – 1923, focuses, as a rule, on the cultural and educational processes of a national nature in combination with support of the first military national formation –

the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. With the proclamation of the national statehood in 1917, the content of these processes naturally takes on other forms and manifestations. Secondly. The conciliar and consolidation-state processes of the period from March of 1917 till April of 1918 (the era of the Ukrainian Central Rada) are covered in the national historiography in two directions: 1) obtaining a territorial unity within the Ukrainian lands, which were the part of the Romanov Empire during the Great War of 1914 – 1923; 2) strengthening relations with the Ukrainians living in the enclave within the Russian Empire; 3) initiating a national state dialogue with Western Ukraine. Thirdly. We believe that the conciliar processes during the period of the Hetmanate have not yet become the subject of special studies of the national historiography. The conciliar processes fragmentary coverage in monographic works, articles or researches is marked by controversial views and approaches. At the same time, the researchers of this stage of the formation of the national statehood during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914 – 1923 assert the idea of initiating the state-consolidation processes between the Hetmanate and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, which later led to the Act of Unification. Fourthly. In the historiography of the Ukrainian conciliarity of this historical chronotope, the central place is occupied by the relations between the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. The core problem remains the Act of Unification, the events that preceded and followed it. It is noteworthy that in the course of elucidating these processes there is a somewhat paradoxical dichotomy: the centripetal tendencies of consolidation processes between the ZUNR and UPR before the Act of Unification and the centrifugal tendencies after the Act of Unification. The problem of the split of the front since the last third of 1919 deserves a special attention. In this case there is the problem of updating the assessments of this process by a modern national historiography, which so far uses, as a rule, the approaches and conclusions of the chroniclers of the Revolution. Fifthly. National historiography singles out as one of the main obstacles to the consolidation state, conciliar processes different in content the vectors of the state-building in the Western Ukrainian Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic. In the first one, the most urgent was the solution of problems of a national-state character, in the second one – a social character. This stereotyped approach has dominated since the first works of the direct participants and witnesses of the events. But the available documentary and historiographical base allows us to state with a full responsibility the need to rethink this stereotyped approach. Sixthly. National historiography, although rather slow, nevertheless overcomes another research stereotype about the place and role of conciliar efforts during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914 – 1923. We mean the fact that the national consolidation processes are less and less considered in the context of a separate international policy of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic or the Ukrainian People's Republic, but as an important factor in joint activities of this nature.

Thus, the problem of consolidation of the nation during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914 – 1923 is one of the prevailing and most covered in the national historiography. The modern historiographical base, created by researchers during almost three decades of Ukraine's independence, gives grounds to assert serious reasons for expanding and deepening the study of these processes, the development of updated constructs and paradigms of the conciliar process, built not only on the methodology and principles of positivism and the state school.

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**SLAVIC COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE POST-COMMUNIST PERIOD
ON THE PAGES OF UKRAINIAN TEXTBOOKS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* – to reveal the scientific and methodological content of Ukrainian educational textbooks for higher educational institutions concerning the history of the Slavic countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) in 1991 – 2000; to find out the main tendencies in the history coverage. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, verification, systematization, an authorial objectivity, as well as on the general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical typological, historical genetic), the method of content analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography on the basis of a wide range of educational publications as a historiographical source there has been carried out the analysis of the generalized image of the Western and South Slavic national communities of CEE on the way to the formation of market economy and democracy reflected in the educational textbooks for higher education institutions of Ukraine. **The Conclusions.** Considering the experience of the Slavic communities in national or regional contexts, the authors of educational publications started their analysis from the problems, which these communities solved. The image of the Slavic states of the region was depicted, primarily, through the reproduction of the political processes. Despite their complexity and uniqueness, the information on the political life of the countries is comprehensible and systematized, but the issues of a social history have not been fully elucidated. The authors of the educational publications refrained from categorical assessments when it concerned the recent past. There is every reason to state about a certain evolution in the interpretation of the image of the Slavic countries. If during the second half of the 1990-ies this image was replicated as a source of instability, during the 2000-s it began to be replaced by the one that diversified the complexity and ambiguity of the European continent's historical paths in asserting democracy and finding the patterns of an advanced historical development. The scientific and methodological content of the educational publications was the subject to correction.

Key words: historiography, Ukrainian textbooks, modern history, Western and Southern Slavs, Central and Eastern Europe.

СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКІ КРАЇНИ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-СХІДНОЇ ЄВРОПИ ПОСТКОМУНІСТИЧНОЇ ДОБИ НА СТОРІНКАХ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПІДРУЧНИКІВ

***Анотація.** Мета дослідження – розкрити науково-методичний контент української навчальної літератури для закладів вищої освіти щодо історії країн 1991–2000-х рр. Центрально-Східної Європи (ЦСЕ), де титульними націями є південні та західні слов'яни, з'ясувати основні тенденції у її висвітленні. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, верифікації, системності, авторської об'єктивності, а також на загальнонаукові методи (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-типологічний, історико-генетичний), метод контент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії на підґрунті широкого кола навчальних видань як історіографічного джерела здійснений аналіз узагальненого образу частини національних спільнот, що входять до ЦСЕ, на шляху формування ринкової економіки та становлення демократії у дзеркалі навчальної літератури для закладів вищої освіти України. За основу аналізу взято досвід колективів, пов'язаних глибокими історичними, культурними традиціями, спорідненістю мов, тобто південних та західних слов'ян. **Висновки.** Розглядаючи досвід аналізованих спільнот у національному або регіональному контекстах, автори навчальних видань відштовхувалися від проблем, які ці спільноти розв'язували. Їх образ змальовується передовсім через відтворення політичних процесів. Попри складність та унікальність зазначених процесів інформація з політичного життя країн є придатною для розуміння та викладена систематизовано, проте питання соціальної історії не набули докладного розкриття. Автори навчальних видань утримуються від категоричних оцінок, коли йдеться про недавнє минуле. Є всі підстави стверджувати про певну еволюцію у тлумаченні образу слов'янських країн. Якщо у другій половині 1990-х рр. він тиражувався як джерело нестабільності, то у 2000-і рр. починає заміщуватися на такий, що урізноманітнює уявлення про складності та неоднозначність історичних шляхів європейського континенту у ствердженні демократії та пошуку моделей випереджального історичного розвитку. Науково-методичний контент навчальних видань незмінно підлягав корекції.*

***Ключові слова:** історіографія, українські підручники, сучасна історія, західні та південні слов'яни, Центрально-Східна Європа.*

The Problem Statement. It is generally acknowledged that nowadays in Ukraine, in the system of educational practices the textbook still retains the status of the dominant means of learning, including the field of a historical education of a higher level. In the scientific and pedagogical circles of Ukraine there has always been a clear awareness of the problem importance of the history textbook quality. In 1991, with the independence of Ukraine, the urgency of this problem only increased. The new situation in the society, associated with the collapse of the USSR and the collapse of socialism as a system, required not only the appropriate reading of the past, but also an adequate interpretation of the present on the pages of the educational textbooks.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The Ukrainian researchers have repeatedly turned to the analysis of the textbooks on history, including the ones for higher educational institutions: after all, in Ukraine higher education has long been a powerful means of knowledge about the past (Chuprij, 2011, p. 20). However, the emphasis was mainly focused on methodological and scientific pedagogical aspects of the educational textbooks (Udod, 2017; Zyakun, 2002, pp. 8–9). As a rule, the publications were thematically related to the national history (Zyakun, 2001, Zyakun, 2002, pp. 17–19). The content of education in the history of the post-communist CEE Slavic countries was considered superficially and in connection with other problematic issues (Aleksyeyev, 1992, p. 81, 82; Aleksyeyev, Kravchenko & Pavlenko, 1993, pp. 88–89, 90; Vidnyans'kyj & Martynov, 2017, p. 173; Kalakura, 2012, pp. 123–124, 129–130; Mitrayayev, Pugach, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1995; Sych, 1998, p. 116; Stel'mach,

2006; Postolovs'ky, 2015). These factors make the issue under analysis poorly studied. The Ukrainian academic community, discussing new, correspondent to historical changes textbooks on world history during the first half of the 1990-ies on the topic, mentioned in the title, put forward a number of relevant and appropriate considerations, dictated by the logic of not only a social change but also the logic of the educational process. In particular, it was emphasized on the need to clarify "the facts about the anti-totalitarian democratic revolutions of 1989 – 1991, the formation of new states, the characteristics of their constitutional order, a domestic and foreign policy" (Mitryayev, Pugach, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1995, p. 115), the contribution of the Slavic peoples to civilization (Aleksyeyev, Kravchenko & Pavlenko, 1993, p. 94). The latter task corresponded to the very understanding of the content of historical knowledge within a global history (Orlova, 2013, p. 24), interest in which the Ukrainian academic community began to demonstrate actively during the last twenty years. Despite the fact that a lot has been done in Ukraine to implement these tasks into the educational process in higher education institutions, the current experience of covering the post-communist era of the Slavic peoples of CEE on the pages of the educational textbooks has not yet been the subject of a separate study. Textbooks and manuals are considered as a historiographical source, the peculiarities of which have already attracted attention of the researchers (Zyakun, 2001, Viktorova, 2012, Taneva, 2006, Shnirelman, 2015). Our research is based on the texts of educational publications available to the author. After all, some of educational publications (Samchuk B. L. Culture of Southern and Western Slavs. Textbook. Mykolaiv, 2002; Rudko S. O. History of Central and Eastern Europe (the end of the XVIIIth – beginning of the XXIst centuries). Manual. 2nd. ed. Ostroh, 2010; Cherniy A. I., Cherniy V. A. History of Southern and Western Slavs. Rivne, 1999), related to the topic in the title, taking into consideration the quantity and place of publication, have already become a bibliographic rarity. The analyzed publications were examined not only by the scientific and pedagogical society, but also by the Ministry of Education of Ukraine (hereinafter – the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine and the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine) and are sufficient to elucidate the topic.

The Purpose of the Article. The article focuses on the clarification of the content and nature of changes in the Slavic European post-socialist countries on the pages of Ukrainian educational textbooks for higher education during the 1990-ies – the beginning of the 2000-s, which aspects of the historical path of the Slavic ethnic groups in the region were reflected; the article also focuses on the elucidation of the scientific and methodological content of Ukrainian educational textbooks on the history of the Slavic countries of CEE during the 1990-ies – the beginning of the 2000-s; the main tendencies of history coverage have been analyzed. The attention is focused on reproduction of the image of the Slavic communities in the region as it was coded on the pages of educational textbooks after the end of the democratic revolutions and the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation, which led to the collapse of the communist regime there (Romanyuk, 2018, p. 418).

The Statement of the Basic Material. The chronological framework of the research is determined, on the one hand, by the collapse of the socialist bloc (1989 – 1991), and on the other hand, – is related to the main progress stages of a domestic historical science and the time when the coverage of events in the Slavic CEE states was on the pages of Ukrainian educational publications. The period from 1991 – the beginning of the 2000-s in the development of Ukrainian historical science was characterized by the break with the one-dimensional approaches to the heritage of the previous decades and a gradual transition to

new scientific and methodological principles. The extremely important task of incorporating into the world scientific space was solved (Zashkil'nyak, 2016, p. 17). Subsequently, a new worldview was asserted in the works of a wider circle of domestic historians, a more realistic understanding of world historical progress, its stages and role of individual states and regions (Kudryachenko, 2013, p. 13, Zashkil'nyak, 2007, p. 4). However, according to the observations of the Ukrainian researchers, Ukrainian historical science is still in a state of crisis as a transitional period, characterized by the coexistence of the opposites: old and new, empirical and theoretical, logical and figurative, imaginary and real, achievements and drawbacks (Kolesnik, 2013, p. 106, Zashkil'nyak, 2014, p. 289).

The geographical boundaries of CEE varied according to numerous historical and political circumstances, and were also the subject of academic debates (Pop, 2015). Despite the fact that in science there is no consensus on these boundaries, the lands of the southern and western Slavs were usually considered as the part of them (Leshkovych, 2016, p. 283, Shnicer, 2017, p. 168, Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 49–50, Orlova, 2017, p. 213, Kril', 2008, p. 4, Zashkil'nyak, 2001, p. 4). The concept of “CEE” continues to be used concerning the region that did not represent a political entity.

The contradictory nature of modern Ukrainian science was reflected on the pages of educational textbooks (Chuprij, 2011, p. 20). The elucidation of changes in the countries of the region was complicated by the incompleteness of this process, as well as the need to overcome the state of a methodological confusion of the 90-ies in the socio-humanitarian sciences in Ukraine (Kolesnik, 2013, p. 107). In addition, the reference to recent events in high school textbooks required not only historical but also political analysis, while the foundation of one's own academic and scientific tradition was just laid in the field of a political science at the beginning of the 1990-ies. Obviously, among the difficulties of covering modern history there is the lack of historical distance and a stable historiographical tradition. Most of the authors were contemporaries of those events and have their own political beliefs, which inevitably affected their perception of the post-communist experience of the Slavic CEE countries. In the textbooks there was described the process concerning which the academic community only established the scientific truth during the 1990-ies – the beginning of the 2000-s. This happened against the background of inflated public expectations and illusions of the part of the population of the Slavic countries. The expectations were replaced by disappointment. Among the favourable factors for solving the problem of an objective and impartial coverage of the post-communist experience of the Slavic countries on the pages of educational publications there should be mentioned the established traditions of the historical and Slavic studies in Ukraine, the functioning of specialized Slavic centers and scientific schools, which were founded in the XIXth century, and the presence of the corresponding human resources.

University textbooks, texts of lectures for students, textbooks that reproduced the image of the Slavic countries of the post-communist era, began to appear in the mid-1990-ies in response to the practical needs of teaching and studying the past and present of CEE. In particular, the textbook edited by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor V. I. Yarovyj (Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995), was prepared by order of the Department of Public Education of Dnipropetrovsk regional executive committee. It was compiled for teachers, post-graduate students, students, schoolchildren. The experience of the Slavic countries on the pages of the educational publications was the subject to different degrees of coverage and generalization depending on the tasks and the subject field of the discipline they were written on. In this regard, taking into consideration the content of the textbooks or their

fragments on the topic mentioned in the title, it is possible to single out two groups of texts. The first one includes those texts, where the emphasis is laid not on events, but on their essence (for instance: Gorban', 2003, p. 382, Ivanyts'ka, 2003 p. 335, Orlova, 2008, p. 318). The second group is much more numerous, based on the country study principle, represented by the educational textbooks, where carefully selected facts, descriptions of events and new phenomena in the life of the Slavic countries of the post-communist era appeared as the manifestation of certain processes and tendencies, which were inevitable in the transitive societies (Pugach, Kozlitin, Postolovs'kyj, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1998; Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, 2015; Yarovyj 2005; Kril', 2008; Yarovyj, 1996, 1997; Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995; Zashkil'nyak, 2001; Orlova, 2017). At the same time, the development of the Slavic communities during the 1990-ies and 2000-s was covered not only in the national context (Pugach, Kozlitin, Postolovs'kyj, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1998; Yarovyj, 1996), the changes in regional geographical boundaries were taken into account (Zashkil'nyak, 2001; Kril', 2008, pp. 5–6; Yarovyj, 2005, p. 5; Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 46–49; Orlova, 2017, pp. 220–228) and global tendencies as well (Gorban', pp. 388, 394, 404, 401, 421, Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, p. 3; Gazin & Kopylov, 2015, pp. 7–8, 11, 17, 21, 24; Orlova, 2008, pp. 317–319).

Ethnographic surveys covered a wide range of the Slavic states in the region, which was explained not only by the specific disciplinary field of the textbook, but in the case of the collapse of the Yugoslav federation depended on the outcome of the state-building processes in its territory. The Republic of Poland, which was more successful in solving economic and political problems, was especially “lucky”. Poland's experience was represented separately in textbooks not only on European history, but also in the disciplinary field of the history of the modern world, the history of Europe and America (Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 258–291; Gazin & Kopylov, 2015, pp. 161–167; Orlova, 2017, pp. 231–252).

Despite the diversity of educational textbooks, which in one way or another reflected the path of the Slavic countries during 1991 – 2000, in its content it is possible to single out some common features. Firstly, we mean the determination of the leading tendency in the historical development of the Slavic communities after the collapse of socialism. In particular, in the first textbook, in which the beginning of the post-communist transformations in Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria is described (Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995, pp. 102, 115, 118, 122), the leading tendency is defined as the political and economic transformations of the transition period. The formation of market relations and the dismantling of totalitarianism as a programme of action were singled out. There is a significant clarification in the next publications. Practically all publications, which are based on the country study principle, in a direct or indirect form, are already considered to be the main content of the processes in these countries and Slovenia's way to a market economy and democracy according to Western European standards. It is noted that this way was accompanied by significant difficulties. But the periodization of this process is absent: it was premature to talk about the criteria of the process's clear definition.

Secondly, owing to this process that almost all the facts of life during the post-communist era were systematized on the pages of textbooks. Gains and losses on this way in the interpretation of educational publications are the criterion for the transformation processes success. The idea of accelerating the pace of a historical development is indirectly asserted: this period was reproduced as oversaturated with events, which is especially noticeable against the background of the stagnation described in previous sections of textbooks for the

era of socialism. This result is achieved by displaying numerous facts and related phenomena over the period of time in a chronological order. On the pages of educational publications, this period was usually associated with changes in the upper echelons of government (presidential or parliamentary elections, change of government).

Thirdly, political history was usually chosen as the core of elucidating the nature and peculiarities of the Slavic states development in the region (alignment of political forces, inter-party disputes, elections of different levels, legislative activity, etc.) against the background of some attention to a socio-economic development and foreign policy. This feature was typical of the analyzed educational publications, written on the country studies principle. It is impossible not to notice that the emphasis on the political component in the content of knowledge about the Slavic countries of the post-communist era is inherited from the previous tradition of the Soviet period, laid down in textbooks on the history of the southern and western Slavs (*The History of the Southern and Western Slavs*. Moskow, 1957; *The History of the Southern and Western Slavs*. Kyiv, 1966; *The History of the Southern and Western Slavs*. Kyiv, 1986). This tendency is preserved in the content of a historical education under conditions when, on the one hand, new tendencies in Ukrainian historiography gained advantages related to the active “interest in anthropologically oriented historiography” of a wide circle of the Ukrainian scientific and humanitarian community (Shaurenko, 2017, p. 199, Sych, 1998, p. 113), on the other hand, – the Western European and American scientific tradition during the last third of the XXth century already learned the negative and positive lessons of a historical anthropology and cultural research in the educational space, in the training of professional historians and found peculiar mechanisms of adaptation to them (Saveleva & Poletaev, 2008, pp. 487–488, 500–501).

The range of plots and their interpretation give a clear understanding of what was considered topical during the post-communist era in the Slavic countries on the pages of Ukrainian educational textbooks. At the center of the coverage of a political life, as a rule, there was not only political confrontation, but also the democracy formation. The institutionalization of democratic mechanisms and structures of the state power on the pages of educational publications has always been an urgent problem, which was solved by Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Bulgaria. In particular, in the textbook authored by Yarovyj V. I. (2005) concerning the period of 1991 – 1995 in the Republic of Poland, there were mentioned 7 legal measures and the documents of various nature, which directly or indirectly contributed to the democratization of the countries, in the Republic of Bulgaria – 5 legal measures and documents of various nature (Yarovyj, 2005, pp. 349–351, 118–121). The history of 1992 – 2001 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro was usually dominated by military stories or the influence of external factors and ways for solving ethnic problems (for instance: Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 506–508, 523–525, 528–531, 498–502; Zashkil'nyak, 2001, pp. 631–634; Yarovyj, 2005, pp. 775–781). However, with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Croatia, later the emphasis shifted to state-building processes against the background of conflicts, the influence of external factors and domestic political processes (Krill', 2008, pp. 54–59, 100–107, 218–230).

Accumulation and scientific analysis of the information on the history of the post-communist era of the Slavic peoples of CEE, enrichment of the traditions of historiography through subdisciplinarity, which exists in almost all areas of disciplinary knowledge (Udod, Vermen'ch, Kovalevs'ka & Yas', 2018, p. 4), could not help affecting the content of educational textbooks. This allowed to expand the subject matter and the range of plots,

which diversified the image of the Slavic community. This diversification was carried out primarily through the constant updating of facts by shifting the upper chronological boundary, the use of new historical sources, researches, personification of political leaders, and etc. In particular, in the textbooks authored by V. I. Yarovyj there were presented separately biographical references to 9 presidents or the prime ministers of the states; the southern and western Slavs are the titular nations (Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995; Yarovyj, 1996; Yarovyj, 2005). Thus, it was about the first persons of the states, who had considerable power, and hence influence in the country. A convincing evidence of the accumulation of knowledge on the modern history of the Slavic countries of CEE on the pages of Ukrainian educational literature was the appearance of textbooks summarizing the experience of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina including the first decades of the XXIst century (Kril', 2008; Gazin & Kopylov, 2015; Orlova, 2017).

The textbook as a means of communication in the educational space could not fail to record the relationship established by sociolinguists between the expression of assessments and values (Ananko, 2017, p. 130). They were directly or indirectly represented in the text, because together with other components the textbook contained a description of recent events, politically relevant and modern at the time of its writing. Thus, despite the fact that the same facts are depicted in the textbooks, there are differences. First of all, it concerns the generally recognized influence of external factors in the state-building processes of the South Slavs in the process of disintegration of the Yugoslav federation. However, the only balanced assessment of it did not appear on the pages of Ukrainian educational publications. In particular, the NATO's Allied Force air operation (March-June 1999) against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is considered as the aggression (Yarovyj, 2005, p. 788), the armed action (Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, p. 497), the reaction to the brutality of the Serbian troops and indignation of the world community (Zashkil'nyak, 2001, p. 634), or the NATO's Allied Force air operation is not mentioned at all (Kril', 2008, pp. 18, 156–173, 254–255). Its social and moral consequences seem contradictory (Yarovyj, 2005, pp. 788–789; Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 497–498). The authors of all educational publications, without exception, find out the high social price paid for transformations, mention the difficulties that still need to be overcome. At the same time, only one author makes a moderately optimistic conclusion about the prospects: "All difficulties can be overcome. ... The majority of CEE countries has already emerged from a historic stalemate" (Orlova, 2017, p. 319). Therefore, it is too early to say about the unity of views on the modern history of the southern and western Slavs on the pages of domestic textbooks.

The Conclusions. The analysis of the educational literature proves that its pages reflect a whole palette of conceptual approaches, views on the events, which exist in historical science and public consciousness concerning the post-communist era of the Slavic communities of CEE. Analyzing experiences in national or regional contexts, the authors started from the problems, solved by those communities. The image of the Slavic states of the region is depicted primarily through the description of political processes. Despite their complexity and uniqueness, the information on a political life of the countries is understandable and systematized. However, the detailed disclosure of the realization of the Euro-Atlantic choice by the Slavic communities was not accompanied by the same detailed reflection of the changes in the life of the society. Despite the significant cognitive content of educational literature, the natural question: "What happened to a man (not the state)?" – remained a secondary issue on its pages. Thus, political history prevailed.

In accordance with the laws of the educational literature genre, the authors refrain from categorical assessments when it goes about the recent past. The analysis of the Ukrainian educational literature on the topic mentioned in the title gives grounds to assert a certain evolution in the interpretation of the Slavic countries image, when they are considered in the context of a national or regional development. If during the second half of the 1990-ies it was replicated as a source of a dynamic change with uncertain results, instability and even danger, during the 2000-s it began to be replaced by such, which diversifies the idea of the complexity and ambiguity of the historical ways of the European continent in the assertion of democracy and the search of advanced historical development models. The scientific and methodological content of educational publications was the subject to correction depending on the year of publication, the accumulation of knowledge in the field of historical Slavic studies, related to the history of socio-humanitarian sciences, the development of subdisciplinarity. The authors of the textbooks not only proclaimed the use of historical sources, previously unknown to researchers, new researches, but based on them, set out the events and facts. The above analysis of the educational publications gives every reason to say that the educational publications are a sufficient basis for the adequate ideas formation about the post-communist experience of the Slavic communities of CEE and the adequate ideas development in special courses.

As a perspective on the the topic study, it is possible to find out how the content of knowledge about the Slavic countries: 1) meets the needs of the educational services market; 2) contributes to the formation of European identity; 3) is associated with the important mission of modern history education – “the study of the past at the level of mentality” (Udod, Vermen’ch, Kovalevs’ka & Yas’, 2018, p. 115).

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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ALGORITHM OF IVAN FRANKO'S ACTION: A SYSTEM OF STATE FORMATION
(Review of: Yevhen Nakhlik. Virazhi Frankovoho Dukhu. Svitohliad. Ideolohiia.
Literatura. Kyiv: Naukovadumka, 2019. 640 p.)

АЛГОРИТМ ДІЇ ІВАНА ФРАНКА: СИСТЕМА ДЕРЖАВОТВОРЕННЯ
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To respond to the review of Yevhen Nakhlik's conceptually innovative research seems to be, without any doubt, an attempt with a relief vision of the specifics of the objectives. After all, the scientific understanding of the philosophical and cultural paradigm of the spiritual evolution of Ivan Franko is extremely important with a projection on the multifaceted and self-sufficient search. The peer-reviewed work is determined, primarily, by the innovative methodological basis. It is notable for its high intellectualism, scrupulousness in the selection of factual material, breadth of integrative thinking because in the field of study the researcher has a modern, European-integrated view of the scientific, artistic, cultural achievements of Ivan Franko, not the least a

history of the literary process. Here it is worth highlighting at least a few touches about the author. Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Yevhen Nakhlik is a well-known historian, leader of the spiritual aspirations of the Ukrainian people. The author of more than 350 scientific publications, including some monographic works. He currently heads the Ivan Franko Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Some scientific literary series were founded under his leadership, among which the "Frankoznavcha Serii" is significant. At present, 14 book editions have been published in this series.

The peer-reviewed monograph by Yevhen Nakhlik "Virazhi Frankovoho Dukhu Svitohliad. Ideolohiia. Literatura" is a significant event in the history of modern literary science. The author, researching the spiritual evolution of Ivan Franko's world view, argues: literary creativity was the epicenter in the system of evolutionary formation of Ivan Franko's views. It always worked ahead of time and often at the level of intuitive feeling outlined the algorithm of action in the system of the state formation, political visions. With the help of poetic symbols-metaphors Ivan Franko managed to convey the moods, motives of the whole epoch with maximum accuracy. With the foresight of the prophet, he guessed the "revolt of the masses" (the saying of Ortega y Gasset), which matured in the depths of state movements at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth centuries.

We claim that the fundamental work of Yevhen Nakhlik is needed in the system of modern Franko studies. The author of the monograph, of course, continues the innovative systematic understanding of the evolution of the spiritual Ivan Franko's world. He does not miss the names of his colleagues, referring to the works of, for example, O. Bahan, M. Hnatiuk, T. Hundorova, J. Hrynevych, R. Holod, V. Horyn, J. Hrytsak, P. Ivanyshyn, O. Zabuzhko, I. Denisyuk, V. Doroshenko, S. Efremov, V. Korniyuchuk, K. Kruk, L. Lutsiv, M. Mandryka, T. Pastukh, V. Simovych, J. Slavutych, L. Senyk, B. Tykholoz, M. Shalata, etc.

E. Nakhlik quite rightly puts the poem "Moses" at the center of Ivan Franko's literary development, which most fully shows the prospects for the development of Ukrainian nation.

The composition of the monograph is structured, built on the laws of gradation, with emotionally intense development of the story. The author managed to combine biographical, historical, culturological, textual, and synergetic methods within one study. Ivan Franko's biography is considered in close symbiosis with the events of world history. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Ukrainian history in the vision of Ivan Franko is a part of world evolutionary action. Extensive work consists of seven parts. In the first two parts "Stages of Franko's Evolution", "Worldview Controversies" there is considered the spiritual evolution of Ivan Franko based on biographical facts and the methodological principles of the study are substantiated. In the third and fourth parts of "Ivan Franko and the radical party", "Social progress, order and statehood in Franko's understanding" there are described the evolution of philosophical, political views of Ivan Franko and their reflection in the artistic work of the writer. In the fifth and sixth parts "Ideological, aesthetic and comparative aspects of Franko's poetry", "Philanthropy and society: an articulation of the problem is Franko's work" there is considered the literary heritage of the author of the poem "Moses" in the context of world visions in the context of the literary process. Extremely valuable is the section "French biography", which reveals unknown or little known hitherto facts of the literary activity of Ivan Franko. Articulation of the problem in Franko's work "considers the literary heritage of the author of the poem" Moses "in the context of visions of the world literary process. Extremely valuable is the section "Franko's biography", which reveals the unknown facts of literary activity of Ivan Franko.

Convincing disclosure of the essence of worldview, ideological, aesthetic and literary evolution of Ivan Franko makes possible to close some problematic issues, which, in turn, opens a new era not only in the study of the scientific and artistic heritage of Ivan Franko but also expands the thematic range of modern humanities discourse, in general.

What is characteristic of the monograph? First of all, it is high scientific culture, principled news, and multifaceted factual material, and thus, a spiritual breadth in the development of cardinal approaches to an adequate understanding of the problems of ideological, aesthetic and literary evolution of Ivan Franko. Hence, the built hierarchy of scientific dialogues of Ivan Franko with his contemporaries – M. Drahomanov, M. Pavlik, V. Barvinsky, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. The latter makes the monographic study a unique document in the history of Franko's studies as a science. This is illustrated by the following example: the biblical controversy between Ivan Franko and the priest Mykola Konrad determines the course of the evolution of the spiritual and existential world of the poem "Moses" author. Here the philosophical and aesthetic principle becomes the first impetus for the systematic creation of the evolutionary spiritual progress of the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth centuries. From the pages of Yevhen Nakhlik's book, Ivan Franko emerges as an outstanding thinker of his time, whose constant dialectical thinking sought the code of formation of the Ukrainian people and the establishment of its statehood.

Near the roots of the "Virzhi Frankovoho Dukhu" there are "facets of Franko's philanthropy", in a word, Franko's nation-centric position. Unconditional fact: all the scientific and artistic achievements of Ivan Franko were designed to cement the national basis in the systematic establishment of statehood. Therefore, it is not surprising that Yevhen Nakhlik paid primary attention to the study of the spiritual and existential mental evolution of Ivan Franko, i. e., from asocialist federalism to national statehood. The scientist came to a convincing conclusion: Ivan Franko argued that the idea of ahistorical optimism and national pride should be the basis of state formation. In this context, the researcher skillfully applied both synchronous and diachronic sections of the analysis. He objectively showed the evolution of the spiritual progress of Ivan Franko, comprehensively considered his intellectual heritage in a multidimensional integrity. By the way, a similar approach was effective in analyzing the creative work of Panteleimon Kulish.

Explaining the need to use such a method, Eugene Nakhlik emphasizes: it is necessary to "consider Franko's statements in synchronous and diachronic contexts – literary, cultural and political, and in the context of all his written heritage and memories of him, take into account specific life situations, personal and social, in which his thoughts appeared, to compare them with his other thoughts, earlier and later, so you can see the dynamics of change and development of Franko's thoughts" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 9).

In this regard, we are talking about the philosophical category of time in the renewed culturological space, which is not a frozen substance. Because it is layered with ethical and aesthetic strata, and thus allows a return from the past to the future and vice versa. The simultaneous personal presence of the discourse of the narrator-researcher and the object under study always proves that thought has a material force, is reflected in the systemic dimension of reality, the need for constant action. At the same time, in the system of the spiritual dimension of the epoch the axiological component of spiritual consciousness reappears as an important factor in the basic formation of national development, as values, norms, and ideals are the spiritual basis, the basis of state progress.

Ivan Franko's system of scientific interests, as Yevhen Nakhlik emphasizes, was first of all nation-centric; i. e., it was formed as the object of study based on its importance for the

creation of the state consciousness of the people. Here is an important statement from the researcher: "You should always take into account the place, time and context of Franko's statement and publication, for which readers the text was intended, where it was published, on what occasion (occasion), for what reasons (explicit or implicit) and on whose behalf it was written, under a real name, pseudonym or anonymously.

We also need to think deeply about the significance that Franko attached to certain words and concepts that we may understand differently. The generalization of Franko's statements as extra-situational and timeless, so convenient for manipulating the mass consciousness, does not allow us to understand adequately the writer and thinker, his living creative personality, the logic of his thoughts and the influx of feelings" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 10). Hence, the unambiguous position, through the prism of which, spiritual and aesthetic visions of the time are closely linked with the philosophical and aesthetic beliefs of society.

The formation of intellectual consciousness becomes the basis for the formation of the spiritual consciousness of the nation, which consists in the ability to organize and the ability to concentrate on solving crucial tasks, the ability to find optimal and most effective means of spiritual influence, to structure major and minor actions; all this contributes to the maximum realization of a human individuality at all stages of social interaction.

Yevhen Nakhlik argues that the principles of the institution of the state are organically combined with the natural result of Ivan Franko's multifaceted activity. An important component is the consideration of the relationship between the personal interaction of the human individual and the state institution, taking into account Franko's warning against the totalitarian pressure of the state institution on the individual.

The writer lived in an era when the broad masses of people entered the arena of historical existence – this process Ortega i Gasset called the "revolt of the masses". Culturology is becoming an all-encompassing phenomenon that fills all areas of a human activity. In its systemic archetypes the symbolic codes of this or that century are formed. It is important that in several sections the problems of Ivan Franko's interaction with the youth, with the youth student movement are investigated thoroughly. In the power of youth, he saw the power that can take on the task of nation-building. Hence the urgency of cultivating a sense of need for self-education, spiritual independence, critical thinking, the productivity of knowledge acquisition and human culture.

According to Ivan Franko, the nation-building concept of working with young people contributes to the formation of non-standard thinking. It, in turn, involves a practical readiness to generate extraordinary ideas, the ability to identify the essence of the problem or situation, evaluate it, and identify the ways to implement it. All these characteristics are still relevant today, as they reflect the essence of the new quality of realization of the formation of a harmoniously developed personality. Thus, Ivan Franko believed that young people are highly sensitive in everything, including developed by him a sense of justice. Young people can sensitively capture changes in social relations, new trends of the time, progress in science, culture, technology, society. The highly developed intelligence of young people allows gaining new knowledge about the world around them. Creative abilities lead them to create new concepts, theories.

The monograph also covers the problems of studying the religious views of Ivan Franko. Its author outlined an algorithm for the perspective of many areas of Franko's studies, in particular, the problem of the role of religion in the formation of Ivan Franko's spiritual evolution.

Analyzing the evolution of Ivan Franko's worldview, Yevhen Nakhlik pays special attention to the spiritual and existential laws of its development. Maintaining the constant

integrity of the observation, the researcher gives a scientific presentation in the system of dialectical progress. However, he leaves the system of “open doors”, “open space”, which begins the need for dialogue between the present and future. Thus, the applied synchronous-diachronic method is projected into the future.

Researching the literary heritage of Ivan Franko, E. Nakhlik turns to the method of psychoanalysis. The scientist shows how the personal biography of the writer is transformed into his works. So the key meanings in the three manifestations of Franko’s erotic symbolic autobiography are: in “Zachar Berkut” – compensation and correction, in “Ukradene Shchastia” – reconciliation and departure, and in “Perekhresni Stezhky” – a hidden resentment, reinforced by a new traumatic (marital) experience, and revenge” (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 43).

The discourse of combining the rational and the irrational in Ivan Franko’s creative palette is revealed in the context of world literary experience “If Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Shevchenko have an internal contradiction between civilian positions and individuals with his personality, then Franko has a battle between rational consciousness, which by force of reason and feeling bound the individual to a certain pattern of behaviour, while trying to curb the spontaneous manifestations of the unconscious (in “[Speech for the 25th anniversary]” in 1898, Franko called it “a sense of obligation” and “required unreliable work” (t. 31, p. 309)) – and there is its own position about information that trusted the satisfaction of their needs and desires” (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 56).

The dialectic of existence, its evolution gives the individual, the representative of the elite of the people, the ability to self-development, transformation of forms, methods and means. Ivan Franko’s spiritual tablets are the phenomenon that unites whole generations into one continuous stream of a human activity. Each epoch is characterized by a gradation of spiritual and existential achievements that mark the stages of a human evolution. In close connection are the philosophical and aesthetic concepts of “creativity”, “activity”, “man”, “personality”. There Nakhlik rightly says: “The highest level of a spiritual originality, artistic and mental, Franko found not in ideology, not in philosophy (including national philosophy), not in literary studies, folklore, and other sciences, although in these areas he expressed a lot of thoughtful, accurate and interesting observations and considerations, and in confessional lyrics, and especially in a symbolic autobiography, which covers both Kamenyar and non-Kamenyar” (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 54).

Each of the generations adds to the spiritual, cultural heritage of its achievements. Based on nation-centrism, culture unites people both horizontally and in the intertemporal, vertical section, reaching deep origins, sources, traditions. In the system of paradigms of the foundations of quantum thinking there is a process of reformatting the theoretical and methodological principles of various scientific fields. On the example of the analysis of this monograph we see the birth of whole areas of science, created at the intersection of different industries.

The set of ideals and symbols, norms and principles, possessions, and values influence the organization and ways of a human life in both the material and spiritual spheres. At present, the idea of creating society based on state formation is the impetus for the study of the discourse of history and politics.

The monograph substantiates the evolution of Ivan Franko’s views from the popular ideas of Mikhail Drahomanov to the transition to national, democratic positions. Freedom as a typically enlightening idea formulates the fundamental values of human progress, freedom and science. “The reactive writer approached the assessment of life phenomena in many ways, sometimes situationally, was in constant search of the world, was unrestrained in the relentless knowledge of the world, over time critically reconsidered their views, followed the development of human knowledge, mastered new philosophical and aesthetic trends. To

understand the phenomenon of Franko, it is necessary to comprehend his worldview search systematically, in its entirety and evolution" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 9).

The monograph for the first time proposes an innovative periodization of the spiritual and evolutionary progress of Ivan Franko, which is based on "not a formal indicator – decades, external moments of biography, it means certain events, such as changes in the nature or nature of activities, places of work", etc., but "internal, spiritual changes of personality, which were most striking in Franko. These are worldview changes – in philosophical (philosophical historical, philosophical existential, philosophical esthetic) and socio-political views, in ideology – as well as psychological changes (age, worldview), and even mental" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 11).

In the interpretation of the studied texts of Ivan Franko Y. Nakhlik notes rightly that the literary text as the basis of culture, as a multidimensional vector of a human existence in its causal relationship and consequent manifestation, as a set of imperatives becomes an organic human need, determined by biological laws, a human spirit, individual the nature of aman-creator and the general factors of existence of both the individual and the social community. E. Nakhlik emphasizes: "The factors of Franko's ideological evolution were: 1) constant curiosity, relentless development of new achievements of a human thought, much less in the last eight years of life, marked by illness; 2) verification of their views on the history of civilization and modern society, as well as personal experience; 3) doubts about the truth of the ideology and social goal defended by him" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 8).

Based on the analysis of Ivan Franko's texts, E. Nakhlik proves that the dialectic of a human existence, its evolution give culture the ability to self-development, transformation of forms, methods, and means. Literary text as a culturological phenomenon unites whole generations into one continuous stream of a human activity. Grown-up and late Franko had a deeper understanding of literary work – not as a true image (reflection) of reality, but as an artistic convention (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 29).

Ivan Franko's work needs research in the system of dialectical development and the system of integral connections with the development of society. The literary text is intended not only to reflect reality but to become an important factor in changing a human life according to the laws of the highest value imperative: "Franko's literary development depended on his ideological evolution" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 9).

Literary text as a phenomenon of a human existence unites people both horizontally and in the intertemporal, vertical section, reaching deep origins, sources, traditions. It becomes the most important means of understanding between people and civilizations.

At the same time, the literary text is a manifestation of the author's worldview, a declaration of his life aspirations. E. Nakhlik speaks about the most important life credo of Ivan Franko: fidelity to the life ideas of the Ukrainian people. Confirmation of this judgment is the preface of Ivan Franko "Something about himself": "Franko declared his unshakable" Russian patriotism "because he is the son of a Ruthenian peasant, fed on black peasant bread": "I <...> I can quietly curse the fate that put this yoke on my shoulders, but I can't throw it off, I can't look for another homeland, because I would become mean in front of my conscience" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 20). The need for self-education, spiritual independence, critical thinking, its productivity in the acquisition of knowledge and human culture – these are the traits that must be formed for the ability to create the spiritual evolution of mankind.

E. Nakhlik emphasizes: Ivan Franko's work creates a culturological archetype of his era: "A peculiar result of Franko's Ukrainian-centric self-consciousness was his confession of love for the Ukrainian people in the poem "Moses" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 20).

In today's globalized society, when the human individual stubbornly seeks a way out of the system of risks of his time in the system of humanitarian security of mankind, the cultural component becomes decisive in the system of formation of humanitarian security of society. The system of humanitarian security is based on a system of national archetypes and develops a method of psychological protection of a man and society in the system of social challenges and threats, calls.

The system of universal ideals in the work of Ivan Franko is a pervasive motive of all the creative progress of Kamenyar. E. Nakhlik's judgment is fair: "according to the obtained high school education (studying the Bible, ancient, German and Polish literature, propaedeutics of philosophy), Franko aspired to universal ideals" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 21).

The axiological principles of Ivan Franko's culturological code are most clearly conveyed by works of art. Showing typical manifestations of contradictions, literature as a system of culturological archetype helped to overcome the threats and difficulties of the time with a system of spiritual resistance: "Franko<...> attached great importance to independent learning and focused the others on it. He encouraged young people to learn, learn languages and cultures, and create on this basis. Hence his poetry, <...> often has the character of culturological, focused on certain patterns (genre, rhythmic, melodic, strophic), built on literary sources, largely intertextual" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 39).

Literature as a system of culturological component helps to harmonize the branch of a social life. It is important that objectively existing contradictions are reflected in the spiritual life of a man, in the destinies of individuals. Literature is an environment in which myths are created – symbolic codes – which are carriers of new ideas for all areas of a human activity. Nakhlik rightly emphasizes: "The spiritual existence of textual material is the basis for the creation of a human individuality. Exits into the existentialism of doubt and reassessment of one's own personality and chosen path revealed the signs of the birth of a new Franko" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 39).

In the system of paradigms of bases of modern quantum thinking there is a process of reformatting of theoretical and methodical bases of various scientific directions. Increasingly, we see the birth of entire areas of science, created at the intersection of different industries. In the system of modern innovative achievements of culturological discourse, the systematic evolutionary understanding of Ivan Franko's artistic heritage is important.

The study of the psychological foundations of Ivan Franko's creative evolution is innovative in Yevhen Nakhlik's research. The writer's personality is reflected in his works. The writer seems to want to "correct" the events of his life, to relive his autobiography in archetypal drawings. Such is the system of psychological compensation for those events that did not happen in the life of the author. "Even more significant for the manifestations of Franko's individuality, creative and personal, are the features of symbolic autobiography in his artistic texts. In the symbolic-autobiographical action of the historical novel "Zakhar Berkut", written in the autumn of 1882, Franko showed a compensatory approach to what happened in his real life, where he broke up with Olha Roshkevych due to the opposition of her father-priest, F. Michael" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 42).

Moreover, Ivan Franko's renunciation of a happy personal life is interpreted as the need to serve the high ideals of the state establishment of his people. In the story "Zahar Berkut" the writer gives an example of how to build a society of social justice through the efforts of the human community. Of course, in the archetype of logical emphasis, the writer contradicts himself, because his characters (Myroslava and Maxim) find both personal happiness and

the happiness of common struggle and victory. But in the works of symbolic biography Ivan Franko often experiences the events that could have taken place under certain conditions.

These psychological techniques of Ivan Franko in the fabric of the literary text were quite innovative and integrated into the plane of the future discourse of human consciousness and self-consciousness and its role in the system of creating consciousness of the mass triumph of justice. In this intellectual plane, Ivan Franko brought to the plane of the literary text "the process of controlled mastery of spiritual meanings". This was a continuation of the teachings of Mikhail Drahomanov on a qualitatively new basis. Eugene Nakhlik emphasizes: "In part, the part of his life (a high level of aesthetic consciousness, logical thinking, generally a large share of consciousness in verbal self-expression) Franko was related to the psychotype Drahomanov, but Drahomanov outside the sphere of logical, rational, positivist irrational – the part of his "I" did not come out, and Franko as the second – irrational – part of the "I" asserted that Drahomanov was a stranger for him (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 47).

The process of creating new spiritual algorithms in the creative progress of Ivan Franko was difficult, because in the history of philosophical thought, according to M. Bakhtin and S. Rubinstein, "there are no pure cognitive processes, they are certain attitudes. "Ivan Franko was extremely demanding of himself and to the laws of general existence. The discourse of the interaction of culture, epoch, and personality begins when the contours of problems that cannot be solved with the help of traditional tools begin to take shape in the system of archetypal meanings.

Human consciousness needs to develop a new intellectual approach that goes beyond traditional ideas about the surrounding reality. Ivan Franko's interpretation of the intellectual evolution is the subject of a careful study by Y. Nakhlik: to reach such a level that not "everyone follows in someone else's footsteps", but to fill the works with "own content", to show "forms, thoughts, originality", testified to the creative and age crisis of almost a forty-year-old poet, which, however, enabled his transition to a new stage of thinking and making – more independent and original. The very lack of awareness of their individuality, originality is not enough (I must say, quite exaggerated in Franko, very demanding of himself and the others), his feelings about it, complaining about fate due to its lack of self-realization were signs of independent critical thinking and prerequisites for creative growth (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 48–49). The optimal combination of intuitive and discursive thinking allows us to achieve in the process of artistic creation of new intellectual achievements.

Substantiating the expediency of the proposed system of spiritual and existential progress of Ivan Franko, the researcher expressed an important thesis: "I am talking about clarifying the boundary lines of division from which Franko became different. Different worldview and psychologically" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 11). Why is this so important? Yevhen Nakhlik gives an unequivocal answer: "Franko's literary development depended on his worldview evolution, although not entirely because it had its own dynamics due to psychological development and retained a certain autonomy, which should be taken into account during the periodization of Franko's poetry, prose and drama. Franko's artistic development does not always and not in all respects coincide with the political and philosophical, so the division into periods may be different depending on the selected criteria" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 11).

The algorithm of the innovative methodological system introduced by the author of the monograph is a unique model; for it encompasses not only factual knowledge but also heuristic knowledge, which is created at the level of intuition and lives by the laws of anticipation of time as a philosophical substance. The dialogical approach that underlies the interpretation of

scientific and artistic action as a spiritual substance is designed to go beyond the individual's "I" and overcome this complex system of human dispersal, its loneliness in the cosmogonic space of modern life. The word is a living matter, a spiritual substance capable of changing for the better the world of an individual, and hence the world of civilizational progress. With this methodology, we observe scientific-cognitive and value-oriented approaches.

The organic connection between poetry and philosophy is often reflected in the scientific and artistic texts of Yevhen Nakhlik's monograph. In dialogic texts, the problem of kinship and difference, of this beneficial interaction between poetry and philosophy, grows into a level of metaphorical reflection. Not only the quantitative but also the qualitative indicator remains essential – preservation in the invariant of the study of the form-content unity. Thanks to the hermeneutic method, this component is convincingly reflected in the creative palette of Ivan Franko, in particular, his scientific and artistic heritage. Numerous examples have shown that the problem of kinship and differences between poetry and philosophy of the writer grows in measuring the level of metaphorical reflection.

As the analysis of Ivan Franko's work shows, the culturological component in the system of literary action is an open door through time and space. It is argued that nothing is impossible, that human individuality, absorbed in its essence, intellect, morality, and will, is capable of the rapid development of reality. Because it is formed by means of literary thinking, humanity is able to produce a qualitative renewal of forms of cognition.

We share the approach to the periodization of Ivan Franko's creative progress, highlighting the following stages: the first (1871 – mid-1876); the second (autumn 1876 – 1895), the third (1896 – 1907), the fourth (1908 – 28.05.1916). It is worth remembering: to determine the boundary of the transition from the second to the third stage is quite problematic. The researcher's conclusion is correct: "The key to the third stage of Franko's activity is the problem of verification of his own ideological, political, philosophical and aesthetic ideas, artistic and mental, Franko found not in ideology, not in philosophy (including national philosophy), not in literary studies, folklore, and other sciences, although in these areas he expressed there were thoughtful, accurate and interesting observations and considerations, and in confessional lyricism, and especially in symbolic autobiography... However, acquiring vital, literary and mental maturity, the third, "high", Franko became more original in literary work and philosophical understanding of the world" (Nakhlik, 2019, p. 46). The fact seems obvious: the result of Franko's Ukrainian-centric self-consciousness was his confession of love for the Ukrainian people in the poem "Moses".

The work of Yevhen Nakhlik is a kind of illustration of the fact that at the turn of the XXth – XXIst centuries the creation of the latest canon of Frankostudies took place. Of all the types of artistic activity, literature is the most important factor in the formation of the spiritual world, the worldview of a human individuality. Honore de Balzac once wrote: "a writer must have strong convictions in matters of morality and politics, he must consider himself a teacher of people because people do not need mentors to doubt". True scientific culture, principled news, and uncompromisingness in matters of creativity, spiritual breadth, the ability to perceive the cultural values of other peoples – all this determine the high level of the research search of Eugene Nakhlik.

Detailed analysis of the monograph "Virazhi Frankovoho Dukhu. Svitohliad. Ideolohiia. Literatura" makes possible to formulate a conclusion. Ivan Franko's concept of historiosophical nation-centeredness was central in the writer's art heritage. The history of the Ukrainian nation is rich in examples of noble behaviour and the obsessive work of many

luminaries of spiritual progress. Here, too, Yevhen Nakhlik's research is an important source for the formation of both the content of modern Franko's studies and a good reason for the creation of innovative methodological technologies.

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**AMONG SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY:
POLISH HISTORICAL PERIODICALS IN EASTERN GALICIA
OF THE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURIES**

(Review of the monograph: Lazurko Lidiia. Polish historical periodicals in Eastern Galicia of the 19th – early 20th centuries: typology, ideology, problematics. Cherkasy–Drohobych–Odesa: Publishing House “Helvetyca”, 2020. 290 p.)

**МІЖ НАУКОЮ, ОСВІТОЮ ТА ІДЕОЛОГІЄЮ: ПОЛЬСЬКА
ІСТОРИЧНА ПЕРІОДИКА У СХІДНІЙ ГАЛИЧИНІ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.**

(Рецензія на монографію: Лазурко Лідія. Польська історична періодика у Східній Галичині ХІХ – початку ХХ ст.: типологія, ідеологія, проблематика. Черкаси–Дрогобич–Одеса: Видавничий дім “Гельветика”, 2020. 290 с.)

The monograph, *Polish historical periodicals in Eastern Galicia of the 19th – early 20th centuries: typology, ideology, problematics*, has been recently published in Drohobych, the author of which is Lidiia Lazurko, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Ph.D.), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University. It should be noted that the peer-reviewed monograph is a rather

noticeable phenomenon in the stream of Ukrainian Polish studies, as the study of Polish historical scientific journals of Eastern Galicia was not given enough attention. It is known that Polish scholars were engaged mainly in press studies, in which purely historiographical topics were on the margins of research attention. Instead, Ukrainian works on this problem were rather causal in nature, as they focused on clarifying historiographical specifics without attempting to generalize more broadly. Thus, despite the development of individual plots, before the publication of L. Lazurko's monograph, in the historiography there was no comprehensive elaboration of the phenomenon of Polish historical journals of Eastern Galicia as centers of professional realization and research communication platforms of the multinational intellectual community representatives of the region. By the way, the relevance of this monograph is noted in the reviews of Ukrainian historians (Pedych, 2020; Ianyshyn, 2020; Iaremchuk, 2020).

In the foreword (pp. 5–14), the author, first of all, analyzed the historiography of the problem, distinguishing four stages of historiographical studies. According to L. Lazurko, the first stage of the historiography formation of the researched question coincides in time with the studied period and covers the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries – the time when various historical scientific journals appeared and functioned, becoming the subject of understanding as a phenomenon of the general press movement and the media tribunes of the institutions they represent. During this period, individual aspects of the activities of scientific historical periodicals were studied in the context of the first synthetic studies of the history of the Polish press, the history of individual scientific institutions or large-scale periodicals. The second stage of historiography, according to L. Lazurko, dates back to the interwar years, when the historical science of independent Poland began to understand the role and importance of historiographical centers of the period of statelessness. In this context, considerable attention is paid to their periodicals. Among the achievements of this period there were the first attempts to summarize the fiftieth anniversary of the journal *Kwartalnik Historyczny*.

The third stage, according to the researcher, covers the time from the end of the Second World War to the 80's of the 20th century (period of existence of the Polish People's Republic (hereinafter – PPR). This is where the first synthesis of the history of the Polish press, the history of regional specialized publications in the context of studying the past of the organizations appeared, in which they operated and there was a significant increase in interest in the activities of individual journals. As L. Lazurko rightly noted, contemporary studies of historiographical issues were influenced by the Marxist ideology dominant in PPR, which prompted researchers to place certain conceptual accents. The fourth stage, according to the periodization developed by the author, covers the time from the early 1990s to the beginning of the 21st century. It is characterized by the emergence of a number of joint Polish-Ukrainian research programs (*Lviv. City – Society – Culture* (lasts since 1992), *Multicultural historical environment of Lviv in the 19th and 20th centuries* (2002 – 2007), *Galicja 1772 – 1918* (lasts since 2010), etc.), aimed at studying the historical and cultural environment of the Galician region. They draw attention to the functioning of individual journals, the activities of their creators and historiographical discussions that unfolded in their columns, etc. Also the researches on the organization of historical science in the regional centers of Eastern Galicia intensified, which were studied by both Polish and Ukrainian researchers.

Outlining the source base of the study, L. Lazurko singled out three sets of sources. The first set of sources, in her opinion, includes research materials of publications (articles, reviews, polemics, sources, information messages) and chronic texts (reports, editorial

appeals). Scientific chronicles, obituaries, bibliographic descriptions, answers to questions from readers published in the pages of publications are very informative for the contexts reconstruction of the era. Among the sources of the second complex, there are important materials of archival preservation (archives of editions and documents from the personal funds of scientists), epistolary, diaries, memoirs of direct participants in the publishing process and historiographical studies. The author emphasized that archival documents of both journals and participants in the publishing process are quite fragmentary and scattered in institutions of different countries, as they were destructively affected by the First and Second World Wars. The third set of sources is represented by synthetic studies of the history of scientific life of the Galician region. General contexts are found in the works that appeared on the occasion of the anniversaries of various institutions. Contextual information is also contained in sources of personal origin (letters, diaries and memoirs) and gives a wide range of ideas about general socio-political phenomena and small, everyday sketches and nuances of human relationships, without which the overall picture would be much poorer.

Declaring the research methodology, L. Lazurko pointed out its specificity, due to the solution of the main epistemological problems, as well as the understanding of the subject and the problem field of scientific research. The general theoretical and methodological basis of the research was the sociocognitive approach proposed by T. Popova in addressing historiographical issues. It involves the study of the cumulative impact on the science development of internal (internalist, cognitive) and external (externalist, social) factors. The author considers the theoretical model of the new cultural and intellectual history to be the most expedient for the realization of the research tasks. Unlike the traditional history of historiography, this direction tends to methodological pluralism, interdisciplinarity, orients the researcher primarily to the study of intellectual activity and processes in the field of humanities, social and scientific knowledge in their specific historical socio-cultural context (pp. 11–12).

In the first section, *Crypthistorical Periodicals*, L. Lazurko considered the activities of publications in Eastern Galicia of the 19th – early 20th centuries, most of the content of which concerned history. First of all, the object of her research attention was the scientific journal of the Ossolinski National Institute, which was established in 1828 and since then was published under different names and with breaks of varying duration until the end of the 60's of the 19th century. The author found that the first edition, related to the activities of the Ossolineum, was to spread the “light of science” in the spirit of the ideas of the Enlightenment, focusing on European models. In general, in the journals of the Ossolineum of the 40–60's of the 19th century, emphasis was placed on the importance of historical knowledge, which was to help unite the Poles divided by the borders of the three countries (pp. 15–30).

Later, the historian focused on the analysis of the historical and literary journal *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki*. L. Lazurko notes that this journal was interpreted by contemporaries as a means of spreading Polish culture not only in the Galician region, but also abroad. In the history of the publication, which appeared in Lviv in 1873 as a supplement to the government *Gazeta Lwowskiej* and was published before 1919, there are two periods of activity: 1873 – 1883 and 1883 – 1919. They coincide at a time when the editorial board was headed by V. Lozynskyi and A. Krekhovetskyi. The researcher claims that under the leadership of V. Lozynskyi the publication quickly outgrew its borders and became a powerful phenomenon of Polish intellectual life, serving during the 70's–early 80's of the 19th century as an unalterable source of dissemination of information, including historical one, about scientific achievements among a growing number of local intellectuals. In the initial period of

the journal's existence, as L. Lazaruko noted, it was an unofficial body of the Lviv Historical and Didactic School of K. Liske and even reflected the state of Polish historiography at that time. Later, with the change in the market of intellectual periodicals in the late 19th century, *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* came to the margins of scientific life (pp. 31–48).

The results of the author's research on the journals *Przegląd Poświęcony Etnografii, Historii i Literaturze Polski i Krajów Ościennych* and *Ruś* are of particular interest. It is known that the creators of these journals – F. Dukhinskyi and F. Ravita-Gavrinskyi – were lovers of history. The analysis of the topics on the pages of these journals testifies to their focus on the study of Ukrainian history as a component of the Polish past. L. Lazaruko convincingly proves the influence of the worldviews of the authors of the projects on the interpretation of Ukraine's past: from capturing and declaring the need for its comprehensive study in *Przeglądzi...* to denying the historicity of the Ukrainian people (*Ruś*). The author emphasizes that the publication *Ruś* was called in the concept of nationalist-democratic ideology to awaken the patriotic feelings of Poles, remembering and raising the importance of their achievements in the cultural and civilizational progress in the east. The content of the publication was based on works on the history and culture of the eastern territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, mostly by Lviv authors who were non-professional researchers or made their first steps in science. At the same time, the author argues that the topics proposed for discussion on the pages of these publications did not received adequate support in Galician society (pp. 48–61).

L. Lazaruko paid special attention to regional cryptohistorical publishing projects of scientific organizations of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, journals of Eastern Galicia, which functioned outside the capital, in the province, and had a historical and local lore character. This is, in particular, *Rocznik Kółka Naukowego Tarnopolskiego* – a periodical of the Ternopil scientific circle, which emerged in the early 90's of the 19th century and acted as an independent organization under the auspices of Lviv Historical Society. The journal was published during 1893–1895 with a circulation of 100 copies and had a distinctly historical and local lore character. It is important that the establishment of the journal was the result of consolidating the efforts of both Poles and Ukrainians (the Father P. Bilynskyi, the lawyer V. Luchakovskiy).

In addition, the author researched the *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Przemyślu* – a body of the Society of Friends of Science in Przemyśl (1909 – 1918). The main task of the publication headed by F. Pshyemskiy, the first yearbook of which was published in 500 copies, was to inform the intelligent community about the various organizational, scientific and historical and protective activities of the Society, which determined its specific content (pp. 61–80).

The second section of L. Lazaruko's monograph is devoted to the study of scientific societies publishing projects of certain branches of historical science, an important component of which were specialized journals designed to represent the goals and objectives of societies, present their achievements, provide scientific communication. Analyzing the *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, the author showed that this journal became the first special historical publication to present in Eastern Galicia an association of admirers of ancient artifacts – the National Archaeological Society (since 1875). The publication was created for educational purposes, the authors focused on informing about the latest achievements in the field of archeology, as well as special historical disciplines. The latter was due to the division of the Society into sections, which, in addition to pre-written and Christian archeology, anthropology and archaeological bibliography, were to deal with numismatics, paleography, heraldry, genealogy, diplomacy and sphragistics. A feature of the editorial

policy of this publication in the second period of activity was the involvement of Ukrainian scientists (A. Petrushevych, I. Sharanevych) (pp. 81–97).

Describing the publication of the Heraldic Society *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* (since 1908), the historian described the activities of the editor V. Semkovych. It was his efforts that ensured the scientific level of the journal and realized the tasks set before him, the main of which was to acquaint researchers with the latest achievements in the field of auxiliary historical disciplines. In general, the author argues that despite the fact that the societies, which operated specialized publications, united around not only academics but also just interested people, the editors of the journals *Przegląd Archeologiczny* and *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* tried to maintain a high level of scientificity of published materials (pp. 97–114).

The third and fourth sections of L. Lazurko's monograph are built around the publication *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. We should note that in 2010 the researcher published a special monograph on this historical journal (Lazurko, 2010). In general, the author outlined the formation of the editorial policy of the journal in 1887 – 1900, the main activities of the journal in 1901 – 1918. Of particular interest is the section devoted to the participation study of the authors of the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* in theoretical discussions. Considering the theoretical and methodological reflection on the pages of the journal, L. Lazurko singled out two types of publications: special (where theoretical and methodological reflection was the subject of special research) and applied types (where specific issues were discussed using theoretical and methodological constructions). And if there was little intelligence of the first type, the “applied theory” to some extent was inherent in almost all publications of the journal. The author presented, in fact, a methodological parable of the authors of this publication: from positivism to neo-romanticism.

In addition, the author outlined the main topics in the pages of this journal, in particular, finding out the reasons for Poland's loss of independence and attempts to restore it. According to L. Lazurko, this topic caused numerous studies and reviews on the pages of the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* to study the role of Western countries and Russia in the partition of Poland, and inspired discussions on the reception of the Polish question in Europe and hopes for its solution. In this light, the author noted the sharp polarization of the images of East and West, when on one side almost all European countries that acted as defenders of Poland's interests are lined up, and on the other one – the Russian Empire and Prussia as initiators and successors of its “non-existence”. Therefore, in the coverage of the East-West discussions on the pages of the journal, those that flared up between Germany and Poland and Poland and Russia are marked with special sharpness. The dominant feature of these dialogues was the theme of civilizational expansion, the essence of which was accumulated in the concept of German historiography called “Movement to the East”: Germany – to Polish lands, Poland – further – to “barbaric” East, affected by Tatar influences. The key in this is the image of Poland itself, which in the historiographical concepts of this period appears in the role of defender of Europe and its cultural and civilizational values. In the dominant (in times of statelessness) efforts of Polish scholars to defend their own national identity and the right to the historical past, they had to oppose the already established historiographical views, to delimit their own research field, which gave scientific controversy special urgency (pp. 139–173).

In our opinion, the following conclusion of L. Lazurko is important: the authors of the journal *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, one of the leading Polish national historiographical tribunes, despite its positioning as a purely scientific and politically unbiased publication, certainly could not avoid social challenges that oversaturated the life of the country, which sought to restore independence (p. 173).

The fifth section of the peer-reviewed monograph, *Representation of Ukraine and Ukrainians in the Columns of Polish East Galician Historical Periodicals*, is especially important for Ukrainian historians. L. Lazurko convincingly showed how the appeal to the “golden” age of the common Slavic past, which was observed in the middle of the 19th century, with the aggravation of Polish-Ukrainian relations, practically passed by the end of the century. Researchers were much more interested in the history of Ancient Rus’ and its individual principalities, especially those located on the Polish-Ukrainian border. This provided food for reflection on the state and social system in these areas and discussions on whose – Polish or Ukrainian – element there was more (pp. 175–185).

The author noted that the central theme of the essays in Eastern Galicia of the 19th – early 20th centuries, which concerned the Lithuanian-Polish era, was the annexation of Russian lands, which was interpreted by Ukrainian researchers as an act of capture, and Polish – as incorporation. Accordingly, the understanding of the results of Polish colonization was different. Ukrainian scholars assessed it as destructive for the people, and the representatives of the opposite camp – as a special civilizational mission, which was first carried out by Poland and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in these lands. The implementers of this noble civilization mission were representatives of local noble families, through the prism of whose life the readers were presented with the history of colonization of the eastern frontiers – areas of uncertainty and special danger, which gave rise to real knights (pp. 185–196).

The most acute problem of the Polish-Ukrainian past, constantly discussed in the pages of periodicals of Eastern Galicia, was the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks. L. Lazurko believes that the Cossack era gave the largest number of controversial topics, which provoked discussions not only between Ukrainian and Polish researchers, but also among the latter was the epicenter of scientific confrontation. Assessment polarization of the Cossacks’ nature was manifested, on the one hand, in its presentation as a result of spreading to the east through the high Polish culture of Western civilization with its ideas of noble chivalry, defending Christianity, and on the other hand – in spreading the image of wild and arbitrary, rebellious element, which emerged as a symbiosis of natural steppe conditions and “Turanian” blood. The activities of B. Khmelnytskyi and the history of the uprising under his leadership were presented in negative colors, which eventually led to the Ruin – one of the greatest tragedies of the Commonwealth of the 17th century. The Cossacks and their leader were portrayed as criminals who ravaged a prosperous country and led to its further decline. Only certain historical figures who chose compromise positions in the Cossack confrontation received positive assessments (A. Kysil, I. Vyhovskyi). The only thing that the authors of research and essays on the Cossack era agreed on was the assessments of the domestic policy of the Polish state, which was considered unbalanced in relation to the problematic, bordering eastern territories (pp. 196–210).

L. Lazurko also analyzed the reception by the authors of Polish East Galician publications of the issues of Ivan Mazepa uprising and peasant riots, as well as the image of Ukrainians during the Austrian rule. It is noted that the interpretation of the hetman’s activity practically did not change during the 19th – 20th centuries, creating a romanticized and mysterious image of the “Prince of Rus’” in the imagination of readers. Instead, Koliivshchyna and Haydamachchyna, in the representation of mainly F. Ravita-Gavrinskyi, were seen as a dark page of the last years of Polish history, inspired by a hostile eastern neighbor. The rebels themselves became the descendants of arbitrary Cossacks, capable only of ruining and destroying, uneducated and superstitious. However, such a radical view of the causes of peasant uprisings provoked no less sharp criticism from professional historians (pp. 210–220).

Among the conclusions proposed by the author, we note the following: Polish scientific periodicals of Eastern Galicia for a long time (actually before the arrival of M. Hrushevsky in Lviv) were almost the only professional forum for representatives of Ukrainian historical science. In the columns of historical publications from the 30's of the 19th century, V. Levytskyi, I. Vahylevych, A. Petrushevych, I. Sharanevych, I. Franko, M. Korduba, O. Kolessa, K. Studynskyi and others published their works, which determines the importance of Polish scientific periodicals for the formation of Ukrainian professional historiography (pp. 220–246).

Analyzing the monograph positively, we should, in our opinion, make a few warnings. First, the author essentially used a network model to study the intellectual community of journal editors, scholars who rallied around journals and supported their editorial policies, but did not mention this in the first section of the monograph. Secondly, in the sixth section of the researcher's monograph, in our opinion, it was necessary to reveal the processes of development of ideas, which were discussed in the pages of iconic Polish historical journals of Eastern Galicia in the 19th – early 20th centuries, indicate their influence on further trends in scientific research. Unfortunately, the monograph is not equipped with a nominal index, which somewhat impoverishes its level.

Summing up, we should note that the peer-reviewed monograph is an original and in-depth scientific study that contains qualitatively new research results. We can only wish L. Lazurko further success in the study of topical issues of historical periodicals.

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**HOMO SOVIETICUS IDENTITY EDUCATION
IN THE CONTEXT OF SOVIET REALITY**

**(Review: Kahanov Yu. Homo Sovieticus Identity Construction (1953 – 1991):
Case of Ukraine. Zaporizhzhia: Inter-M, 2019. 432 p., il.)**

**ВИХОВАННЯ “НОМО SOVIETICUS”
В РЕАЛІЯХ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ДІЙСНОСТІ**

**(Рецензія на: Каганов Ю. Конструювання “радянської людини” (1953 – 1991):
українська версія. Запоріжжя: Інтер-М, 2019. 432 с., іл.)**

In recent years, the modern humanities have been enriched by a number of generalized studies on problems, the objective study of which in Soviet times was not possible. The Soviet experiment on the education of the “new person” (covering all spheres of public life and lasted throughout the life of a Soviet citizen) belongs to such little-studied and at the same time relevant issues today. Interest in this problem is due not only to scientific demand, but also purely practical. Ukrainian society still feels the consequences (both direct and indirect) of the Soviet “homo sovieticus” education, which are manifested in the nostalgia of individuals for “communism” and their respective political sympathies and cultural practices. Thus, the processes of formation of the Ukrainian political nation are slowed down and the colonial syndrome is preserved. In order to effectively counteract information aggression and

deconstruct anti-Ukrainian historical myths implanted in the public consciousness by Soviet and Russian propaganda, fundamental research into the phenomenon of the construction of the Soviet man is extremely necessary.

Yurii Kahanov's monograph is aimed at studying the problem of the formation of the "Soviet person" in the Ukrainian SSR in 1953 – 1991. Using modern methodological tools, the author identifies the main components of the system of education and influence on the consciousness of the "builder of communism" – education (secondary schools, vocational schools and universities), media (press, radio, television), mass culture (language practices, political anecdotes, movies, music, holidays and rituals). At the same time, the author shows the forms and methods of resistance to such a policy. Based on the above, we believe that the scientific project of Yurii Kahanov is one of the few studies of this format in this thematic niche.

The structure proposed by the author does not cause objections and is quite optimal for a thorough and comprehensive disclosure of the scientific problem. The work is based on a problem-chronological approach to the study of historical phenomena, consists of an introduction, four sections, conclusions, a list of sources and literature used and a nominal index.

In the introductory part of the monograph, Yu. Kahanov duly revealed all the necessary components. First of all, it is the relevance substantiation of the research topic; he clearly defined the purpose and objectives that the author considered a priority to solve, the object and subject of research. The outlined chronological framework of the study – 1953 – 1991 (the lower chronological limit is the beginning of the era of de-Stalinization, the upper one is the Ukraine's independence) seems quite expedient.

When writing the monograph, Yu. Kahanov used a large and diverse range of sources (a set of written, oral and pictorial materials), which allowed to solve the tasks. In particular, he introduced into scientific circulation the materials of 352 cases from 57 funds of the central state, regional and branch archives of Ukraine, as well as 121 units of accounting for photographic documents. In addition, the author included 39 interviews, 443 monographs and articles, 31 dissertations and dissertation abstracts. Among them, there are materials of the funds of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, the Central State Archive of Supreme Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine, Central State Film, Photo Archive of Ukraine named after H. S. Pshenychnyi, state archives of Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Sumy, Ternopil, Kherson, Khmelnytskyi regions; the Fund of Fine Arts of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadskyi, funds of art publications of the National Library of Belarus, Russian State Library, Museum-Archive and Documentation Center of the Ukrainian Smoloskyp self-publishing.

It should be noted that in the monograph for the first time a whole array of documents was introduced into scientific circulation, which until recently was marked "top secret". At the same time, Yu. Kahanov proved to be an experienced researcher and, without rejecting the informative content of the documents of the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies, subjected them to careful scientific criticism and verification. Because he understands the scale of falsification, attribution and imitation of high-profile cases by the KGB (Committee for State Security). For example, the information of analytical and generalizing materials of special reports and reports of the KGB to the Central Committee of the CP(b)U (Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) of Ukraine), archival and criminal cases is verified for the first time with the help of oral sources.

In the first section, *“Soviet Person”: Historiographical Discourses and Theoretical Conceptualization*, Yu. Kahanov, having analyzed the works of his predecessors, came to the conclusion that the research topic belonged to those that had not become the subject of comprehensive research, although some of its aspects had been studied by scientists (pp. 10–67). Carrying out a historiographical analysis in the study, the author generally managed to go beyond the traditional bibliographic description. This was achieved through the involvement of a sound theoretical basis. The author’s classification of works on three levels (depending on the scale of the problem study) does not cause any objections: 1) generalizing works on the construction of “communist consciousness” after 1953; 2) research on the formation of “homo sovieticus” identity in the USSR in the 1950s – 1980s; 3) studies that cover certain aspects of this process (p. 11). At the same time, he singles out the Soviet, dissident, Western, Central European, Russian, and Ukrainian scientific discourses of the “new Soviet person”. This approach allowed for a comparative analysis of the views of scientists on the process of constructing “homo sovieticus” identity.

In the subsection devoted to theoretical approaches to solving the problem, the author characterizes and shows the practical use of the theory of totalitarianism, industrial society, mass culture and authoritarian personality in the analysis of the phenomenon of a “Soviet person”. The study is marked by a successful selection of the necessary research methods: general scientific (analytical and synthetic, inductive and deductive), special-historical (comparative-historical, historical-genetic, historical-typological, and problem-chronological), interdisciplinary (socio-psychological) methods. At the same time, axiological and historical-anthropological approaches were used.

Nevertheless, we believe that it would be appropriate to provide definitions of key terms used in the work.

The second section, *Education and Upbringing as Mechanisms for Constructing the “Soviet person” in Ukraine* (pp. 68–139), is devoted to the analysis of the main factors of the individual socialization, which influenced the formation of basic ideas, values, and patterns of behavior of young people.

The researcher emphasizes the primary role of secondary school in the formation of the Soviet citizen. He shows the opposition of school and family experience as formal/informal, indoctrinal/free one. It was school (as a body of state education) and not family education that was given priority (p. 69). Thus a person was formed according to a certain standard, a general pattern of a certain behavior, worldview, and political views (p. 71). Accordingly, Yu. Kahanov emphasizes that “in the conditions of strict directives of the state and the absence of social control, the school increasingly became a conservative social institution, whose activities were aimed at protecting and preserving the existing order” (p. 72).

Since historical education played a key role in the formation of the “Soviet person”, the author in his study indirectly touches on this issue (p. 82). At the same time, he emphasizes the fragmentary study of the history of Ukraine, which was used to deplete national feelings, formed in some cases by family upbringing, and other factors (p. 83).

The period of the 1950s – 1980s was characterized by the Russification of the school educational process. This aspect is also covered in the work in the form of statistical data presented in the study, which show the dynamics of the displacement of the Ukrainian language from the educational process. The direct result of this was the rejection by the average student of the Ukrainian language as a tool of communication and utilitarian attitude to it through the prism of assessment in the certificate (pp. 85–87).

The Soviet system, pursuing a policy aimed at forming the “right person” completely ignored the natural desire of the individual for freedom and self-expression, defined clear rules and regulations, for violation of which there were severe sanctions. Certainly, any coercion entails resistance, and this was especially evident among young people. Forms and motives of resistance and the reaction of law enforcement agencies to them are reflected in the text of the work.

The author analyzes the effectiveness of ideological and educational activities, the content of the educational process, labor education, Russification processes in the system of higher education in Ukraine in 1953 – 1991 (pp. 102–121). Also he singles out two main tasks of educating students in the pro-Soviet ideological direction: 1) to form the necessary critical minimum of “correct” beliefs, values and patterns of behavior, 2) to “re-educate” and correct “harmful” views already instilled by family education (p. 121).

At the same time, based on the analysis of KGB reporting materials (from the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine), Yu. Kahanov shows specific manifestations of resistance of young people (ranging from wrong tastes, views and individual expressions to the creation of organizations and associations of anti-Soviet orientation) who studied in higher and vocational institutions and repressive measures aimed at suppressing it. The author gives examples of KGB inspiring conflicts in order to prove anti-Soviet (p. 129).

The third section, *Mass Media in the Ideological Matrix of Formation of Public Consciousness*, is devoted to the coverage of the influence of the press, radio and television on society and the individual in the process of educating the “new Soviet person” (pp. 140–209).

A special place in the formation of the “Soviet person” was played by the press, which covered a huge audience. Describing this means of ideological policy in Ukraine, the author singles out republican, regional, district, city, mass-circulation newspapers and the grassroots press (wall newspaper, light film newspaper and photo film newspaper) (p. 141).

At the same time, the author cites the main trends in the functioning of this component of the government’s educational work – the predominance of allied political newspapers over republican, “voluntary-compulsory” subscriptions, the policy of Russification was implemented in the press (in the 1970s, the share of Ukrainian-language magazines in the country fell from 46% to 19%), the functioning of temniks (they determined the topics forbidden to cover), the struggle against religion and the church, conducting scientific and atheistic propaganda (p. 148). In his monograph, Yu. Kahanov emphasizes that with the beginning of “perestroika”, the press began to reproduce actuality more and cover reality – writing about shortcomings, more widely informing about the work of party, Soviet and public organizations.

Particular attention is paid to the place and role of Ukrainian radio in preserving the national identity (Soviet model) in the context of continuous ideologizing. Radio was considered the most effective means of implementing the party line for the formation of “homo sovieticus” identity. That is why, until 1962, radios were subject to mandatory registration (the violation – threatened with a fine or even criminal liability) (p. 171).

Zaporizhzhia researcher argues that Ukrainian radio, along with its ideological and propaganda function, at that time remained a communicative element that was much clearer, more consistent and fuller than other media, contributed to the preservation and promotion of Ukrainian culture through the native language, folk song and other archetypes of Ukrainian identity (p. 184).

The author does not ignore the phenomenon of “radio hooliganism”, which he defines as “ideological confrontation on radio waves”, due to the desire of young people to self-

affirmation and the emergence of the amateur radio movement (pp. 188–191). In the monograph, the author identifies the main forms of violations in radio broadcasts, which did not have anti-Soviet content, but rather violated established moral norms (p. 188).

The monograph also reflected the issues of organizing the work of underground radio stations and the measures taken by law enforcement agencies to combat “radio hooliganism” (pp. 187–189). However, party officials and security officials saw a much greater threat to the formation of the “Soviet person” in the broadcasting of foreign radio stations, whose work undermined the foundations of state security (p. 192). In particular, the researcher cites information that as of 1982, “anti-Soviet broadcasting” to Ukraine was conducted by 37 radio stations located in various foreign countries – Freedom, Albania, Voice of Israel, China, Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC, German Wave, Transworld Radio, Voice of the Andes, IBRA, World Adventist Radio (p. 193). At the same time, the author shows the authorities’ measures to intercept and “mute” the signals of “enemy” radio stations.

We find interesting the story of the ideological influence of television on the construction of the “Soviet person” in Ukraine. During the period under study, television became an integral part of everyday life of all citizens. Yuri Kahanov claims that the product made in the studios of Moscow and Leningrad prevailed on TV (except for children’s programs of own production and Ukrainian live product). In the existence of television, the author identifies the most characteristic features: the loss of national identity and the transformation into an instrument of Russification (as of the first half of 1987, 39.9% of broadcasting was on Ukrainian television in Ukrainian and 60.1% – in Russian), counter-propaganda programs, rigid ideology and censorship, communication with the audience through letters (interpreted as the “voice of workers” and “signal from below”), the emergence of private channels, expanding coverage of previously taboo topics (pp. 209–243).

The fourth section, *Sociocultural Process and Indoctrination of Soviet Identity*, is devoted to the study of the influence of Soviet language practices, political anecdotes, cinema, music, holidays, and rituals on the formation of “homo sovieticus” identity.

First of all, the author focuses on the analysis of the relationship between language and ideology on two levels: the processes that take place in language under the influence of political ideology, and linguistic means by which to influence the identity of native speakers (p. 245). The study also presents signs of Soviet bureaucratic language such as: monologue, ritual, secrecy, directiveness, the presence of a single collective point of view, constant sources of tension, deformation of the linguistic picture of the world, characterized by primitivism, unidirectional movement of time.

The scientist’s appeal to the issue of spreading the anecdote seems new to us. In his work, he argues that in this way (listening or telling) the “Soviet person” compensated for the possibilities of self-expression. At the same time, anecdotes showed distrust of the official line that national aspirations disappeared with the creation of a “new Soviet person” (pp. 255–256). He singles out anecdotes on topics permitted by communist ideology (alcoholism, mother-in-law, weather, housing problems, petty bureaucrats, officials, etc.), political anecdotes and anecdotes on ideological topics (aimed at the complete debunking of all Soviet idols: heroes, endless victories celebrated, institutions (parties, state security agencies, councils, etc.).

The use of cinema to construct a “new Soviet person” and distort reality (the formation of faith in the triumph of the ideals of communism) was reflected in the monograph. The functional capabilities of the film industry and film screening in Ukraine are revealed. He claims that

Ukrainian film studios lost to Russian ones both in terms of the level of resources and in terms of the sustainability of human resources (p. 277). Ideological functions relied on music, which also went beyond the established framework of the Soviet system (pp. 296–312).

A special place was given to the creation of socialist rituals. The author in his study cites the gradation of holidays: national (state), labor, calendar, household ones (p. 314). The work of the agitation and propaganda department of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U on the introduction of Soviet holidays and rites into everyday life is shown. At the same time, Yu. Kahanov emphasizes that “for the majority of citizens, political rallies often seemed to pass by them, and joyful feelings were rather caused by free days among family and friends. The feeling of falsehood, artificiality and insincerity of ceremonial and festive actions led to the formation of a satirical and humorous reaction to them” (p. 336).

At the same time, we believe that the study would be enriched by a comparative analysis of the Ukrainian version of the construction of the “Soviet person” with the corresponding processes in other republics of the USSR.

The conclusions that follow from the results of the work seem balanced. The author avoids categorical judgments, which reflects the impartiality in covering the diversity of processes and phenomena under study.

A significant addition to the theoretical material is a well-chosen illustrative material. We should also emphasize its appropriate design. The involved complex of pictorial sources is contained in the funds of the Central State Film, Photo Archive of Ukraine named after H. S. Pshenychnyi, the Fund of Fine Arts of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadskyi, funds of art publications of the National Library of Belarus, Russian State Library.

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