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## CITIZENSHIP AS THE MAIN RESEARCH CATEGORY IN THE STUDY OF AN IDEAL CITIZEN IMAGE IN ANCIENT ATHENS

**Abstract.** *The goal of the research* is to analyze the impact of the Athenian citizenship content on the image of an ideal citizen and finding the ways of achieving the image of a virtuous citizen by Athenians bastards, the image which was recognized by the society. **The research methodology** is based on principles of historicism, systematic, logicity, axiological and of the use of specific historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and comparative) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography the attempt has been made to analyze the essence of Athenian citizenship and influence of its content elements on the image of an ideal citizen. Due to the uncertain socio-political status of the nothoi there has been considered the possibility of their public recognition as good citizens. **The Conclusions.** The concept of citizenship in Ancient Athens included socio-cultural and political components. The first assumed



the child's involvement in cultural and religious activities for the purpose of mastering and further reproduction of cultural norms, traditions of a civil society. The integration of a child into a body of citizens to participate in socio-cultural activities was preceded by his inclusion in the father's family and phratry. Phratry membership was the basis for getting political rights on register youth in the deme citizen. Active participation in socio-cultural activities and polis governance formed the framework of an ideal citizen image. The available sources did not allow to determine the status of nothoi in Athenian polis unambiguously. However, those facts that nothoi were a significant resource for replacement the body of citizens, adoption practices and granting civil rights by the decree of the ecclesia, loyalty to illegitimate children during certain periods, repeal or non-compliance the marriage and citizenship laws make it probable that nothoi could have political rights in some cases. Accessibility for nothoi to the gymnasium and temple in Cynosarges illustrates the possibility of their socio-cultural integration.

**Key words:** Ancient Athens, citizenship, image of ideal citizen, nothoi.

## ГРОМАДЯНСТВО ЯК БАЗОВА КАТЕГОРІЯ У ДОСЛІДЖЕННІ ОБРАЗУ ІДЕАЛЬНОГО ГРОМАДЯНИНА У СТАРОДАВНІХ АФІНАХ

**Анотація.** Метою дослідження є аналіз впливу змісту афінського громадянства на образ ідеального громадянина, а також визначення наявності способів досягнення суспільно визнаного образу добродесного громадянина у незаконнонароджених афінян. **Методологія дослідження** засновувалася на застосуванні історичного, логічного, системного, аксіологічного підходів та використанні спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-порівняльний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії здійснено спробу аналізу сутності афінського громадянства та впливу його змістових складових на образ ідеального громадянина. Узв'язку із невизначеним соціально-політичним статусом nothoi розглянуто питання можливості суспільного визнання їх хорошими громадянами. **Висновки.** Поняття громадянства у Стародавніх Афінах включало соціокультурну та політичну складові. Перша передбачала залучення дитини до культурної та релігійної діяльності з метою засвоєння і подальшого відтворення культурних норм, традицій громадянської общини. Інтеграції дитини до колективу громадян полісу для участі у соціокультурній діяльності передувало включення її у сім'ю та фратрію батька. Фратріальна належність була основою набуття політичних прав у спосіб реєстрації юнака в списках громадян дему. Активна участь у соціокультурній діяльності та управлінні полісом становили основу образу ідеального громадянина. Наявні джерела не дають підстав однозначно визначити статус nothoi в афінському полісі. Однак той факт, що nothoi становили суттєвий ресурс для поповнення колективу громадян, наявність практик усиновлення та надання громадянських прав декретом еклесії, а також існування періодів лояльного ставлення до незаконнонароджених, недотримання або відміни законів, що регулювали питання належності до громадянського колективу, створюють вірогідність наявності у nothoi політичних прав у певних випадках. Доступність для незаконнонароджених святилища та гімнасія у Кіносаргах демонструє наявність способу їх соціокультурної інтеграції.

**Ключові слова:** Стародавні Афіни, громадянство, образ ідеального громадянина, nothoi.

**The Problem Statement.** At the end of the archaic and during the classical periods citizenship was formed as a political institute in Ancient Athens. The myth of Athenian autochthony was an ideological rationale for equality of origin and political equality during the classical period (Tumans, 2002, pp. 409–410; Goušchin, 2019, pp. 18–194). Equal membership in Athenian civil community determined the position and status of a person in polis, scope of his rights and obligations. Accordingly, the development of a civil society as well as a socio-cultural and political community increased simultaneously with the evolution of citizenship from determinate ritualized activities to being approved by law. The rise of state regulation of marriage and inheritance, grounds for acquiring civil rights caused the emergence of a group of illegitimate Athenians. The strength and significance of this group are confirmed by the definition of their peculiar word – nothoi. There remain debatable the

issues on the status of nothoi and the scope of the rights they had. It is not clear whether nothos could reach *arête* and be considered a good citizen. Hence, the analysis of Athenian citizenship as the main research category in the study of image of an ideal citizen in Ancient Athens is topical.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** J. Blok explored various aspects of a political component of Athenian citizenship (Blok, 2005; Blok, 2009; Blok, 2013). Citizenship and civil society development in Ancient Athens are considered in the articles of M. Deene (Deene, 2011), R. T. Long (Long, n.d.). E. A. Meyer (Meyer, 1993) analyzed the evolution of Athenian citizenship on the basis of epitaphs. L. M. Gluskina (Gluskina, 1983), S. D. Lambert (Lambert, 1998), Ch. Hedrick (Hedrick, 1991) demonstrated the value of phratry in Athenian polis in connection with democratization and evolution of citizenship regulation during the archaic and classical periods.

S. Lape interpreted Solon's marriage law as an egalitarian measure that corresponds to the gist of political reforms (Lape, 2002 – 2003). D. M. MacDowell (MacDowell, 1976) proved the idea that Athenian bastards could have civil rights during the classical period. C. B. Patterson noted the clarification importance of the circle of persons who were defined as nothoi to understand Athenian family and polis (Patterson, 1990). The issue of the liberalization of Pericles' law was the subject of E. Carawan article (Carawan, 2008). D. Ogden analyzed the connection of illegitimate children with fatherly oikos (Ogden, 2009).

However, the issue of Athenian citizenship influence on the image of an ideal citizen was not covered in special works.

**The Purpose of Publication** is to analyze the notion of Athenian citizenship and its impact on the image of an ideal citizen. In this article there have been also considered the formation stages of Athenian citizenship in order to determine whether nothoi had the opportunities to achieve the image of a good citizen that was approved by the community.

**The Main Material Statement.** A civil society was the basis of polis in Ancient Athens. Aristotle pointed out Athenians apperceive state through a community or group of citizens (Arist., Pol. III.I.1274b40–1276b10). The polis was the form in which the community existed and, at the same time, the result of civil society activities (Andreev, 1987; Strauss, 2013, p. 23). The legal status of a citizen determined the human significance in Athenian polis.

Citizenship as a political concept in Ancient Athens emerged as a result of three stages of legislative initiatives, which determined the rise of polis in general. The first stage was Solon's law. Along with the *seisathēia* Solon restored civil rights to all Athenians previously deprived of them except for convicts of serious crimes, such as murder and tyranny (Plut., Sol. XIX).

In addition, Solon introduced regulation of family relations within oikos. Lawgiver limited the size of bride's dowry thereby reducing obstacles for marriages between families belonging to different property classes. Those Athenian citizens, who did not have legal children, received the right to bequeath money and oikos to anyone regardless of belonging to the genus (Plut., Sol. XX – XXI). In classical written works there is the appeal to the issue of recognizing a child as a full member of the civil society related to the right of inheritance mainly. According to Solon's law, Heracles had no right to inherit anything because his father did not introduce him in the phratry that notes Pisthetaerus in Aristophanes "The Birds" (Aristoph., Aves. 1650–1670). Illegal children were not recognized as heirs and did not have the right to property inheritance (Demosth., XXXVI.32).

Solon's marriage and inheritance laws contributed to strengthening family status and they were an instrument of polis democratization (Lape, 2002 – 2003, pp. 118–122). Since Solon's

time citizenship and inheritance laws were considered interconnected. At once Pericles' citizenship law did not contain any rules regulating inheritance (Gluskina, 1987, p. 86). Perhaps, coherence of civil and inheritance rights was the guarantee of the *eunomia* retention of a civil society after Solon's *seisachtheia*. *Oikos* was the main social, economic, and religious unit of the polis. Therefore, citizen freedom and economic independence, a realization of the economic component of Athenian citizenship were based on the preservation and inheritance of *oikos*. Inheritance was to provide a livelihood for citizen participation in government, military service, realization of the duty of a liturgist.

As a result of Solon's law there was formed a civic collective or civil community which was based on Athenian origin, personal freedom, legal equality of all citizens, land ownership, access to political and military activities (Kolobova, & Gluskina, 1958, p. 120; Evseenko, 2003, pp. 13–21).

The next stage of citizenship evolution was related to Cleisthenes' reforms. According to the reform, the Athenians were the subject to entry in the demes lists to their area of residence. Citizenship and self-identification began to be determined at the level of *demos* and polis (Strogetsky, 1991, pp. 33–34; Davies, 2004, pp. 107–109). P. Vidal-Naquet paid attention that the inclusion of all citizens regardless of property status in citizens' list immediately after Cleisthenes' reforms is debatable. The researcher considered the idea of initial including only hoplites in these lists to be also unreasonable (Vidal-Naquet, 2001, pp. 118–120). The significance of the reform was not only in the redistribution of political power aimed at weakening the influence of the traditional aristocratic families, a further rise of Athenian democracy, as well as the evolution of a civil status (Strogetsky, 1991, p. 33).

The final legal regulation of the citizens' status was related to the Pericles' citizenship law. The law determined the born of two *astoi* as the condition for granting civil rights (Arist., Ath. pol. 26.3). In his speeches the Demosthenes appeals to marriage "according to the rules" repeatedly and respectively with the laws (Demosth., XL.26; Demosth., XLIII.19; Demosth., XLVIII.53; Demosth., LIX.13; Demosth., LIX.58). But researchers note, that Pericles' law contained the norm of being born by the two Athenians *astoi* without specifying the conditions of a legal marriage (Patterson, 1990, p. 59).

Aristotle noted, that Pericles' citizenship law was the result of a large number of citizens (Arist., Ath. pol. 26.3). In contrast, Plutarch's information testifies that reducing the number of citizens did not happen immediately after the adoption of the law of Pericles. It would be logical if the legislator was guided by a reason called Aristotle. Plutarch noted that until 445 – 444 BC when the king of Egypt sent as a gift to Athenian citizens 40 *medimnos* wheat and there was a need to divide the gift among the citizens, Athenians looked through one's fingers at illegitimate children. And only this occasion became the cause of lawsuits over the legality of citizenship. As a result of lawsuits, almost 5000 Athenians were sold into slavery and the number of full citizens decreased to 14 240 (Plut., Pericl. XXXVII).

A citizen status became privileged owing to the restrictions imposed by Pericles (Meyer, 1993, p. 112). Full citizenship suggested the possibility of an equal participation in political activities. Athenians, whose origins did not meet the requirements of the new law, lost their citizenship. However, records of illegitimate Athenians were available in written sources before the middle of the Vth cent. BC. Therefore it is debatable that Pericles first introduced a law of the born by two Athenian *astoi*. Aristotle referred Athenians of impure descent to the supporters of Peisistratos. Their commitment was explained by fear for their civil rights since the revision of civil lists was held after the overthrow of the Peisistratid tyranny. The rise to power of Hippias and Hipparchus, the sons of Peisistratos, Aristotle

associated with their dignity due to the origin from a legal marriage (Arist., Ath. pol. 13.5; Arist., Ath. pol. 17.3-18). V. V. Latyshev shared the point of view that Pericles' law was introduced to reduce the number of Athenian citizens receiving the *theorika*. The researcher noted that Pericles' law was restored by Solon's law, which at the beginning of the Vth cent. BC ceased to be applied and the difference between citizens and non-citizens was not seen (Latyshev, 1997a, p. 190). According J. Blok Pericles changed the criteria for citizenship. As a result, there took shape the concept of citizenship as a political community endowed with rights and duties (Blok, 2005, pp. 8–21; Blok, 2009b, pp. 141–147).

Despite the above mentioned remarks of Aristotle, it is more probable that Pericles' law was not restored by Solon's law, but the first legal norm about the need of origin from two *astoi*. Possibly, issues of origin, mentioned by Aristotle, regarding recognition of phratry membership, which was taken by Pericles as the basis of a legal norm after the loss of a political significance by the phratries, was a result of Cleisthenes' reforms. Before Pericles' law there could be members of the political community those children, who were born from a wife not included in the phratry. But according to the polis religion they were considered illegitimate.

Plutarch cited Pericles' appeal to *ecclesia* on the repeal of its own law, which was justified by the need to pass the inheritance to a member of the genus by reason of deaths his legitimate sons Xanthippus and Paralus. Judging by the further words of Plutarch, the law was preserved, but the son of Pericles received civil rights. It was allowed to introduce him to the phratry and given patronymic (Plut., Sol. XXXVII). Apparently, Pericles was given the right to adopt his son or the *ecclesia* passed a decree on granting civil rights to the illegitimate Pericles' son. Demosthenes mentioned that children who were born from two Athenian citizens not married legally could get civil rights subject to their adoption by the mother's genus. Similarly, the father could accept his children who were born by a mother, an Athenian citizen, who was not married (Demosth., XL.10). In addition, the Athenian citizen could have legitimate children born to *pallakai* according to the law and if there was a desire (Demosth., XXIII. 53).

L. M. Gluskina determines the difference in the status of children who were born from the marriage between *astoi* and *xenoi* and children who were born from two unmarried *astoi* (citizens), (without a wedlock). In the first case fathers could introduce their sons to the phratry, but a decree of the *ecclesia* was required to obtain the civil rights. In the other case, children received civil rights after being introduced to the father's phratry, because the requirement of the legal birth of a child could be replaced by father's formal consent (Gluskina, 1987, pp. 94–96). Patterson similarly associates *nothoi*, after Pericles' law, with children who were born from *pallakai* or *xenoi* but weren't born by a mother of Athenian citizen (Patterson, 1990, pp. 61–63). S. Lape expresses a thought that after Solon's law all bastards had the status of *nothoi*. Childless citizens could adopt only a legal son of another Athenian citizen for inheritance and the preservation of the *oikos* (Lape, 2002 – 2003, pp. 122–124).

V. V. Latyshev linked the granting of civil rights to the son of Pericles with a repeal of citizenship law (Latyshev, 1997a, p. 190). Obtained by Pericles permission to legitimize his son by Aspasia in 430/429 BC E. Carawan relates to the first stage of weakening citizenship regulation. The second stage of this liberalization was the suspension of Pericles' law in 411 BC (Carawan, 2008, pp. 384–401).

During archonship of Eucleides, after overthrew the Thirty Tyrants, Pericles' citizenship law was finally reinstatement. Citizenship law, introduced in 403 – 402 BC, was not wound up. The law determined the born from two citizens on condition of citizenship. Demosthenes noted that from the first year of archonship of Eucleides *nothoi* lost the right of inheritance and

excluded from their family's religious cults (Demosth., XLIII.51). The order of inclusion into the official lists of citizens in the IV-th cent. BC was described by Aristotle (Arist., Ath. pol. 42).

After the reinstatement of Pericles' citizenship law lists of citizens were revised. As a result of such revision after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants, Euxitheus was removed from the lists of citizens and got the metic status. Appealing to the court he argued that both of his parents were Athenian citizens. Euxitheus pointed out that his father was born before archonship of Eucleides, i.e., in 403/402 BC when he could be considered a citizen even if one of his parents had civil rights (Demosth., LVII.1–LVII.30).

Though the procedure for obtaining full civil and political rights was regulated by law but the basis of citizen membership in polis as a political community was his membership in a civil community. Oikos, phratry, and genus, to limit the influence of which the above laws were directed, were the first and key regulators of Athenian membership in community. However, written sources provide information on the functioning of these social institutions only at the end of the archaic and during the classical periods, precisely when they changed under the influence of law and continued to perform a regulatory function with legal norms simultaneously.

The integration of children into Athenian civil community took place during several stages, which were accompanied by generally accepted rituals. Amphidromia ceremonial feast was celebrated for seven days after the birth of a child, it was a symbol of a newborn introduction into the family and oikos to attract to family cults (Beaumont, 2012, p. 67).

Written sources differed in determining the time of a child's given name. Aristotle pointed at naming the child on the seventh day after birth, arguing that it was high infant mortality during its first week (Arist., Hist. anim. VII.67). In Demosthenes' speeches "Against Boeotus" celebration of the tenth day after birth was associated with the recognition and naming of a child (Demosth., XXXIX.20 – XXXIX.22; Demosth., XL.28). Researchers took the celebration of Amphidromia on the fifth, seventh, or tenth day after birth. The child was named on the seventh, tenth day after birth or together with Amphidromia (Latyshev, 1997b, pp. 227–228; Cantarella, 2011, p. 336; Dasen, 2011, pp. 297–303).

Belonging to family and oikos was the basis for the child's further involvement in the social activities of a civil community. Children, who were introduced to the oikos, presented to the phratry members on the third day of the festival Apaturia. Father or guardian, the closest relative, had to swear that the child was legitimate and sacrificed on the altar. Then the sacrificial meat was distributed among phraters. A child was registered in phratry after phratry members voted successfully. Euxitheus justified his right to be considered an Athenian citizen, but not a bastard, by the fact that he was introduced into phratry and further registered in the deme's list (Aristoph., Tes. 550; Demosthenes, 1994a, pp. 597–598; see also: Beaumont, 2000, p. 46). If mother's Athenian citizenship was doubtful, a child registration had to be refused by the phrateres. In this case, the father could appeal to the arbiter (Demosth., LIX.59 – LIX.60). Orators appealed to the testimonies of the Athenians, who belonged to the common phratry, deme and had a common burial site, which indicated their reception as a separate social community and the existence of interrelation of social and political components of a civil status (Demosth., LVII.40; Demosth., XLIII.79).

Researchers shared the same point of view on the issue of determining the age of children introduction in the phratry. This event was attributed to the first or third year of their life (Latyshev, 1997a, pp. 192–193; Andrewes, 2007, p. 439; Dasen, 2011, p. 303). F. F. Zielinski and J. Larson attributed to Apaturia registration of boys as citizens meaning, probably, registration in phratry (Zielinski, 1995, p. 131; Larson, 2007, pp. 21, 50, 160).

Apparently the first introduction to phratry took place at the age of three years old since this age was the transition to the next age group and beginning engagement in worshiping of civic cults. On the second day of the festival Anthesteria, Choes, three-year-old children took part in public celebrations for the first time (Demosthenes, 1994a, p. 599; Larson, 2007, pp. 130–132).

In case of adoption registration in phratry could take place before introduction to the oikos. Mantitheus in a lawsuit against Boeotus indicated that his father Mantias was forced to introduce into a phratry Boeotus and Pamphilus, illegitimate sons of Mantias and Plangon, by the decision of the arbiter. But Mantitheus already introduced them in oikos after father's death and shared the inheritance with brothers according to the law (Demosth., XL.2; Demosth., XL.13). Exactly belonging to common oikos was an argument for the inheritance by the boy the property of a childless relative. The boy, who claimed the inheritance of his grandfather, was born in the legal marriage of two citizen parents, and his mother was epikleros. He was adopted by his maternal grandfather Ebulides, introduced to his oikos and phratry, to inherit his property in order to preserve his oikos (Demosth., XLIII.12–XLIII.78).

Reaching a physical maturity at the age of 16 was considered as a social adulthood. A boy of this age was a participant in the earnings distribution from mines of Laurion (Vidal-Naquet, 2001, pp. 132–133). At the age of 16, boys were reintroduced into their phratry. On the third day of Apaturia, Kureotis, a father repeatedly swore an oath that his son was legitimate, sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia, other gods of the phratry. In addition, a hair cutting ceremony was held, which symbolized the transition from childhood to adult. The aim of reintroducing into phratry was verification Eponymous archon and the first phratry introductions in early childhood, which were the basis for further registered in their deme and acquiring civic status and rights (Beaumont, 2000, p. 46; Beaumont, 2012, p. 22). K. L. Lawton attributed a ritual of hair cutting ceremony to the age of 16–18 years (Lawton, 2007, pp. 57–59).

In a significant sanctuary with the temple of Heracles in the deme Melite was held oinisteria, which was carried out earlier than kureotis (Larson, 2007, p. 185). Oinisteria and kureotis preceded towards becoming youth an ephebe. The boy made offerings of wine to Heracles, made a libation and handed out the remaining wine to his companions (Vidal-Naquet, 2001, p. 133; Parker, 2005, p. 437).

The introduction to phratry was accompanied by sacrifice. V. V. Latsyshev associated sacrifice meion and kureion with the first introduction to phratry (Latsyshev, 1997b, p. 228). F. F. Zielinski pointed out that kureion was a sacrifice for a son and smaller meion was a sacrifice for a daughter (Zielinski, 1918, p. 73). The decrees of the Demotionidai had information on the content of these sacrifices, which were intended for the priest. The meion sacrifice contained parts of sacrificial meat and three obols of silver. The kureion included parts of sacrificial meat, baking, wine, and a drachma of silver (Dillon, Garland, 2010, pp. 28–29). The presence of similar difference in the part of sacrifice, which was to be given to the priest, probably indicates that meion and kureion corresponded to different stages of introduction a boy into phratry. This idea is shared by a number of researchers, who associate meion with the first presentation to phratry in childhood and kureion with registration to phratry in adolescence (Cole, 1984, p. 233; Lambert, 1998, p. 70; Blok, 2009a, p. 104). B. Auld associated meion with the introduction of the newborn into oikos, public father's recognition of his child, and kureion with introducing in phratry the youth, who reached puberty that accompanied a dedication of a lock of a boy's hair to Delphi (Auld, pp. 1–7).

As a result of the Cleisthenes' reforms, phratry lost its political significance. But phratry remained the basis for identification of citizenship and ensuring the purity of origin (Zielinski,

1918, p. 73; Latyshev, 1997a, pp. 192–193; Starr, 1986, p. 28). Phratry provided not only presentation children to phrateres of their father, the registration in phratry in infancy, and in adolescence, but also witnessed the marriage of the Athenians. Owing to deme and phile, the Athenians became involved in political activities. Phratry regulated social life into the civil community and ensured the participation of phratry and polis cults activities (Gluskina, 1983, pp. 44–46; Cole, 1984, p. 234).

Phratry affiliation was the base of obtaining political citizenship. Registered in demes before inscribed on phratry lost considered wrong even in the IV-th cent. BC (Demosth., XLIV.41). Combination of political and social components in citizenship confirmed by such type of penalties for an offense as *atimia*, which was a form of deprivation of civil rights or “civil honor”. A citizen, who was made *atimos*, was not only denied of political participation rights but was also not allowed to be in public spaces such as squares, temples, and shrines (Demosth., XXII.34; Demosth., XXII.73; Demosth., XXIV.45).

The Athenians, who were born into the illegal marriage, by the Pericles’ law and later by the law of 403 BC were deprived of civil rights. They constituted a significant resource for increasing the number of citizens and their status in society was not fully equated with *metic*. Illegitimate children concentrated at the Cynosarges gymnasium, which was one of the largest in polis, functioned from the VIth cent. BC and was supported by the state (Demosth., XXIV.114). Demosthenes remembered that *nothoi* had made contributions to the Cynosarges for some time (Demosth., XXIII.213). Cynosarges were an alternative to phratry and deme for *nothoi* (Larson, 2007, pp. 147–148, 184).

According to S. Humphreys Cynosarges were already a place of training for the elite and at the same time were on the periphery of the religious and military citizens’ activities by the time of adoption Pericles’ citizenship law (Humphreys, 1974, pp. 92–94). The fact that the *nothoi* visited the temple of Heracles associated with a similar origin of this hero, who combined inborn *arete* and a problematic social position (Irwin, 2016, p. 99). We assumption is based on Aristotle’s recollections of illegitimate citizens before the Pericles’ law that since the time of Solon, the Cynosarges were concentrating youths, who were born by couples who were not married legally. Plutarch allegorically linked the Cynosarges with a *gynaceum*, referring to a mother’s status (Plut., *Amatorius* 4), and attributed to Themistocles, who was a *nothos*, levelling the difference between *nothoi* and full citizens. Themistocles attended the Cynosarges gymnasium and persuaded young aristocrats to train there with him (Plut., *Them.* 1). L. M. Gluskina considered implausible the plot about the training of Themistocles in the Cynosarges. But the researcher noted that illegitimate children, who were born as a result of marrying to *xenoi*, were registered in the Cynosarges (Gluskina, 1987, pp. 86–87). Gymnasium in Cynosarges ceased functioning as a result of the law of 403 BC (Busolt, 1890, p. 183).

V. V. Latyshev noted that the status of notes and legitimate children almost did not differ in practice, though the *nothoi* attended a particular gymnasium despite the attempts to restore restrictive laws (Latyshev, 1997a, pp. 190–191). E. V. Nikitjuk assumes that before the adoption of the Pericles’ law and until the restoration of democracy in 403 BC the attitude towards illegitimate children was loyal. *Nothoi* could have certain civil rights, but it’s not clear which ones (Nikitjuk, 2013, p. 77).

The sources that we have left ample opportunity to interpret the status of *nothoi* in Ancient Athens and the range of persons this group included. We tend to think that *nothoi* predominantly had access to participate in a social and political activity in the polis, which is substantiated by the following. Firstly, deprivation *nothoi* of full citizenship status was regulated by law only

in the middle of the Vth cent. BC. After that, the attitude towards the nothoi remained loyal for some time and the law was generally suspended after the Athenian coup of 411 BC, during the rule of Thirty Tyrants. Secondly, there was an adoption practice and granted civil rights by decree of the ecclesia during the period considered in this article, which was reflected in the oratorical speeches. Thirdly, among famous Athenian leaders of the late archaic and during classical periods were those, whose maternal origin did not meet the requirements of Solon's and Pericles' laws. In particular, Themistocles and famous orator Demosthenes were nothoi. In addition, in Ancient Athens there was a practice of naturalization. Solon passed the law granting foreigners civil rights (Plut., Sol. XXIV). According to the law, the foreigner could choose phyle, deme, and phratry to which he would belong (IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 490; see also: Andrewes, 2007, p. 439). Granting civil rights to foreigners and abolition of the atimia were the means to increase the number of citizens in crisis situations for the polis (Lyc., Against Leocrates 41). But sources do not contain information on the granting of civil rights to nothoi in such cases, which would be strange if their rights were limited significantly.

The functioning of the gymnasium in Cynosarges and training there the illegitimate Athenians are the basis for the point of view that the paideia was accessible to nothoi like legitimate boys during the period. The similar practice in the education of mothakes in Ancient Sparta is an argument that the nothoi could share in the paideia like children of citizens in the Athenian democratic polis.

**The Conclusions.** At the end of the archaic and during the classical periods citizenship was formed as a political institute in Ancient Athens. Athenian citizenship was a symbiosis of socio-cultural and political components. The integration of children in a civil community suggested their introduction into phratry, preceded the legal status of a citizen, and was marked by ritualized activities within the polis religion. Registered children in the phratry made possible their inculturation, inclusion in social activities of polis. Phratry affiliation was the basis for Athenian boys gaining political rights or citizenship, which gave the right to participate in government. In this context, the content of Athenian citizenship determined the image of an ideal citizen as an active participant in socio-cultural and political activities, who embodied in his civic virtues the values of polis, was able to ensure the functioning of the existing political regime and the transfer of accepted cultural norms, values the most effectively. Since nothoi were included in phratry and got political rights in certain cases, shared in the paideia, hence they could reach the arete, recognition as virtuous citizens.

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**NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES AT LVIV UNIVERSITY  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIXth – BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURY:  
STRUCTURAL AND PERSONNEL TRANSFORMATION**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research* – to reconstruct the network of scientific departments of natural and technical area at Emperor Franz I Imperial Royal University in Lviv during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries; to describe the structural and personnel transformations which took place in scientific departments. **The research methodology** is based on the principle of historicism, application of general scientific and special scientific methods, in particular, a comparative historical method, a scrupulous analysis of contemporary statistical and information publications of Lviv University. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian and foreign historiography there has been generalized the information on the scientific units of natural and technical direction of Lviv University during the Austrian period (in the previous publications on this issue the emphasis is focused on the departments); a clear scheme (in accordance with scientific areas) of their reorganizations has been made, which is reflected in structural changes, name changes, management, etc. The factual material and concluding statements presented in the publication will be

important for the study of the history of science in Galicia. The factual material will become a kind of matrix for further studies in this area of historical local studies. **The Conclusions.** After the revolution of 1848 – 1849, the Austrian monarchy, which also influenced the activities of Lviv University, began its reform. It also affected the scientific sphere, taking place in the context of the development of science at that time (from the end of the 1850s – under the influence of positivism). From the middle of the XIXth century the university began to develop a network of units known under the term “scientific institutes” (these included structural units of various fields – technical, natural, humanitarian, as well as the Library). Within the natural sphere, these units included offices, collections, museums, laboratories, institutions, institutes, clinics and dispensaries, seminars, etc., as well as the Botanical Garden. In the majority of publications (since the end of the XIXth century) these units have either not been mentioned at all, or researchers identify them with the departments, consider these units as a part of departments. This approach led to the fact that we often see a lack of interest and attention to the official names of these units, which reflect both their specifics and features of reorganization during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth century. Special attention should be paid to seminars, which from the 1850s till the reform of the 1920s should be interpreted not only as a form of educational process, but also as a scientific institute. During the middle of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth century, on the example of the development of physical and natural sciences, we trace changes in the forms of scientific institutes (for example, office – museum – institution / institute) and observe the formation of scientific schools of famous scientists (heads of scientific units) on the basis of their assistant support staff (assistants, demonstrators, scholarship holders). The development of the network of scientific institutes reflects the development of science in general, the tendency to single out narrower areas (Physics, Meteorology, Astronomy, Chemistry, Geology, Biology, Botany, etc.) from previously integrated fields of scientific knowledge (eg. Physics or Natural History). Medicine, which received a new stage of development from the last third of the XIXth century, had its own specifics in terms of structure at Lviv University and it was intensified with the resumption of the medical faculty activity in 1894.

**Key words:** Lviv University, scientific institutes, physical sciences, natural sciences, museum, seminar; the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth century.

## ПРИРОДНИЧІ Й ТОЧНІ НАУКИ У ЛЬВІВСЬКОМУ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТОЛІТТЯ: СТРУКТУРНІ ТА КАДРОВІ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – реконструювати мережу наукових підрозділів природничого й технічного спрямування в Царсько-королівському університеті імені цесаря Франца I у Львові впродовж другої половини XIX – початку XX століть та охарактеризувати структурні й кадрові трансформації, які відбувалися з ними. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципі історизму, застосуванні загальнонаукових та спеціально-наукових методів, зокрема, порівняльно-історичного методу, скрупульозному аналізі тогочасних статистично-інформаційних видань Львівського університету. **Наукова новизна дослідження** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській та зарубіжній історіографії узагальнено відомості про наукові підрозділи природничого й технічного спрямування Львівського університету австрійського періоду (в публікаціях попередників наголос зроблено на кафедрах), укладено чітку схему (за науковими напрямками) їхніх реорганізацій, відображено в структурних змінах, змінах назв, керівництва тощо. Представленні в публікації фактичний матеріал і висновкові твердження матимуть важливе значення для дослідження історії науки в Галичині, стануть своєрідною матрицею для подальших студій цій ділянці історичного краєзнавства. **Висновки.** Після революції 1848 – 1849 рр. в Австрійській монархії, що вплинула й на діяльність Львівського університету, розпочалося його реформування. Воно заторкнуло й наукову сферу, відбуваючись в контексті тогочасного розвитку наук (від кінця 1850-х років – під впливом позитивізму). Від середини XIX ст. в університеті розпочали розбудовувати мережу підрозділів, відомих під збірним терміном “наукові інститути” (до них належали структурні одиниці різних напрямів – технічного, природничого, гуманітарного, а також Бібліотека). В рамках природничої сфери, це були, зокрема, кабінети, збірники, музеї, лабораторії, заклади, власне інститути, клініки та амбулаторії, семінари тощо, а також Ботанічний сад. У більшості публікацій (починаючи від

кінця XIX ст.) зазначені підрозділи або взагалі не згадають, або ж дослідники ототожнюють їх з кафедрами, розглядають як їхню частину. Такий підхід спричинився до того, що дуже часто спостерігаємо недостатню увагу до офіційних назв цих підрозділів, що відображають як їхню специфіку, так й особливості реорганізації впродовж другої половини XIX – початку XX ст. Особливої уваги заслуговують семінари, які від 1850-х років й до реформи 1920-х років необхідно трактувати не лише як форму навчального процесу, а і як науковий інститут. Впродовж середини XIX – початку XX ст., на прикладі розвитку точних і природничих наук, простежуємо зміни у формах наукових інститутів (наприклад, кабінет – музей – заклад / інститут) та спостерігаємо формування наукових шкіл відомих учених (керівників наукових підрозділів) на основі їх допоміжних кадрів (асистентів, демонстраторів, стипендістів). Розвиток мережі наукових інститутів відображає й розвиток науки загалом, тенденції виокремлення у до того інтегрованих галузях наукового знання (наприклад, фізика чи природнича історія) вужчих напрямів (власне фізика, метеорологія, астрономія, хімія, геологія, біологія, ботаніка тощо). Свою специфіку з погляду структурного оформлення у Львівському університеті мала медицина, що отримала новий етап розвитку з останньої третини XIX ст. й активізувалася з відновленням діяльності медичного факультету в 1894 р.

**Ключові слова:** Львівський університет, наукові інститути, точні науки, природничі науки, музей, семінар, друга половина XIX – початок XX століття.

**The Problem Statement.** History of science – one of the important areas of historical knowledge, which has its own specifics. Thus, the humanities scientists do not often understand the development peculiarities of physical and natural sciences, limiting to the humanities area, but scientist of natural sciences cannot attach special importance to historical sources, researching which the specifics of the structure (departments, institutes, etc.) of a particular scientific field can be traced. These tendencies can be observed on the example of the history of Lviv University during the Austrian period – the Emperor Franz I Imperial Royal University in Lviv.

From the end of the XIXth century researchers of the University history began to characterize the development of science at Lviv University on the basis of the characteristics of the departments activity (at that time department was associated and identified with the person of the professor), which caused the “dissolution” of other units led by heads of departments. That is why, nowadays there is the objective to the researchers to reconstruct the network of these units and to trace the structural and personnel transformations which took place in the networks during different periods. The analysis of Lviv University history in the works of its lecturers is especially relevant on the eve of the 360th anniversary of Alma Matris foundation!

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** The article is written on the basis of generalizations of official statistical information publications of the Emperor Franz I Imperial Royal University in Lviv, which were published for each semester of the academic year. During the XIXth – the first half of the XXth century the publications changed their names: the first half of the XIXth century – “Taschenbuch der apostolischen Majestat Franz I. allerhöchsten Namen führenden Universität zu Lemberg” (further – TFUL); in 1850 – 1879 – “Akademische Behörden an der k. k. Universität zu Lemberg, sammt der Ordnung der Vorlesungen an derselben“ (further – ABUL); in 1879 – 1918 – “C. K. Uniwersytet imienia cesarza Franciszka I we Lwowe. Skład personalu (Skład Uniwersytetu) i program wykładów” (“C. K. Uniwersytet imienia cesarza Franciszka I we Lwowe. Skład Uniwersytetu”) (further – CKUFL). In these publications there was a separate section “Scientific Institutes”, in which it was clearly written the name and address of the unit, indicated its head and assistant staff, etc.

To clarify and compare the information, we used the main works on the history of the university – a two-volume monograph by Ludwik Finkel and Stanisław Starzyński

(Finkel, 1894; Starzyński, 1894), a two-volume “Encyclopedia of Lviv University” (Vakarchuk, 2011; Vakarchuk, 2014), as well as materials to it and other collective publications devoted to natural and physical sciences units, the main part of the articles to which, as well as the scientific editing of publications were carried out by Iryna Bilinska and Liubov Borsukevych, the leading experts in the history of biological and botanical science at Lviv University (Bilinska & Borsukevych, 2005), Geology – Peter Bilonizhka and Orest Matkovsky (Bilonizhka & Matkovskiy, 2004; Bilonizhka, Matkovskiy, Pavlun & Slyvko, 2010), Chemistry – Eugene Hladyshevsky (Hladyshevskiy, 2003), Physics – Olexiy Mykolaichuk and Astronomy – Bohdan Novosiadly (Mykolaichuk, 2007; Vakarchuk, Yakibchuk, Mykolaichuk & Popel, 2013; Novosiadly, 2011). Yaroslav Prytula is a leading researcher of the history of Mathematics at Lviv University. His publications on this issue, in particular, on the website of the Faculty of Mechanics and Mathematics (Prytula, 2015; Prytula, 2017) are written on the basis of a thorough study of the archival sources. The articles by Iryna Bilinska, Andriy Prokopiv and Liubov Borsukevych, Oleh Shablii and Yaroslav Prytula published in the issue of the university newspaper “Kameniar” and dedicated to the 350th anniversary of Lviv University are also important for the coverage of the topic (Bilinska, 2011; Prokopiv & Borsukevych, 2011). Significant are the publications of Oleksiy Sukhyi, which are focused on the study of Lviv University environment during the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century (Suchyj, 2011; Suchyj, 2013). We should single out the article by Volodymyr Kachmar and Roman Tarnavsky, in which the Faculty of Philosophy of Lviv University is described comprehensively (Kachmar & Tarnavskiy, 2013), as well as the edition “Uniwersytetowi Lwowskiemu dla upamiętnienia trzysta pięćdziesiątej rocznicy jego fundacji” (Łohman, 2011).

**The Purpose of Publication.** The purpose of the publication is to reconstruct the network of scientific units of technical and natural sciences at Lviv University and to characterize their structural and personnel changes during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth century.

**The Main Material Statement.** The middle of the XIXth century was a turning point in the scientific activity of Lviv University. Since the beginning of the 1850s, there began the development of a network of units, defined in the official publications of the University under the collective term “scientific institutes”. The first of the units appeared at the Faculty of Philosophy (including the humanities, natural sciences and physical sciences) in the first half of the XIXth century. The units specialized in the last two areas (natural and physical sciences).

From the beginning of the 1840s, at the University of Lviv there was a scientific unit in the field of Physics – the Physics Cabinet (headed by August Kuntsek). Under this name, the unit operated until the beginning of the 1850s, when it began to be mentioned in the sources as the Physics Museum more frequently. During the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries it underwent reforms: the Physics Museum, the Institute of Physics for Teacher Candidates, and the Physical Mechanical Machine Tool (1864) – the Institute of Physics, Meteorological and Magnetic Observation Station with Mechanical Physical Machine Tool, the Physics Museum and Textbook Library (1873) – Institution of Physics, Station of Meteorological and Magnetic Observations with Mechanical Physical Machine Tool, Physical Room and Library of Textbooks (1879) – Institution of Physics, Meteorological Observation Station with a Collection of Instruments, Library of Textbooks, Physical Workshop and Mechanical Machine Tool (1894) – Institution of Physics and Meteorological Station (since 1915). The heads of the unit were Alexander Zavadsky, Victor Pierre, Wojciech Urbanski, Alois Handl, Tomasz Stanecki, Oscar Fabian, and Ignatius

Zakszewski during the period of 1850 till 1918. For decades until 1881, the unit employed a university mechanic, Johann Leopolder, who was replaced by Jan Bochnig in two years, in 1883. In the 1880s and 1890s, the unit had an assistant position (in 1882 – 1886 it was occupied by its future head Ignatius Zakszewski, then by Zdzislaw Stanecki (1887 – 1893), Emil Snopek (1893 – 1894), and Jan Zaluski (1894 – 1896) and the others), and in the mid-1890s – also a scholarship holder position (in 1894 – 1896 – Józef Bleuth). After the construction of the university building in Dlugosz Street (nowadays – Cyril and Methodius Street), the Institution of Physics was located at Dlugosz Street 8. At the same address there was the Collection of Astronomical Scientific Funds, established in the first half of the 1900s and reformed into an Astronomical Institution before World War I (the unit was headed by Martin Ernst) (TFUL, 1843; ABUL, 1850 – 1879; CKUFL, 1880 – 1918; Finkel, 1894, s. 322–324; Starzyński, 1894, pp. 284–285; Mykolaichuk, 2007, pp. 37, 104, 138, 151–152, 161–164, 184; Vakarchuk, Yakibchuk, Mykolaichuk & Popel, 2013, pp. 23–25; Apunevych & Novosiadlyi, 2020, pp. 339–356; Vakarchuk, 2014, p. 575).

Seminars were considered scientific institutes of Lviv University since the beginning of the 1850s. The Mathematics Seminar was led by Józef Puzyna since the beginning of the 1890s. In the 1895/1896 academic year, this seminar was divided into a mathematical lower seminar and a mathematical higher seminar. Yu. Puzyna was responsible for both units, in the first half of the 1910s – together with Vaclav Serpinsky. In 1915, these seminars were again combined into one Mathematical Seminar, but as part of two units – lower and higher (headed by Yu. Puzyna and V. Serpinsky until 1918). The premises in which these units operated were located at Dlugosz Street 8. A Mathematical Physics Seminar operated there from the beginning of the 1910s, headed by Marian Smolyukhovsky and Konstany Zakshevsky from 1912 till 1918 (CKUFL, 1893 – 1918; Prytula, 2015; Prytula, 2017).

From the beginning of the 1850s, the leadership of Lviv University negotiated on the issue of a chemical laboratory establishment. It was opened in 1854, ten years later it was reformed into a Chemical Laboratory and a Collection of Instruments, and at the beginning of the 1870s – into a Chemical Laboratory with a Collection of Instruments, Preparations and a Library of Textbooks. Gustav Wolf (1854 – 1857) became the first head of the unit, then – Leopold Pebal (1857 – 1865), then his former assistant Edward Linneman (1865 – 1871). A new period in the activities of the Chemical Laboratory lasted from the beginning of the 1870s till 1910: the unit was headed by Bronislaw Radziszewski, who founded his scientific school. Thus, the assistants of the laboratory were Kazimierz Zaleski (1872 – 1874), Julian Grabowski (1874 – 1876), Piotr Dunin-Wonsowicz (1877 – 1879), František Mrozowski (1879 – 1880), Bronisław Liachowicz (1880 – 1882, 1891 – 1895), Pavel Vispek (1881 – 1883, 1884 – 1886), Julian Schramm (1882 – 1891), Józef Reger (1887 – 1892), Eugeniusz Kozerowski (1892 – 1894), Zdzisław Zawalkiewicz (1894 – 1896), and scholarship recipients – Franz Miazga (1873 – 1875), Adam Głogowski (1875 – 1876), Rudolf Zuber (1879 – 1880), Pavel Vispek (1880 – 1881), Ludwik Schul (1882 – 1885), Józef Reger (1885 – 1887), Michał Senkowski (1887 – 1891), Jaroslav Lomnicki (1891 – 1892), Stanisław Nemczycki (1892 – 1896) and the others. A Chemist Piotr Gornig worked as a laboratory assistant for decades. At the beginning of the XXth century, in the chemical laboratory under the leadership of B. Radziszewsky there was created a separate unit, headed first by Bronislaw Lyakhovych, and then Stanislav Tollochko. In 1910 – 1912 the position of the head of the chemical laboratory was vacant. In 1912 the Chemical Institute I (from 1915 – Chemical Institution I) was established on its basis under the leadership of Stanislav Tollochko and the Chemical



Institute II (from 1915 – Chemical Institution II), headed by Stanislav Opolsky. Both units, as well as previously Chemical Laboratory, were located at Dlugosz Street 6 (ABUL, 1850 – 1879; CKUFL, 1880 – 1918; Finkel, 1894, p. 318; Starzyński, 1894, p. 316; Hladyshevskiy, 2003, pp. 46, 48, 82, 91, 99–100, 111; Vakarchuk, 2014, pp. 611–612).

From the beginning of the 1840s, a separate research institute at the University of Lviv had Natural Science classrooms and a collection of economic subjects headed by Rudolf Kner, a professor of natural history and agriculture. At the beginning the 1850s, the unit was reorganized into the Natural History Collection, which consisted of the Mineralogical Office and the Herbarium (headed by Hyacinth Lobazhevsky). Instead, in the 1851/1852 academic year, there was the Natural History Museum under his leadership, and the following academic year, the Natural History Collection, among the departments of which was, in particular, the Mineralogical and Botanical Museum headed by G. Lobazhevsky (headed the unit till the beginning of the 1860s). In the 1863/1864 academic year, the Mineralogical Museum was established, headed by Ferdinand Zirkel. At the end of the 1860s, it was joined by the collection of a scientist-mineralogist and geologist, Count Stanislaw Borkowski, and the combined unit was headed by Hermann Maximilian Schmidt. The following two periods in the activities of the unit can be traced till the 1870s – 1880s (directed by Felix Kreutz) and the end of the 1880s – the end of the 1910s (directed by Emil Dunikovsky). During these years, the unit was reformed many times: Mineralogical Museum with Borkovsky's Collections (until 1879) – Mineralogical, Geological and Geognostic Cabinet with a Special Collection, a gift of Count Borkovsky (late 1870s – early 1880s) – Mineralogical, Geological and Geognostic Cabinet (1880s – 1890s) – Mineralogical and Petrographic Office (the beginning of 1900s – the mid-1910s) – Mineralogical and Petrographic Institution (since 1915). At first, the units had only a vacancy of a supervisor (Marcel Lewandowski in 1879 – 1881), and later – a demonstrator (Zygmunt Schneider, 1881 – 1885; Michał Novoselski, 1885 – 1887; Wilhelm Kuchera, 1887 – 1893) and a laboratory assistant (Michał Podgurski, 1884 – 1896), then – assistant (Valery Sichynski, 1893 – 1896). The mentioned above geological units were located at Dlugosz Street 6. From the mid-1900s, a separate Geological and Paleontological Institution, headed by Rudolf Zuber, a student of B. Radziszewski, also operated at Lviv University at Dlugosz Street 8. At the beginning of the 1890s, the Geographical Cabinet was founded, which was transformed into the Geographical Institute at the end of the 1890s. This unit, located at Dlugosz Street 27, was headed by Anthony Reman (1892 – 1910), and after a one-year vacancy as a director, by Eugeniusz Romer (from 1911) (TFUL, 1843; ABUL, 1850 – 1879; CKUFL, 1880 – 1918; Starzyński, 1894, pp. 129–130, 145–147; Bilonizhka & Matkovskiy, 2004, pp. 64, 74, 112; Bilonizhka, Matkovskiy, Pavlun & Slyvko, 2010, p. 8; Bilaniuk & Ivanov, 2016, pp. 4–5; Vakarchuk, 2011, pp. 334–339; *Scientiae naturales*, 2011, p. 5).

In 1852, a new Botanical Garden of Lviv University was founded: it was headed by Hyacinth Lobazhevsky, and the chief gardener was Carl Bauer, a corresponding member of the Thuringian Horticultural Union and a member of the Imperial Royal Galician Agricultural Society (worked until 1875, and after six years of vacancy this position was occupied by František Türschmid and Adam Blazek). As it was mentioned, G. Lobazhevsky headed the University Museum of Natural History, which in 1853 was reformed into Natural History Collections, which included two museums: Zoological (a director – Herman Maximilian Schmidt, a supervisor of natural sciences – Sigismund Jarolim) and Mineralogical and Botanical (a director – G. Lobazhevsky). However, as early as in 1863, the following reorganization took place: the Natural History Collections and Institutes were in the structure of the Zoological Museum (G. M. Schmidt and

S. Yarolim continued to work in the unit), the above mentioned Mineralogical Museum and the Botanical Museum together with the Botanical Garden and the Educational Institute for Horticultural Pupils (the botanical units were headed by Adolf Weiss). During the following years, the Botanical Garden as a unit was separated from the Botanical Museum. Thus, it was recorded under such names as the Botanical Garden with Seed Collection (1865 – 1869) – Botanical Garden with Seed Collection and Educational Institute for Horticultural Pupils (1869 – 1870) – Botanical Garden and Educational Institute for Horticultural Pupils (1870 – 1879) – Botanical Garden with Gardener Training Institution (1879 – 1896) – Botanical Garden (since 1896). The Botanical Museum underwent reorganizations as well, which is reflected in its name: the Botanical Museum (1864 – 1867) – the Botanical Museum with Herbarium Collection and a Special Library (1867 – 1870) – the Botanical Museum with Herbarium Collection, Preparations and a Special library (1870 – 1871). At the beginning of the 1870s, the management of the unit changed – it was headed by Teofil Tseselsky, in the context of which another structural reorganization took place – into the unit: the Botanical Museum with a Special Botanical Library, Herbarium and Collection of Preparations, and at the end of the 1870s – in the Botanical Office with a Herbarium of Galician, European and Exotic Plants, a Collection of Preparations, a Special Botanical Library and Botanical Workshop. Under this name, this scientific institute of Lviv University at St. Nicholas Street 4 operated until the leadership end of T. Tseselsky in the mid-1910s. In 1915, the Botanical Office was reformed into the Botanical Institution. Until the end of World War I, the position of its head was vacant, it was replaced first by Józef Nusbaum-Gilyarovich, and later by Kazimierz Kwetniewski. During different years Stanislav Griglevych (1875 – 1879), Shimon Trush (1879 – 1881), Yosyf Oleskiv (1881 – 1884), František Vogel (1884 – 1887), Zygmunt Schneider (1887 – 1892), Maximilian Schoenett (1892 – 1896) and the others were among the assistants of scientific institutes of botanical area (ABUL, 1850 – 1879; CKUFL, 1880 – 1918; Finkel, 1894, pp. 325, 339; Bilinska & Borsukevych, 2005, pp. 28, 81, 104, 170, 179; Prokopiv & Borsukevych, 2011).

The above mentioned Zoological Museum of Lviv University was headed by G. M. Schmidt from the beginning of the 1850s until 1876. At the end of the 1870s, already under a new director – Shimon Syrsky, the unit was reorganized into a Zoological Cabinet with a workshop (under this name it operated until the mid-1910s), and in 1915 – the Zoological Institution. The unit was located at St. Mykolay Street 4. After S. Syrsky, the position of its director was vacant for a year, in 1882 – 1883 it was occupied by Henryk Kady, in 1884 – 1906 – by Benedict Dybowski, in 1906 – 1916 – by Józef Nusbaum-Gilyarovych. Kazimezh Kvetniewsky occupied the vacant position of a director of the Zoological Institution in 1916 – 1918. The information on the assistant employees of the unit is the following: Marceyli Lewandowski (1873 – 1879) worked as a supervisor of the Zoological Museum after S. Yarolim, a supervisor. Then this position was replaced by a preparator (the position was occupied by Jan Zagurski). In the mid-1880s, a number of other assistant positions were introduced in the museum. Thus, from the mid-1890s in the structure of scientific institutes of the Faculty of Philosophy also operated Comparative Anatomical Institution (from the beginning of the 1910s – Institution of Comparative Anatomy) (a head – Józef Nusbaum-Gilyarovich, later – Kazimierz Kwetniewski; the address – St. Nicholas Street 4), and from the mid-1900s – Biological and Botanical Institute (from the beginning of the 1910s – Biological and Botanical Institution) (a head – Maryan Ratsiborsky, later – Zygmunt Vuytsitsky; the address – Długosz Street 5) (ABUL, 1850 – 1879; CKUFL, 1880 – 1918; Starzyński, 1894, pp. 250–258; Bilinska & Borsukevych, 2005, pp. 36, 59, 77, 81, 118, 133; Vakarchuk, 2011, p. 539).

During in the last third of the XIXth century at the Faculty of Philosophy, there were units which operated as scientific institutes and became the basis for the restoration of the Medical Faculty (it should be noted that in the 1840s there was an anatomical theater at the Faculty of Philosophy under the leadership of Karl Nagel. In the 1850s – the first half of the 1860s at the Faculty of Law and Political Science – Pathological and Chemical Laboratory of Forensic Medicine and Medical Supervision, headed by Franz Gutcher). At the end of the 1870s, at the Faculty of Philosophy there was established the Pharmacognostic Collection, which was transformed into a Pharmacognostic Institution at the beginning of the 1890s. The first head of the unit was Ignatius Gavranek, then for a decade it was headed by Mechyslav Dunin-Vonsovych, and in the first half of the 1890s – by Vladyslav Nemilovych. Demonstrators of the institution were Jan Krzyzanowski, Zdislaw Zawalkiewicz, Józef Grotowski, and Roman Merunowicz. The Anatomical Collection was founded at the end of the 1880s under the direction of Henryk Kadi, and it was reorganized into the Anatomical Institution at the beginning of a new decade. His assistant was Tadeusz Wenzlewski, the demonstrator was Alfred Buzynski. At the beginning of the 1890s, the Physiological Institution was founded, headed by Gustav Piotrowski, who was substituted by Adolf Beck in the middle of the decade. Boleslaw Blazzek worked as an assistant at the Institution (TFUL, 1843; ABUL, 1850 – 1879; CKUFL, 1880 – 1896; Finkel, 1894, p. 328).

It was the institutions under the leadership of Henryk Kady, Wladyslaw Nemilovich, and Adolf Beck which became the basis of the Medical Faculty of Lviv University, which was restored in 1894. Thus, the Institute of Descriptive Anatomy was first headed by Henryk Kady, and from the mid-1910s – by Józef Markowski, who began working as a demonstrator of the institution. It should be noted that Maryan Panchyshyn, a famous Ukrainian physician, worked at the Institute of Descriptive Anatomy: in 1906 – 1910 he was a demonstrator, and in 1910 – 1913 he was an assistant. When the Pharmacognostic Institution was included in the structure of the Medical Faculty, it was renamed into the Institution of Medical Chemistry (a head – Vladyslav Nemilovich, later it was headed by Stanislaw Bondzinsky). The Physiological Institution operated unchanged under Adolf Beck. Along with the described units, the first structural units of the Medical Faculty became the Histological and Embryological Institution (a head – Vladyslav Shymonovych), the Institution of Experimental Pharmacology and Pharmacognosy (first headed by Vaclav Soberansky, then by Leon (Leopold) Popelsky), the Institution of General and Experimental Pathology (headed by Jan Prus), Pathological and Anatomical Institution (renamed in 1915 into the Institution of Pathological Anatomy), which was headed by Andrzej Obżut at the end of the 1890s and the beginning of the 1910s, and then – by Zdzisław Dmochowski. All these scientific institutes were located at Pekarska Street 52. The Institution of Forensic Medicine, founded by Wlodzimierz Sieradski at the end of the XIXth century, was located there as well. The Institution of hygiene (a head – Pavel Kuchera), founded at the beginning of the XXth century, was located at Pekarska Street 52. At the end of the XIX century the Faculty of Medicine was established: the Clinic of Internal Medicine (a head – Anthony Glyuzinsky), the Surgical Clinic (a head – Ludwik Rydiger), the Obstetrics and Gynecology Clinic and the workshop for exercises in obstetrics and gynecological operations (a head – Anthony Mars) (all were located at Piariv Street 4); Dermatological Clinic (headed by Wlodzimierz Lukasewicz), at first it was located at Głowinski Street 7, and then – at Pekarska Street 81; Ophthalmic Clinic (a head – Emanuel Mahek, the address – Głowinsky Street 7). At the beginning of the XXth century at the faculty there was established Pediatrics, which was renamed into the Clinic of Pediatrics at the end of the 1900s. It was headed by Jan Raczynski. Initially, the unit was temporarily housed at St. Sofia

children's hospital, and from the mid-1910s it was located at Glovinsky Street 5. At the beginning of the XXth century in the structure of the Medical Faculty there was also created the Ambulatory of Nervous Diseases (a head – Henryk Galban), and at the end of the 1900s – the Laryngological and Otological Clinic (headed by Anthony Yurash). Both units were located at Hausner Street 9. From the beginning of the XXth century, the medical faculty, dental units were created, which underwent frequent reorganization: the Institute of Dentistry (1906 – 1911) – the Dental Clinic (1911 – 1917) – the Dental Institution (since 1917). The Institute of Dentistry was headed by Andrzej Gonka. After his death in 1909 and until 1913, the position of a head was vacant. In 1913 it was renamed into the Dental Clinic, later the Clinic was headed by Anthony Cieszynski. The dental departments of Lviv University were first located at Ossolinskikh Street 11 (the front side from Tykha Street), and from the mid-1910s – at Zelena Street 5a (CKUFL, 1894 – 1918; Bilynska, 2011; Vakarchuk, 2014, pp. 119–120; Zimenkovskiy, 2009, pp. 19–20; Zimenkovskiy, Gzhegotskiy & Lutsyk, 2009, p. XII).

**The Conclusions.** From the 1850s at the University of Lviv – the Emperor Franz I Imperial Royal University in Lviv – a special attention was paid to the development of a network of scientific institutes, which was connected with both general trends in the development of science and the reform of the University after the revolution of 1848 – 1849. These reforms covered all areas of knowledge, in particular, the physical and natural sciences, represented by scientific units (Physics and Natural Sciences, Anatomical Theater) during the previous period. At the beginning of the 1850s, the cabinets were turned into museums, but during the following decades – into institutes. Separate types of scientific institutes were the so-called collections (a term for units of different levels), laboratories and seminars, as well as ambulatories and clinics at the Medical Faculty.

Structural changes in the network of scientific units of Lviv University, recorded in the changes of their names, illustrate the development of science, elaboration of new scientific areas: on the basis of scientific institutes of Physics area there were units related to Meteorology, and later there was resumed the development of Astronomy; on the basis of institutions, first under the general terms “natural historical”, “natural” – the units of chemical, geological (with the subsequent division into mineralogical, petrographic, etc.), botanical, biological research areas. At the same time during the last third of the XIXth century, at the Faculty of Philosophy there were formed the units, which represented Geography and various areas of Medicine: Pharmacognosy, Anatomy, Physiology. With the restoration of the Medical Faculty, Lviv University was transformed into a higher education institution with a strong network of medical research units.

Scientific institutes, headed by leading scientists-professors, became the basis for the formation of the scientific schools. This happened under the condition that the units had positions of assistant scientific personnel – assistants, demonstrators, scholarship holders, etc.

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## RECEPTION OF HRUSHEVSKY STUDIES: EPISTOLARY ASPECT

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the heuristic potential of epistolary materials to recreate the reception of M. Hrushevsky's scientific works by his contemporaries. The methodological basis of the research is an interdisciplinary approach. The approach emphasises structural and functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts, comparative and historical methods based on objectivity and historicism principles. In the research periodisation, classification and typologisation methods have been used. The novelty of the study consists in the comprehensive analysis of the epistolary aspect of reception of M. Hrushevsky studies. The Conclusions.* *The research has convincingly proved the particular importance of the epistolary documents for the recreation of the reception of M. Hrushevsky. It has been confirmed that due to the prevalence of correspondence as a communicative practice at that time, letters represent a more comprehensive range of evaluative interpretations of M. Hrushevsky's works comparing to critical reviews of his works. Moreover, the epistolary materials help discover “private” reviewers who, for various reasons, did not publish their impressions. Among them, we have found both well-known Ukrainian intellectuals and their Russian and Western colleagues. Epistolary evidence has also helped clarify the differences between public criticism and private assessments, the particularities of popular reception, and discover original historiographical observations that have never become public. Finally, the correspondence proves that*

*M. Hrushevsky searched for reviewers of his works actively and reproduces M. Hrushevsky's attitude to the discussions of his previously unknown texts. This evidence calls for a more intensive and coordinated search for new epistolary sources and draws more attention to the collections known nowadays.*

**Key words:** *M. Hrushevsky, epistolary documents, reception, historical thought of the end of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century.*

## РЕЦЕПТИВНА ГРУШЕВСЬКІАНА: ЕПІСТОЛЯРНИЙ ВИМІР

**Анотація.** *Мета* дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні евристичного потенціалу епістолярію для відтворення рецепції творчої спадщини М. Грушевського в інтелектуальному просторі його доби. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу епістолярного виміру рецептивної грушевськїани. **Висновки.** Проведене дослідження переконливо засвідчило особливу вагомість епістолярію для відтворення рецепції різнопланової діяльності М. Грушевського. Доведено, що, завдячуючи тогочасній поширеності листування як комунікативної практики, ми можемо виявити значно ширшу палітру оцінних інтерпретацій творчості українського історика, порівняно з відомими нам оцінками, що прозвучали в опублікованих критичних оглядах його праць. Водночас вивчення епістолярію історика та його сучасників дає можливість окреслити коло "нереалізованих" рецензентів, котрі з різних причин так і не формалізували свої читацькі враження у друкованій формі. Виявилося, що до них належали як знані українські інтелектуали, так і їхні російські та західні колеги. Також саме епістолярій уможливило з'ясування відмінностей між публічною критикою та приватними оцінками, специфіку популярної рецепції і виявлення оригінальних історіографічних спостережень, що так і не стали надбанням широкої публіки. Зрештою, листування М. Грушевського доводить його активну позицію у пошуку рецензентів для своїх праць та відтворює незнане з інших джерел ставлення вченого до дискусій, викликаних його текстами. Все це помітно актуалізує як більш інтенсивний і скоординований пошук нових епістолярних джерел, так і більшу увагу до відомих сьгодні колекцій.

**Ключові слова:** *М. Грушевський, епістолярій, рецепція, історична думка кінця XIX – першої третини XX ст.*

**The Problem Statement.** The problem of the reception of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's multifaceted activity remains popular among researchers of his work over the last thirty years. The research aims at overcoming the established stereotype in the historiographical tradition of the twentieth-century that a prominent historian, like other Ukrainian intellectuals, seemed to create his texts exclusively "for domestic use". Intensive studies in recent decades have debunked the stereotype, gradually reproducing the reception of M. Hrushevsky's ideas in the Russian, Polish, Czech, German, Romanian, French and other intellectual circles. The active search work discovered and processed various texts in many languages: reviews, polemical notes, analytical articles, and anniversary posts. However, these texts mainly reproduce the academic dimension of reception of M. Hrushevsky, somewhat formalized by the genre and academic ethics requirements.

At the same time, researchers have repeatedly noted the fruitfulness of involving the extensive epistolary of M. Hrushevsky and his correspondents to clarify the complex palette of features of the reception of the intellectual heritage of the Ukrainian historian. There fore, to this day, correspondence has been involved in numerous studies, but mainly as an auxiliary illustrative source, to better understand the specifics of interpersonal communication and the context of publicly expressed assessments. However, careful study of M. Hrushevsky's



epistolary allows us to talk about its independent heuristic value to understand receptive issues. For example, the letters often raise professional issues that did not appear in the published texts. In some cases, these letters uncover evaluations of M. Hrushevsky's works that were not printed, although several scholars intended to publish their reviews. Therefore, the discovery of epistolary sources significantly expands our awareness of how different intellectuals received M. Hrushevsky's ideas. We want to draw the attention of our colleagues to this currently underestimated dimension of the reception of M. Hrushevsky studies. To comprehend the multifaceted nature of the whole problem, we will summarise its main aspects below.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches.** Nowadays, there are many works devoted explicitly to either elucidating the heuristic potential of M. Hrushevsky's correspondence or the reception of his diverse activities. L. Vynar, I. Hyrych, S. Pankova, V. Telvak and other researchers have repeatedly emphasized the fruitfulness of the involvement of the epistolary in studying M. Hrushevsky's life at the end of the late nineteenth – the first third of the twentieth century. However, there is no thorough analysis of the specifics of the epistolary component of the receptive M. Hrushevsky studies nowadays, which determines the relevance of our study.

**The purpose of the article** is to elucidate the heuristic potential of epistolary documents for reproducing the peculiarities of the reception of M. Hrushevsky's creative heritage in the intellectual space of his time.

**The Main Material Statement.** Primarily, let us reconstruct the Ukrainian component of the circle of potential reviewers of M. Hrushevsky's works, who never formalized their impressions in a printed form. As far as we can judge by available sources, the Ukrainians were the largest group among historian's admirers. Their letters reveal that among the reasons why they did not publish their reflections was fear to appear incompetent. To illustrate, here is an excerpt from a letter from Larysa Starytska-Chernyakhivska to Lviv professor. Sharing her impressions of the "Illustrated History of Ukraine", she wrote: "I read your book with delight and I would like to write about it, but I'm afraid to 'dare'" (Zaruba, 2013, p. 508).

Overall, many Ukrainian intellectuals expressed their impressions of M. Hrushevsky's work in the letters exclusively due to several circumstances. Most often, M. Hrushevsky's correspondents wished to express gratitude after receiving a book by the Ukrainian historian as a gift and reading it. Such a situation implied conveying a positive impression of the new work, and a correspondent did not always intend to publish what was said. Many well-known Ukrainian intellectuals (M. Kotsiubynsky, E. Chykalenko, V. Lypynsky, O. Lototsky, and many others) expressed rather unusual observations, well worth of public articulation, in such letters of gratitude to M. Hrushevsky. For example, M. Hrushevsky's teacher Volodymyr Antonovych, after reading the first monographic work of his student, wrote: "I was especially attracted by two aspects in your work, which I consider to be your great achievement. One is an indication of the existence of the Zemstvo boyars in Kyiv and the second is the hypothesis of the absence of princes after the Mongol invasion" (Nazarenko, 1991 – 1992, p. 399). Let us note that the public reflections of the founder of the Kyiv school of documentarians on "Essay on the History of the Kiev land from the death of Yaroslav to the end of the XIVth century" never appeared in print.

Several Ukrainian colleagues included critical remarks together with praise in letters. The reason for keeping these remarks secret was to preserve M. Hrushevsky's reputation as the historian (at least until the Hetman coup) remained one of the prominent symbols of Ukraine alongside Shevchenko and Drahomanov. For example, Sergiy Yefremov in his review of "Essay on the History of the Ukrainian people" mentioned: "In my opinion, in the

new edition of “Essay” it would be great to include some additions, especially in the last part (the XIXth century) [...]. As it is now, it is quite unclear how the total “bankruptcy” of the Ukrainian people in the XVIIIth century transformed into a strong movement with future prospects. This gap needs to be filled. And the part before the Cossack movements is a bit too long, can it be shortened? Then the readers would read the book with bigger interest” (Correspondence, 2006, pp. 221–222).

Interestingly, it was the language of M. Hrushevsky’s works that suffered the most substantial criticism. We know that Ivan Franko was the first to announce his critical remarks towards M. Hrushevsky’s linguistic choices publicly. However, the epistolary sources allow us to claim that this kind of criticism was expressed long before that at the end of the XIXth century. Myron Korduba was the first to note gently the issues with the linguistic style of the historian. At that time, M. Hrushevsky was not content that M. Korduba ignored his insistent advice to send him the text for editing before publishing. Then, M. Korduba, though slightly arrogantly, answered: “[...] When it comes to language, one can notice that you do not use purely Rus forms of words either” (Kupchynsky, 2016, p. 164). Since that time, benevolent criticism of M. Hrushevsky’s linguistic style was more frequent and relevant.

Additionally, the letters to M. Hrushevsky are sometimes the only source that helps us get more insight into the opinions of his contemporaries who did not write to M. Hrushevsky directly. Those reviews were delivered by M. Hrushevsky’s students, who were proud to relay their appreciations in letters to their mentor. Notably, Ivan Dzhydzhora, the most loyal M. Hrushevsky’s student, delivered the whole collection of different opinions. While in Kharkiv, he wrote to Lviv: “I attended two lectures of Bagaliy at the university when he had a lecture about “South Rus History” and discussed various theories and views on the uprising, etc., of the Cossacks. He spoke in the superlatives about Professor, calling “History” (it was the last volume) “monumental” and “classical”, and called Professor, among other things, “a Benedictine (!) of our time” (Correspondence, 2008, p. 211). As the evidence shows, Bagaliy, in his printed review, was much more restrained (Telvak, 2010). Mykola Zaluzniak, another student of the Lviv school, also relayed the respectful reception of his work among local intellectuals to his mentor during his wanderings in Western Europe. Thus, from his letters, we learn that such prominent figures of the German science of the time as Karl Lamprecht and Otto Getch spoke with great respect about the “History of Ukraine-Rus” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 485, p. 118).

We also get invaluable insight from the epistolary of the Ukrainian intellectuals to other parties at the end of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century that also contained evaluations of M. Hrushevsky’s works. Sometimes, the authors of such observations were noticeably more critical in their letters than in public speeches regarding M. Hrushevsky’s historiographical proposals. Here we can even note a certain evaluative dissonance between public statements and epistolary reflections. An eloquent example is Stepan Tomashivsky, known for his numerous reviews of his mentor’s works, in which he demonstrated their national importance and professional excellence in various ways (Telvak, 2013). Instead, in private communication, criticism outweighed approval. The ideological opponent of Lviv professor Volodymyr Mylkovych was the first to point out such insincerity. In the heat of the controversy with M. Hrushevsky’s student, who selflessly defended the teacher against Mylkovych’s sharp criticism, he openly stated: “In the end, there are witnesses to Mr. Tomashivsky, that he himself once said: ‘prof. Hrushevsky sometimes tells such nonsense at his lectures that it is unbearable to listen’” (Milkovych, 1908). Later, the truthfulness of V. Milkovych’s accusations was confirmed by Mykhailo Pavlyk (Telvak, 2008, p. 152).

Another example is correspondence between adherents of statehood historiosophy who, in private, bluntly claimed that M. Hrushevsky's works were outdated, though they considerably alleviated their criticism in public (Lysty, 1976, pp. 23, 27). There are many more similar occurrences among M. Hrushevsky's critics. Overall, the issue of private discussions of M. Hrushevsky's activity in the Ukrainian intellectual environment has promising prospects for M. Hrushevsky's studies and the scholars should give it some consideration in their research.

The letters provide unique information about the reception of M. Hrushevsky's historical texts by a wider audience – another important but a little-known aspect of receptive historiography. The majority of the well-known reflections ordinary readers are preserved in grateful epistolary appeals to the author himself or the publishers who distributed his works. However, Olha Andrievska, in her first experience of reconstructing this problem, demonstrated the importance and fruitfulness of addressing impressions that were preserved in private letters (Andrievska, 2008 – 2009).

As for the non-Ukrainian readers, today, we know only about the epistolary reception of M. Hrushevsky's colleagues from the academic environment. Primarily, let us mention the "private" reviewers of the Ukrainian historian. Most of them were his Russian colleagues, given the extensive contacts of the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus" in the Russian intellectual world. For example, we can read a lot of evaluative reflections in Oleksiy Shakhmatov's letters to M. Hrushevsky. Having received as a gift the Russian translation of the first volume of the "History of Ukraine-Rus", Shakhmatov wrote: "I am most pleased with the Russian translation of the first volume of your History. Its appearance will be a major event in our historical literature" (Makarov, 1996, p. 98). Another good example is the letters of Oleksandr Lappo-Danilevsky to a Lviv professor. In one of them, the Russian historian writes about his impressions of the "Essay on the History of the Ukrainian People": "I have not yet thanked you for your book, which I have read with pleasure and interest; we still have few such scientific investigations" (Matyash, 2002, p. 139). As we know, these iconic Russian intellectuals, although well acquainted with the work of their Ukrainian counterpart, did not prepare any review of his research, so their letters are the only evidence of the reception of M. Hrushevsky's work.

Another quite promising aspect for M. Hrushevsky studies is finding out the assessments of "History of Ukraine-Rus" in the correspondence between the Russian intellectuals. We can, with a high degree of probability, predict the frequent presence of M. Hrushevsky's name in the epistolary of the Russian scholars, as he noticeably irritated or excited both fellow humanitarians and leading political activists. The well-known single mentions fully confirm such expectations. For example, let us recall how several Russian scientists evaluated M. Hrushevsky's works in the letters to the President of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences Prince Konstantin Romanov, written to alleviate M. Hrushevsky's situation after his arrest in 1914. Sergei Platonov wrote: "Mykhailo Hrushevsky has a great scientific talent and, regardless of his "theories", he has done a lot for historical science" (Eletsy, 1998, p. 218). O. Shakhmatov also wrote to the mentioned addressee in the same respectful tone: "[...] The critical apparatus of his eight-volume history is classical and the only one after Karamzin" (Eletsy, 1998, p. 222). These assessments primarily reflect the desire to show the protégé in a favourable light, but these observations show the similarity of assessments voiced by these Russian intellectuals at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

Currently, we have little epistolary evidence of any evaluations by M. Hrushevsky's Western European colleagues. However, we can confidently highlight the considerable informativeness of the letters to the Ukrainian scientist for a more panoramic understanding of the reception of

his ideas. For example, let us mention the letters of the prominent Czech Slavist Jan Paisker to M. Hrushevsky (Telvak, & Radchenko, 2021). They inform us about scholar's reception of historiographical ideas, which were set out in the German translation of the first volume of "History of Ukraine-Rus". In his first letter to M. Hrushevsky, he wrote: "Let me express my sincere gratitude to you from my hospital bed for the extremely valuable insights I gained from your fundamental work in German translation and hope to gain more as long as I can hold a pen in my hand. I read it word for word carefully and with interest and admire your diligence, insight, prudence, realism, even in opinions I do not share". Additionally, J. Paisker's letters suggest that he prepared a critical response to the "History of Ukraine-Rus": "I am happy to write a review, I leave the choice of the magazine to you and ask only for a postponement, because now I'm sick and overworked". No such review has been found, which encourages a careful search of the pages of Western professional journals of that time.

It would be exciting to recreate the reception of M. Hrushevsky's ideas in the epistolary of the European intellectuals of that time, just as we have shown by the example of the Ukrainian and Russian colleagues of the Ukrainian historian. Unfortunately, this problem is virtually unnoticed currently. To illustrate the importance of this aspect, let us mention the specifics of the Polish epistolary reception of M. Hrushevsky's various activities. As we know, his colleagues from the academic environment, in general, paid tribute to the diligence and research talent of the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus" (Telvak, 2004 – 2005). Instead, they were noticeably more critical in their letters, where they even suspected M. Hrushevsky of collaborating with the Russian government. The evidence is a letter from Shimon Askenazi to Ludwik Finkle, written from St. Petersburg. As he was in St. Petersburg at the same time as M. Hrushevsky, the Polish professor wrote: "Accidentally I discovered that M. Hrushevsky was in St. Petersburg with me at the same time; I know that he takes care of the publication of his popular Russian history of Ukraine; and that he is still active. Whom he really serves, God knows better" (Hoszowska, 2013, p. 251).

The study of epistolary allows us to reproduce the peculiarities of writing reviews on M. Hrushevsky's works. The letters of the scientist allow revealing his active position in the search of appropriate reviewers. After the first volume of the "History of Ukraine-Rus" appeared, M. Hrushevsky sent it to the editor-in-chief of the "Věstnik Slovanských Starožytosti" magazine with a request to inform the European public about the novelty of the Ukrainian studies. In response, Lubor Niederle asked the author himself to suggest the name of a possible reviewer (Naulko, 2006, pp. 634–635). He drew the Czech colleague's attention to his talented student M. Korduba. As a result, the first critical response to the "History of Ukraine-Rus" appeared, which acquainted the Western academic community with the emergence of the Ukrainian historiography on new problematic and thematic frontiers.

M. Hrushevsky's epistolary also clarifies scholar's attitude to the discussion of his works. For example, let us recall a letter to O. Lappo-Danilevsky. He expressed his reflections on the considerable interest of Western Slavists in the German translation of the first volume of the "History of Ukraine-Rus". Influenced by a lively, often polemical, but generally benevolent reception, the author wrote to the Russian colleague: "My first volume of "History", published last year in German, is now undergoing a baptism of fire. Sure, there are some sharp antics dictated by hostility to my "innovations", some reviewers settle political or personal grievances, but I was pleased to see that even the most hostile critics did not point out any real shortcomings in my conclusions or method; from this point of view, these unfriendly responses should probably be valued even higher than benevolent, especially unsubstantiated compliments" (Telvak, 2016, p. 330).

Finally, epistolary informs about those critical reviews scattered in the pages of many small-circulation periodicals of the time. Readers of M. Hrushevsky's works often told in their letters to the scholar about the reviews published or submitted to the editors of magazines. As an example, here is an excerpt from a letter from the Russian archaeologist and publicist Vasily Storozhev to Lviv professor dated on March 22, 1905: "As promised, I inform you that my reviews on your book "Essay on the History of the Ukrainian People" are published in the journals "Russkaya Mysl" (The Russian Thought), № 2, pp. 57–59, "Nauchnoye Slovo" (The Scientific Word) № 2, pp. 131–134 and "Mir Bozhyi" (God's World), № 2, pp. 49–51" (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 874, p. 9).

At M. Hrushevsky's request, the librarian of the SSS book collection Volodymyr Doroshenko conducted a unique search to find reviews of M. Hrushevsky's work. In this regard, one of his letter reports to the chairman of the Society reported the following: "I collected more than you asked for, and I would have collected even more if the Library had all the main Russian journals in the set, and unfortunately there a lot of them are missing. That is why, I couldn't collect reviews to the 2nd – 3rd edition of "Essay" because of this fact. I'm sorry I was late with the answer for a couple of days, but I wanted to give you a complete set of reviews. There was nothing to find in our Library, but I took notes while I was still in Switzerland, so I had to turn over a bunch of my notes while I found them. I did not copy reviews from the Ukrainian publications and "Kyiv Staryna". I present all the others on separate cards" (Correspondence, 2001, p. 262). We'd like to note that such information is often the only reference point for us to search.

**The Conclusions.** The above observations convincingly testify to the exceptional heuristic value of the epistolary documents for researchers of M. Hrushevsky's various activities reception. Thankfully, the prevalence of correspondence as a primary communicative practice at that time allows us to reproduce not only a much wider palette of evaluative interpretations of M. Hrushevsky's work, but also significantly expand the problem-thematic horizons of the receptive aspect of Hrushevsky studies. Among its most promising areas is the research of the circle of "private" reviewers, the elucidation of the conformity or non-conformity of public criticism to private assessments, as well as the identification of noteworthy historiographical observations that have never become public. All this noticeably actualizes both a more intensive and, most importantly, a coordinated search of new epistolary sources and closer attention to the collections known today. So, Ad fontes!

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**YEVHEN CHYKALENKO AND KHARKIV:  
THE HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIP**

**Abstract.** *The aim of the research* is to find out the aspects of Yevhen Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv during his studies at Kharkiv University which have various interpretations in his Spohady (Memoirs) and scientific literature; to establish the specificity of Yevhen Chykalenko's circle of influence made up of the closest to him at the university; to highlight Yevhen Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv in order to determine the Ukrainian nationalist movement members' attitude to everything related to the urban world. **The Research Methodology.** The article focuses on the analysis of Yevhen Chykalenko's reception of such basic features of the urban environment as people; city space; the function of the city; the conditions of everyday life, which are based on the analysis of the archival materials, the documents of Kharkiv University, the full set of his Shchodennyk (Diary) of 1907 – 1929 and the correspondence of an outstanding entrepreneur and philanthropist Yevhen Chykalenko. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that the chronological framework of Yevhen Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv, the peculiarities of the social environment of the circle of his closest friends among the students and teachers as well as specificity and evolution of Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv have been regarded in the research for the first time. **The Conclusions.** Ye. Chykalenko's life in Kharkiv covered no more than two academic years, during which he studied at Physics and Mathematics Faculty and later at the Law Faculty of Kharkiv University. Taking into account the fact that he was just an audit student at university as well as the specificity of the educational process organization, he did not have the opportunity to "feel" the spirit of a big city. His childhood friends from Yelisavetgrad had the greatest impact on both his life in Kharkiv and the reception of the city. His closest social circle consisted of students from raznochintsy. Yevhen Chykalenko witnessed Kharkiv's evolution from the educational center on the border of the Ukrainian lands and therefore functioning mainly as a transit city for many young Ukrainians, to the centre of the Bolshevik political repression known as The Red Terror. Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv remained neutral rather than hostile. Nevertheless, it wasn't friendly. The main reason for such reception of the city was the central government. Concerning urban space, Ye. Chykalenko was mainly interested in such locations as hotels and theatres. However, the houses where he lived were less significant for him. He didn't like urban romance, urban lifestyle and he did not write anything about the social strata of the urban population, streets, and districts of the city, types of random passers-by. Ye. Chykalenko regards a big city as a necessary space for the implementation of the projects of the Ukrainian national and cultural revival. On the contrary, the romance of the rural world was just as inherent for Ye. Chykalenko as for the bearers of the traditional worldview – the Ukrainian peasants.

**Key words:** Yevhen Chykalenko, Kharkiv, Kharkiv University.

## ЄВГЕН ЧИКАЛЕНКО І ХАРКІВ: ІСТОРІЯ ВЗАЄМИН

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – з'ясувати аспекти перебування Є. Х. Чикаленка в Харкові у період навчання в Харківському університеті, які по-різному трактуються в мемуарах та науковій літературі, встановити специфіку кола найближчих до нього осіб в університеті; реконструювати ставлення Є. Х. Чикаленка до Харкова, що необхідно для визначення ставлення видатних діячів українського національного руху до всього, що пов'язане із урбаністичним світом. **Методологія дослідження.** У статті здійснено аналіз сприйняття Є. Чикаленком таких базових ознак урбаністичного середовища: люди; простір міста; функція міста; умови повсякденного життя на підставі аналізу архівних матеріалів, документів Харківського університету та всього комплексу щоденника 1907 – 1929 рр., матеріалів листування видатного підприємця та мецената. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше розкрито хронологічні рамки перебування Є. Чикаленка в Харкові, особливості соціального середовища кола найближчих друзів зі студентів та викладачів, специфіку й еволюцію ставлення Є. Чикаленка до Харкова. **Висновки.** Харківський період життя Є. Чикаленка охоплював не більше двох академічних років, протягом яких він навчався спочатку на фізико-математичному, а потім юридичному факультетах Харківського університету. Статус вільнослухача та специфіка організації навчального процесу не надали йому можливості “відчути” подих великого міста. Визначальними для перебування та сприйняття міста Харкова для нього були друзі дитинства елісаветградських часів. До кола його найближчого спілкування входили студенти – вихідці з різночинців. Харків в очах Чикаленка пройшов еволюцію від освітнього центру, який, перебуваючи на межі українських земель, виконував транзитну функцію для багатьох молодих українців, до осередка червоної бюрократії, більшовицького терору. Для нього він залишався нейтральним, не ворожим світом, але й не дружнім. Такому сприйняттю міста сприяла головним чином центральна влада. У міському просторі значущими для нього були такі локації, як готель, театр і значно меншою – будинки, де він мешкав. Він не захоплювався міською романтикою, міським способом життя, нічого не писав про соціальні верстви міського населення, вулиці та райони міста, типажі випадкових перехожих. Велике місто для Є. Чикаленка радше – необхідний простір для реалізації проектів українського національно-культурного відродження, а романтика сільського світу були такою ж мірою притаманні Є. Чикаленку, як і носіям традиційного світогляду – українським селянам.

**Ключові слова:** Євген Чикаленко, Харків, Харківський університет.

**The Problem Statement.** At the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries, relations between the Ukrainians and large cities were very complex. The Ukrainian nation was made up of peasantry, and peasants had a negative attitude towards all cities and everything related to the urban world. The reasons, manifestations, and consequences of such an attitude have been covered and reflected in various scientific works and Ukrainian fiction. However, the history of relations between distinguished Ukrainians and big cities has not still found a proper coverage in historiography. One of the most prominent figures of the Ukrainian national movement was Yevhen Chykalenko. He was a personality with the modern worldview, later – the Ukrainian Renaissance future leader, whose devoted work in the field of patronage, education, and political cohesion of the Ukrainians is well known to everyone.

The study of his attitude to cities will contribute to the deepening of knowledge about the ways of the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation. One of the most significant cities in his life was Kharkiv, the third most populous centre of the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire, where Ye. Chykalenko began studying agronomy. Therefore, relationships between Ye. Chykalenko and Kharkiv are important for the proper interpretation of his ideas and attitudes to the urban environment.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** There are no special studies on the problem of Yevhen Chykalenko's relationship with the urban world. The subjects related to the topic of our research have been presented in D. Doroshenko's, I. Starovoitenko's works



devoted to Ye. Chykalenko's life and work (Doroshenko, 2008, pp. 51–57; Starovoitenko, 2008, pp. 151–155; Starovoitenko, 2009, pp. 21–22, 189–190). Referring to his *Spohady*, the researchers state that he studied at Kharkiv University for three years and graduated from it in 1885 (Doroshenko, 2008, pp. 51–52; Korniienko, 2010, p. 414). His socio-political activity, and especially his participation in V. Maliovanyi, Y. Boiko, I. Fokin, M. Shytiuk, and A. Kozyrev's society have been thoroughly researched (Boiko, 2014, pp. 498–508; Fokin, pp. 13–14; Shytiuk & Kozyrev, pp. 103–108, 110–111, 113–116, 149, 151). Ye. Chykalenko's contribution to the educational work among farmers regarding the techniques and methods of farming on land has also been the focus of scientists' attention (Rohozha, 2018, pp. 168–169; Korniienko, 2015, pp. 413–414). The publication of the selection of Ye. Chykalenko's diary entries and correspondence in 2004 – 2016 opened up an opportunity for the source studies of his inheritance which were carried out by I. Starovoitenko (Chykalenko, 2011, pp. 7–31; Chykalenko, 2015a, pp. 6–29; Chykalenko, 2015b, pp. 6–27; Chykalenko, 2015c, pp. 6–31; Chykalenko, 2016, pp. 19–45).

In general, Kharkiv period of Ye. Chykalenko's life has been rather sparsely reported in the studies. Among the issues related to Ye. Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv and touched upon in the scientific documents, some require special research. Describing Ye. Chykalenko's studies at Kharkiv University, the scientists have referred only to the facts given by Ye. Chykalenko without investigating other sources of literature. For instance, in his memoirs Ye. Chykalenko mentioned that he had been an auditor at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Kharkiv University for three years (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92); later, in his diary, he made no comments on the false data on his study at university till 1875 as well as on his arrest mentioned in one of the articles about his life and his active work (Chykalenko, 2015, p. 138). The memoirist made some inaccuracies on his own since he relied only on his memory, which had a specificity to betray him (Ye. Chykalenko himself was well aware of this human memory specificity).

At that time, there was the Department of Sciences at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at Kharkiv University (Bakirov, p. 130) where Ye. Chykalenko could have studied; he did not mention anything about his arrest in his memoirs either (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 112–117).

In the preface to a practical guide to farming entitled *Rozmova pro s'il'ske khaziaistvo* (Conversations on Farming), which was reprinted several times at the beginning of the twentieth century, he appreciated the achievements of Professor Kostychev from St. Petersburg highly, whose book helped him to master the ways of using black steam (Chykalenko, 1908, pp. 3–4). It seems unclear why Ye. Chykalenko did not mention his Kharkiv teacher, Professor A. Zaikevych, and devoted only a few lines to the latter in his *Spohady* (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92). Yevhen Chykalenko did not refer a lot to his student years and Kharkiv in his *Shchodennyk* even though the city is known to be a place where Ye. Chykalenko's young years passed, and, consequently, a place to leave an imprint on his soul for the rest of his life. Therefore, we consider it significant to highlight the reasons why Kharkiv did not encourage an elderly person to immerse himself into the memories of the city of his student years. We also aim to find out whether the hostile attitude to a particular city is part of Ye. Chykalenko's reception of any urban environment or not.

**The Publication Purpose** is to find out the aspects of Yevhen Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv during his studies at Kharkiv University which have various interpretations in memoirs and scientific literature; to establish the specificity of Ye. Chykalenko's circle of influence made up of the closest to him at the university; to find out Yevhen Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv

in order to determine the Ukrainian nationalist movement member's attitude to everything related to the urban world. The main source of research has become Yevhen Chykalenko's *Shchodennyk, 1907 – 1929* (Diary, 1907 – 1929), *Spohady* (Memoirs), police documents of State Archive of Kharkiv Region (SAKhR), and official publications of Kharkiv University, 1880 – 1885. In our research, the method of “new biographical history” has been used, in particular, one of its fundamental principles that “life is a narrative”, which involves the study of personality in the system of socio-cultural communication (Kolesnik, 2015, pp. 7, 9).

In *Shchodennyk*, the city of Kharkiv is mentioned a lot but compared to Kyiv, Kharkiv appears to be suppressed. Therefore, all the references to Kharkiv in *Shchodennyk*, especially in the documents without any comments have been thoroughly analysed in our research.

We believe such references to be interpreted as the author's indirect but quite acceptable attitudes to the city. To measure Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv, we consider it necessary to compare his memories about Kharkiv with those about other cities, in particular with Kyiv and Yelisavetgrad. The method used in the research is certain to determine the peculiarities of Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to large cities at the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries. The appeal to the concept of “personality and city” is important regarding the need to use the approach to urban studies. According to it, the city “has always worked as the main systematizer of memory, building our identity and affecting our belonging to a certain community” (Shlipchenko, 2008, p. 105).

In this regard, the article deals with the analysis of the publicist's references to such basic features of the urban environment as people (friends, enemies, teachers, family members, certain social segments, random passers-by, etc.); urban space (houses, streets, districts, transport, etc.); city functions (intellectual, economic and transit centre, the centre of concentration of bureaucracy); everyday life conditions (prices, salaries, wages, amenities, smells, sounds, etc.).

**The Main Material Statement.** Kharkiv was a foreign city for the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement. The narration description of the city in I. Maistrenko's memoirs proves this fact. He characterizes the city as follows “...it has its roots in Russia; “...it was migrant workers city for the Russian *Kurschyna* (Kursk region)”; and “the Russified Donbas, where the Russians worked mainly as miners, was more Ukrainian than Kharkiv not to mention Dnipropetrovsk or Odesa” (Maistrenko, 1985, p. 206).

However, Yevhen Chykalenko perceived Kharkiv as a boundary transit area, and he never made global generalizations characteristics. In his memoirs, he recalled the time when he used to discuss the reasons for the absence of the “old” Ukrainian community in Kharkiv together with fellow students: “...we often thought about the reason for that phenomenon and came to the conclusion that Kharkiv was the most whitewashed of all the Ukrainian cities; we called it “the entrance hall” of Ukraine where people never stay, but immediately go to other rooms (underscore – Auth.) There were a lot of Ukrainian students belonging to certain communities in Kharkiv. However, soon after graduating from the University, all of them went to work in other cities or villages” (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 93–94). Therefore, Kharkiv was primarily a transit city for Ye. Chykalenko. His reception of Kharkiv as a train-to-train transit station and the Russia-Ukraine border city remained with him until the end of his life (Chykalenko, 2004a, p. 330). This is especially evident from P. Rymarchuk's letters who was one of Yevhen Chykalenko's permanent correspondents (Chykalenko, 2016, pp. 77, 112, 298, 299).

In 1918 – 1919, the image of the city was supplemented by another one. Kharkiv appeared as a place (not a city!) of the confrontation between different armies: Ukrainian, Bolshevik,

White, Don Cossacks and the headquarters of “their own” republic (Chykalenko, 2004b, pp. 171–172, 173, 182, 200, 203, 204).

On the other hand, Kharkiv as well as other cities in Ukraine were not perceived by Yevgen Chykalenko as places immanently hostile to everything Ukrainian. Therefore, while presenting his speech in Przemyśl in October of 1919, he focused on the reasons for the Ukrainian magazines’ failure in Odesa, Yekaterinoslav, Kharkiv, and Poltava: they “had to close down due to lack of subscribers, because all those who worked the government or zemstva, as teachers, priests, and all zemstvo officials, under the threat of losing their positions, were forced to stop subscribing to the press” (Chykalenko, 2011, p. 136). Therefore, in his opinion, the main driving force of the “*obmoskovlennia*” of cities was the policy of the empire’s authorities rather than internal urban factors.

Ye. Chykalenko’s reception of Kharkiv as a transit centre was not accidental. According to his *Spohady*, he wanted to study in Kyiv (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 81). After his attempts had failed, he entered Moscow Petrovsko-Razumovsky Agricultural Academy (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 89, 91). The closure of the Academy forced him to move from Moscow to Kharkiv (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 91) and become an audit student at the local university. The first year of his stay at Kharkiv University was the academic year 1882/1883 when Ye. Chykalenko was an audit student in the first year of the Department of Natural Sciences of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics (Kharkiv University, 1882, p. 113). The following year, 1883/1884, he was a first-year student at the Faculty of Law (Kharkiv University, 1883, p. 125). Since he was no longer mentioned in the lists of university audit students.

The archive file “On Yevhen Chykalenko Putting under Police Surveillance” contains the information concerning this public figure collected on October 4, 1883. The following data on Ye. Chykalenko were available to the local police: age – 21; place of birth – the village of Peresher, Kondrativ volost’, Ananiv district, Kherson province. As to his mother, her name was Olena, and she was known to change her surname for Belikova after her second marriage. She lived in the city of Ananiev, Kherson province. Ye. Chykalenko had no private property and was financially dependant on his mother, who had her own property in Ananiev.

He settled in Kharkiv, 37 Chobotarska Street, Dakhnevskiy’s House (Police Station No. 5) (SAKhR, f. 3, d. 287, v. 1, c. 640, p. 4). His latest place of residence was known to be about a 30-minute walk away from the university.

According to the university student lists, the representatives of the most famous Kharkiv families such as Mykola Hredeskul, Kostiantyn Bych-Lubenskyi, the brothers Hryhorii and Dmytro Alchevski studied together with Yevhen Chykalenko. However, according to certain historical sources, there was no local elite in his closest social circle. Ye. Chykalenko never mentioned the people who later became eminent figures in politics and culture.

His closest university friend, with whom he maintained relations in his lifetime, was Arkadii Verzhbyskyi. During their first year of study, they both became audit students at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, the Department of Physical and Chemical Sciences (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, p. 113), and in 1883/1884 he was a first-year student at the Faculty of Law (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1883, p. 125).

Yevhen and Arkadii were under the “guardianship” of their friend Mykola Levytskyi (1859 – 1934), who entered the Faculty of Law in 1881/1882 and graduated from it in 1885 (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1881, p. 31; Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, p. 39; Kharkovskiy universitet, 1883, p. 47; Kharkovskiy universitet, 1884, p. 60).

Ye. Chykalenko called Arkadii Verzhbyskyi “my old friend” and “my childhood friend”. In September of 1916, Arkadii came to see him after having lost his teaching post in Katerynoslav region, and Ye. Chykalenko believed that “...he will serve as a “guardian” until his arrival, even though he is not good at housekeeping,” (Chykalenko & Stebnytskyi, 2008, pp. 472, 473; Chykalenko & Yefremov, pp. 173, 176, 177). Judging by the correspondence with Yefremov, the two friends maintained regular contact (Chykalenko & Yefremov, pp. 113, 163). Ye. Chykalenko’s correspondence contained mainly critical and sarcastic statements about Mykola Levvitskyi on account of the latter’s opinion on some problematic political and cultural issues (Chykalenko & Nikovskyi, pp. 288, 313; Chykalenko & Yefremov, pp. 74, 219; Chykalenko & Stebnytskyi, p. 478). Their close relationships failed probably because both young men displayed affection for the same girl during the “Kharkiv years” (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 98).

In his memoirs, Yevhen Chykalenko mentioned that the students who left the Ukrainian Student’s Community at the beginning of 1884 and set up the Ukrainian Radical Community belong to his close circle of friends. Ivan Telychenko who had been studying at the Faculty of Medicine since 1882 was among them. He came from the bourgeoisie and graduated from Kharkiv Grammar School No. 1. Mykola Sokolov, a medical student and a graduate of Belgorod Grammar School, whose ancestors were shop floor workers, was also one of his friends. They both were forced to earn money to support themselves (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, pp. 90, 91). Another friend of his Vasyl Mynyc from Belarus was discovered while studying the university documents. In the 1882/1883 academic year Vasyl was a fifth-year student at the Medical Faculty. He came from the peasantry and was a graduate of Minsk Grammar School No. 1, a state-funded institution (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, p. 110). His other friends have not been found yet. In his memoirs, Yevhen Chykalenko also mentioned a medical student Selek (however, such a person was not found in the student lists) and “Yakovlev from Ostrohshchyna” (there were at least three Yakovlevs in the student lists). Later on, all the five university students “disappeared from Yevhen Chykalenko’s life”. I. Telychenko left the Ukrainian movement and started working in Katerynoslav Railway Council. M. Sokolov was killed during the cholera riots in Samara province. Selek died of tuberculosis, and Khvoshchynskyi, working as a military doctor in Siberia, never came back (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 102). Obviously, in the same way, Ye. Chykalenko lost contact with Yakovlev.

While being an audit student Yevhen Chykalenko wasn’t greatly impressed by his studies at university. Among the reasons for that were the following: his membership in the Ukrainian movement and Maliovani’s society; his love affair that ended up in his marriage to M. Sadyk; cramped and inconvenient lecture halls and classrooms and, as a result, inability to study properly (the university management even admitted that fact). Thus, half of the students could not attend lectures, and those, for whom there wasn’t enough space in the lecture room, were forced to leave the lecture halls (Zaklyuchenie o pravilakh, pp. 42–43). Therefore, some young people could not participate in the educational process, and, consequently, they sought other activities to get involved in. They participated in political projects and arranged rendezvous with females. Moreover, the Department of Agronomy was not regarded to be of great importance at the beginning of the XXth century as, judging by the words of its head, Professor Zaikevych, it had not made significant progress in the research work compared to other university departments at the beginning of the XXth century. “It performed either a fundamental role, and then attending lectures on agriculture was obligatory even for law students ... or its role became minor and agriculture was optional for science students...” (Bagaley & Osipov, 1908, pp. 356–357; Ivanov, p. 122).

The highlight of the Department of Agronomy was its emphasis on providing students with practical skills. Under the initiative of Professor A. Zaikevych, some experimental agricultural fields were equipped in various localities of Kharkiv, Poltava, and other provinces (there were at least four fields during the period of Ye. Chykalenko's study at university, and the total number of such fields created by A. Zaikevych was 33). Those experimental fields were institutions where Ye. Chykalenko, willing to get specific knowledge in farming, had an opportunity to get some practical skills (Bagaley & Osipov, 1908, p. 356; Ivanov, 1959, pp. 26, 34). The future agricultural entrepreneur often visited "perfect" local landowners farms in the area. That distracted his mind from the academic atmosphere of the university, theoretical issues and the art of lecturing (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92).

The story of a well-known corn culture brochure left an unpleasant trace in Ye. Chykalenko's memory. The text written by Ye. Chykalenko on demand of A. Zaikevych did not receive any comment from the professor. That hurt the feelings of a young and ambitious author (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92).

Later, when he was in exile in Czechoslovakia and worked at the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Podebrady, he wrote down: "They wanted me to teach them "sheep farming" in autumn, but I did not give my consent as I wondered how I could be a lecturer. I didn't not even graduated from university, and I had fear for public speaking in front of an audience" (Chykalenko, 2016, p. 89).

Student years are known to be associated with entertainment and friends' parties. For young Ye. Chykalenko, Kharkiv remained mainly a place of solitude. In his memoirs, he wrote: "I didn't know what I would have done in Kharkiv if it hadn't been for that the Ukrainian troupe one winter, where my friends Saksahanskyi and Sadovskiyi played in...

I went backstage every day to see my friends; I stayed with them after the performance until they went to bed" (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 110–111).

Some detailed data concerning his spare time in Kharkiv were revealed by M. Sadovskiyi in his letter to Ye. Chykalenko in December of 1921: "While reading your letter, my whole being was enveloped in that familiar warm wind. I was sitting with my eyes closed, and the pictures that brought back sweet memories were passing in front of me as if I was at the cinema: Kharkiv, student's youth, Fedia, Petia ... Returning from the theatre to the hotel. That wonderful *tropak* (the Ukrainian step dance) on the sidewalk, from which the echo was coming around... and tears, joys, sorrows blurred my eyes. Oh, youth! Oh, happiness!" (Chykalenko, 2015a, p. 321).

Other markers of the urban world, like the houses where Ye. Chykalenko lived or spent much time, did not give him so many positive emotions as his friends or going to the theater did. It was probably because of the constant police surveillance of him in Kharkiv, and a violation of personal privacy during the inspection of his premises (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 110).

Secondly, Chebotarska Street area, where he rented accommodation, was not prestigious and did not differ much from the similar urban areas of any county town in Ukraine.

Therefore, there was nothing to admire (the construction boom changed the provincial centre only 20 years after Ye. Chykalenko's departure from Kharkiv). The only connection to Kharkiv urban area in Yevhen Chykalenko's memoirs was his mentioning the hotel "Ruf" in Rybna Street, where he had appointments with V. Malovanyi (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 105, 116). Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kyiv was similar to his attitude to houses as city markers (Chykalenko, 2011, p. 425; Chykalenko, 2015a, pp. 202, 258, 293).

Judging by the series of documents from his diary, we can state that Ye. Chykalenko had that typical Ukrainian feeling of nostalgia for the countryside and rural life:

“In my elderly age, I am particularly interested in the area where I have spent my childhood and adolescence. Sometimes, I dream of possessing my estate in Pereshory again as well as of being given a piece of land” (Chykalenko, 2016, p. 281).

A sketch of the town of Podebrada in Czechoslovakia is, in fact, the author’s only record of this kind. It shows that the urban area mattered to him when he was able to experience a rural atmosphere there: “Podebrady is a small town being converted into a European resort due to its carbon dioxide springs, but even though you can come across the fields of corn in the middle of the square, and every day, on the way to the Academy, you can see cows or modern Ford tractors ploughing the fields as well as sowing and harvesting processes, etc. Now the harvest time is over and the threshing has begun. All day long I can hear the hum of the threshing machine, and it reminds me of Pereshory. This humming makes me feel upset. My heart aches...” (Chykalenko, 2016, p. 172).

The image of Kharkiv during the Bolsheviks party ruling was completely different in Ye. Chykalenko’s eyes. In October of 1921 he added to his diary a lengthy article clipping from the “Ukrainska Trybuna” – a reprint of the Polish conservative newspaper “Chas” with a detailed description of Kharkiv. The article was about the departure of the Polish diplomatic mission from Warsaw to Kharkiv.

The Polish journalist claimed that the mission “took along everything they could, everything that was necessary enough for several people to live on for a few months. Except for the consumer products they took along the doctor, the chemist’s, and even the pencils, ink, and several wagons of coal that were in Kharkiv – the former capital of coal. Now you can’t get it for any price! When our mission set out, it was more like the beginning of a polar expedition... And what best characterises the situation with the Bolsheviks is our diplomatic mission. It has occupied Kharkiv grammar school building which was previously vacant!” (Chykalenko, 2015a, p. 269). This description of Kharkiv greatly contrasted with the mentioning of plenty of food in his student years (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 108).

According to the diary materials of 1921 – 1929, Kharkiv became the centre of the newest Ukrainian communist bureaucracy. In December of 1920, V. Sadovskyi informed Ye. Chykalenko that he had to “pay homage to Kharkiv” (Chykalenko, 2015a, p. 39). In August of 1922, Ye. Chykalenko wrote to his father that he was leaving for Kharkiv: “I will test the waters. You will probably be able to live in peace in Kyiv” (Chykalenko, 2015b, p. 194).

In O. Voloshyn’s letter, it was stated, “and the order has been received from the centre: not to translate anything into Ukrainian and not to print anything in Odesa without permission from the central authorities, and those” (Chykalenko, 2015c, p. 292; Chykalenko, 2016, p. 100 et al.). The motto “to pay homage” or “to obtain something”, was dominant in the reception of the former university centre. Another aspect of the image of Kharkiv was its reception as a centre of repression against the Ukrainian movement, the city which involves danger and copyright infringement, etc. (Chykalenko, 2015a, pp. 270, 271; Chykalenko, 2015b, p. 167; Chykalenko, 2015c, p. 243; Chykalenko, 2016, pp. 242, 295, 326).

**The Conclusions.** Thus, Kharkiv period in Yevhen Chykalenko’s life took no more than two academic years, during which he studied first at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, and then at the Faculty of Law. The status of an audit student and the peculiarities of the university organisation process did not allow him to “feel” the advantages of living in a city.

His recollections of Kharkiv were associated with his friends from the Yelisavetgrad times: Verzhbyskyi, Saksahanskyi and Sadovskyi. The documents of Kharkiv University reveal the social background of the students. His closest social circle consisted of students

from *raznochintsy*, which is considered unusual for a person from a wealthy family. Ye. Chykalenko believed that Kharkiv, which was situated on the border of the Ukrainian lands, performed a transitory function for many young Ukrainians, having evolved from the educational centre to the centre of Bolshevik bureaucracy and terror. Concerning urban space, Ye. Chykalenko was mainly interested in such locations as hotels and theatres. However, the houses where he lived were less significant for him. Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv remained neutral rather than hostile. Nevertheless, it wasn't friendly. The main reason for such reception of the city was the central government. Ye. Chykalenko did not like urban romance and lifestyle. He left indirect mentions about his living conditions in Kharkiv. He wrote nothing about the social strata, streets, districts of the city as well as the types of passers-by. Ye. Chykalenko regarded a big city as a necessary space for the implementation of the projects of the Ukrainian national and cultural revival. From the history of the relationship between Ye. Chykalenko and Kharkiv, we may state that, like other Ukrainian peasants who were the bearers of the traditional outlook, he loved the romance, sounds, and landscape of the countryside. The question is whether the incomplete reception and unwillingness to immerse into the world of a modern city could become the reasons for the weakening of the Ukrainian movement at the beginning of the XXth century. Therefore, the history of relations between outstanding Ukrainians and the urban world is considered to require further research.

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## EVOLUTION AND EMPLOYMENT OF INCENDIARY WEAPONS DURING WORLD WAR I

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study* – generalization of world experience in the invention of incendiary weapons during World War I, the analysis of tactics for its employment in defensive and offensive operations. **The methodology** was based on the general scientific principles of historicism, objectivity, systemics, determinism and the dialectical unity of the historical and the logical methods. They are implemented through the application of general scientific methods of a scientific research: generalization, analysis and synthesis, logical, chronological, periodization, as well as specific methods of historical research, in particular: historical and genetic, historical and comparative ones. The combination of these methods of a scientific research in a comprehensive analysis of sources and literature has triggered achievement of the designated objective. **The Scientific Novelty.** On account of a significant source base and modern methodological approaches, the world experience due to the invention of the incendiary weapons during World War I has been generalized and systematized. The tendencies which emerged in the course of evolution of diverse incendiary weapons, in particular land, aviation and sea types have been revealed. The data related to the place of the incendiary weapons among other types of weapons, their tactical and technical specifications and methods of employment in defensive and offensive operations, including Ukraine, have been clarified and supplemented. **The Conclusions.** During World War I, under the influence of science and the conditions of war, new promising incendiaries (jet flamethrowers based on land and sea, incendiary air bombs, shells, hand grenades, subversive incendiary devices, etc.), as well as incendiary substances and mixtures were rapidly to be created. Under modern conditions their unique combat properties have not lost their significance. Under conditions of a maneuverable and “trench warfare” flamethrowers, as auxiliary weapons of close combat, proved efficiency against tanks and various defensive structures, which the infantry could not destroy or suppress with artillery, machine gun or rifle fire. They turned out to be efficient under specific circumstances, in particular during the offensive or defensive combat in the urban area, especially in producing powerful fires and smoke screens. In addition to the destruction and fires caused, the incendiary weapons crucially impacted on the morale of troops and civilians, causing panic and fear. The experience gained by mankind in development of the incendiary weapons and their use during World War I has not only scientific but also practical significance from the perspective of enhancing the combat capabilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Its consideration will contribute to the further development of incendiary means, as well as tactics for employment in diverse combat environment.

**Key words:** World War I, incendiary weapons, flamethrower, incendiary substance, flame tank, incendiary bombs, incendiary means for subversive activities.

## РОЗВИТОК І ЗАСТОСУВАННЯ ЗАПАЛЮВАЛЬНОЇ ЗБРОЇ У ПЕРШІЙ СВІТОВІЙ ВІЙНІ

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – узагальнення світового досвіду створення запалювальної зброї під час Першої світової війни, розкриття тактики її застосування в оборонних і наступальних діях. **Методологія дослідження** вибудовувалася із застосуванням загальнонаукових принципів історизму, об'єктивності, системності, детермінізму та діалектичної єдності історичного і логічного. Вони реалізовані через використання загальнонаукових методів наукового пізнання: узагальнення, аналізу і синтезу, логічного, хронологічного, періодизації, а також спеціальних методів історичного дослідження, зокрема: історико-генетичного, історико-порівняльного. Поєднання названих методів наукового дослідження при всебічному аналізі джерел і літератури уможливило реалізацію визначеної мети. **Наукова новизна.** На основі значної джерельної бази та сучасних методологічних підходів узагальнено і систематизовано світовий досвід створення запалювальної зброї у період Першої світової війни. Виявлено тенденції, що проявилися у процесі еволюції різних видів запалювальних засобів, зокрема, сухопутних, авіаційних і морських. Уточнено та доповнено відомості щодо місця запалювальної зброї серед інших видів зброї, її тактико-технічних характеристик і способів застосування в оборонних і наступальних діях, у тому числі на теренах України. **Висновки.** У період Першої світової війни під впливом досягнень науки і умов війни почали швидко створюватися нові перспективні запалювальні засоби (струменеві вогнемети сухопутного і морського базування, запалювальні авіаційні бомби, снаряди, ручні гранати, диверсійні запалювальні засоби тощо), а також запалювальні речовини і суміші. Їх унікальні бойові властивості не втратили значення і в сучасних умовах. У час маневреної та “окопної війни” вогнемети, як допоміжна зброя ближнього бою, виявилися результативними проти танків і різноманітних оборонних споруд, які піхота не могла знищити або придушити артилерійським, кулеметним чи рушничним вогнем. Вони результативно застосовувалися і в особливих умовах, зокрема, під час наступального чи оборонного бою в місті. За їх допомогою створювалися потужні пожежі і димові завіси. Окрім руйнувань і пожеж, запалювальна зброя спричиняла значний вплив на моральний дух військ і цивільного населення, викликаючи паніку та страх. Набутий людством досвід створення запалювальної зброї та її застосування у Першій світовій війні має не лише наукове, а й практичне значення з точки зору підвищення бойових спроможностей Збройних Сил України. Його урахування сприятиме подальшому розвитку перспективних запалювальних засобів, а також тактичних прийомів їх застосування у різних бойових умовах.

**Ключові слова:** Перша світова війна, запалювальна зброя, вогнемет, вогнеметний танк, запалювальна бомба, запалювальні диверсійні засоби.

**The Problem Statement.** The experience of military conflicts in the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries, in particular the military actions in the East of Ukraine, shows that in military affairs there have been significant changes associated with the development of scientific and technological progress. There are fundamentally new models of weapons and equipment, a wide arsenal of which is used, for example, by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Luhansk regions (Rudomskyi, 2017; Virtualna fotovystavka, 2014).

These conditions, as well as Ukraine's renunciation of nuclear weapons (Zakon Ukrainy, 1994; Memorandum, 1994; Savchuk, 2018), require scientific research into effective ways of countering the aggressor by conventional means of destruction, among which not the last place is occupied by *incendiary weapons* in the armed struggle nowadays – weapons or ammunition designed to destroy enemy manpower and objects based on the use of *incendiary substances* (special chemical mixtures that emit large amounts of heat and toxic substances during combustion) (Protokol, 1980; Voennyi Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, p. 347).

From the point of view of the development of military history science, World War I is of interest, during which the first models of incendiary weapons were created and tested under real combat conditions, more perfect examples of which are still in service in many

countries around the world, as well as there were developed principles and methods of incendiary weapons use. Therefore, the experience gained by mankind in the creation of incendiary weapons and its use during World War I is not only of a scientific but also practical significance in terms of increasing the combat capabilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** The analysis of historiography on the issue showed that the development of various types of incendiary weapon and its use during World War I, despite its topicality and scientific significance, has not been fully researched yet. Till nowadays, a small number of scientific researches have been published, but in them, with a few exceptions, only some aspects of incendiary weapon are analyzed. The researches are fragmentary or descriptive. The monographs of the Soviet and foreign researchers are worth of attention, in particular H. Teyne (Teyne, 1927), P. Traynin (Traynin, 1939), A. Ardashev (Ardashev, 2001), T. Wictor (Wictor, 2010), the article by L. Sergeev (Sergeev, 2013), K. McFadden (McFadden, 2017), O. Oleynikov (Oleynikov, 2018) and the others. The authors based on primary sources (diaries, memoirs of direct participants in the events, leadership, instructions, combat documents, etc.) analyze the weapons, equipment and tactics of the flamethrower troops of the opposing armies, provide tactical and technical characteristics of almost all known models of the flamethrowers of that period. At the same time, in their researches, the scientists prefer analyzing the experience of fighting on land, ignoring the development of aviation and naval incendiary weapons. There are no generalizing scientific works on this issue in Ukrainian historiography. This issue is also fragmentarily covered in popular literature and is the subject of lively amateur discussions on various specialized sites and forums, etc. The lack of military and historical research of the issue topic in Ukrainian and foreign historical science necessitates such study, which is based on the achievements of predecessors and new sources.

**The Purpose of research** – to do a research on the evolution and tactics of the use of various types of incendiary weapons which appeared during World War I.

**The Main Material Statement.** Significant development of incendiary weapons took place in the XXth century, on the eve and during World War I. The development is associated with the invention of jet flamethrowers (or flamethrowers, as they were called at that time), their inclusion into the army armament and the first use in armed combat. According to the analysis of literature and sources, the first work on the creation of flamethrowers, which were originally intended to disperse street demonstrations, began at the end of the XIXth century. But only in 1912, in Germany two samples of jet flamethrowers were taken by the engineering (pioneer) troops, designed at the beginning of the 1900s by an engineer Richard Fiedler as “a means of producing large masses of flame” (in German – “*Verfahren zur Erzeugung grosser Flammenmassen*”). At that time, flamethrowers were designed to storm and defend fortresses and were classified as small (a portable backpack) – “Kleif” (in German – *Kleif*, from *Kleinflammenwerfer* – a small flamethrower) and big (heavy, carried) – “Grof” (in German – *Grof*, from *Grossflammenwerfer* – a big flamethrower), also known as the “1912 Model” or M.1912. Flamethrowers consisted of a tank for fire mixture, a cylinder for compressed gas, a device for carrying (transportation), as well as a flexible hose (a hosepipe) with a fire hydrant, at the end of which was a torch-shaped igniter. Flamethrowers functioning was as follows: from the tank with compressed gas, the fire mixture flew through a hose to the fire hydrant, where it was automatically ignited by the igniter and directed at the target. The combination of two “Kleif” devices allowed to create a “double Kleif”, and the combination of two “Grof”, three or more devices – to create a “double Grof”, a “triple Grof” or a flamethrower battery. In 1917, the M.1917 Wechs knapsack flamethrower

was invented in Germany (from German *Wechselapparat* – a replaceable device), which proved to be lighter and more reliable compared to other German flamethrowers. During the war, these flamethrowers underwent a number of upgrades, which significantly improved their tactical and technical characteristics. In general, German small (knapsack/backpack) flamethrowers had the following combat characteristics: a range of a fire jet – 22–25 m, duration of a continuous fire jet – 20–25 s, the number of fire shots – 18–23. The heavy flamethrower “Grof” weighed 135 kg, a range of a fire jet was 30–40 m, the duration of the continuous fire jet was 40 s, the number of fire shots – 30. These characteristics allowed to solve combat goals. Depending on the season and temperature conditions, different versions of liquid (non-thickened) incendiary mixtures were used in stream flamethrowers, among which the most widespread was the mixture created on the basis of products of distillation of coal tar with light and heavy hydrocarbons, coal oil and sulfur carbon. A certain drawback of liquid incendiary mixtures was their short throw range. In addition, a significant part of them burned during flight, not reaching the object (target). The positive properties included the following items: easy preparation, availability and cheapness of raw materials, storage stability, easy flammability at low temperatures, the ability to give a wide stream of flame during firing, enveloping the object of defeat and demoralizing the enemy (Teyne, 1927, pp. 11, 15–17, 30–43, 46; Supotnitskiy, Petrov & Kovtun, 2017, v. 1, p. 56; Sergeev, 2013, p. 56; Balias, S., 2009, p. 40).

In 1915, the German troops carried out the first flamethrower attacks: on February, 26 – against the French troops near Verdun (France) (Teyne, 1927, p. 13), and also a massive attack on July, 29 – against the British troops near Ypres (Belgium) and on October, 27 (November 9) – against the Russian troops defending Skrobivska position north of Baranovychi (modern Belarus). Flamethrowers, which threw flames, accompanied by a loud roar and thick clouds of black smoke, caused panic in the ranks of enemy infantry and helped the German units capture the enemy’s position with relatively small losses (De-Lazari, 1935, pp. 50, 108–110; Barsukov, 1948, pp. 350–352).

It has been clarified before these events, none of the warring states was engaged in the elaboration of flamethrowers. When the front demanded the supply of these weapons to infantry and sapper units, the weapons had to be invented during the war, in a hurry, by means of various improvisations, many times spending more money and resources than in the planned training during peacetime (Supotnitskiy, 2018, T. 2, p. 81). Later on, flamethrowers began to be elaborated in many states and were used by all warring armies. The most common among small (knapsack) flamethrowers were: “Lawrence” systems (Britain, 1916), system “T” (Tovarnitskogo, Russia, 1916) and № 3 bis (“Schilt”, France, 1916). In general, they had the following combat characteristics: range of the fire stream – 15–35 m, duration of a continuous fire stream 25–30 s. As a combustible substance there were used the mixtures of phosphorus, hydrogen sulfide and turpentine, oil with gasoline and kerosene, coal tar with gasoline and the others. As compared with the German analogues, it can be concluded that they had almost similar tactical and technical characteristics. Heavy flamethrowers – system “Vincent” (battery with 4 interconnected tanks, Britain, 1916), system “T” (Russia, 1916), L2 (France, 1916), – weighed from 200 to 300 kg. and had a jet range of 33 to 80 m (Sergeev, 2013, p. 56).

The British Livens Large Gallery Flame Projector System was the largest among the flamethrowers during World War I. It was developed in 1915 – 1916 by the British military engineer William Howard Livens. The flamethrower was used from a shallow tunnel, consisting of several fuel tanks, a 360 mm diameter pipe and a nozzle which was brought to the surface. The flamethrower weighed 2.5 tons, it was 17 m long and could fire three

10-second shots (each emitted about 320 kg of fire mixture, at the pressure of 24 atmospheres). The maximum firing range was 90 m. The flamethrower was operated by a unit of 8 people. A brigade of 300 people was allocated for its transportation to the front line and assembly (Copping, 2010; McFadden, 2017).

In 1916, in the Russian Empire, the engineers Stranden, Povarnin and Stolitsya developed the world's first high-explosive piston flamethrower (SPS, according to the initial letters names of designers' names). The fire mixture was ejected from the flamethrower by the pressure of powder gases formed by the special metal charge detonation. This principle of operation is still used nowadays. Compared to jet flamethrowers, the operation of a high-explosive flamethrower is characterized by a higher pressure in the tank and, as a result, a higher initial velocity of the fire mixture and a much longer range. The flamethrower weighed about 16 kg (completely equipped – 32.5 kg), the range of the flamethrower – about 35–50 m, the duration – 1–2 s. SPS flamethrowers began to be produced (a serial production) in 1917, but they were not used during the war. For the first time and for the last time they were used in the hostilities only during the Civil War in Russia (1918 – 1921), in particular on October 14, 1920 at Kakhovka bridgehead (Kakhovka district, Ukraine), where the combats took place between the “Russian Army” under the command of P. Wrangel and the Red Army for crossing the Dnieper River. A flamethrower group of the Red Army soldiers from the Attack-Fire Brigade fired two shots at a light cavalry artillery battery of the “whites”, who in the morning darkness approached the positions of the flamethrowers, forcing them to retreat (Sergeev, 1939, pp. 124–130; Belash, 2015).

Under the conditions of maneuvering and “trench warfare” flamethrowers were used mainly as auxiliary weapons during a close combat. They hit the targets effectively, which the infantry could not destroy or suppress by means of artillery, machine gun or rifle fire (tanks, flanking and strongholds, blockhouses, nests, gorges, cellars, deep dugouts and other similar defenses) (Teyne, 1927, pp. 27, 43–44).

During the offensive, mainly small (knapsack) flamethrowers were used, which facilitated, in some cases, the beginning of the battle, helped the infantry to make a rapid attack (raid), to consolidate and clear the occupied positions, further advance and to repel enemy counterattacks. During the war, offensive tactics were formed with the employment of flamethrowers. Germany is an illustrative example (in other countries, development of flamethrowers was not given much attention). 15 minutes before the attack, the sappers blew up enemy barriers in order to make holes in them. Flamethrowers brigade began to act exactly on the signal, usually sirens from trenches or airplanes. In the beginning, heavy (trench) flamethrowers were targeted at the enemy's front trenches from the distance of 40–60 m for a minute, literally flooding them with fire. Then the sappers went forward to break through the enemy's line and to make the passages in the barricades of enemy positions finally. The sappers were followed by flamethrowers group with light (backpack) flamethrowers and strike groups, which occupied and cleared the attacked area. At the same time, mortars and trench guns concentrated barricading fire on the rear of the enemy position, and longitudinally, on the enemy's adjacent areas, thus “fencing” the perimeter where the combat took place. Sometimes before a flamethrower attack, a long artillery shelling was carried out, which simultaneously performed the following functions: the destruction of field fortifications, wire fences and the loss of enemy manpower, with an emphasis on the suppression of the enemy's machine gun points. As war experience showed, the best time to attack was during a complete darkness or at dawn. An unexpected flank strike by means of

flamethrowers was especially effective, if the enemy's position was suitable for the attack. By means of flamethrowers and flammable materials (wood, straw, etc.), powerful fire flares could be made, as well as smoke curtains, by directing the burning jet to the ground. Fire and a thick black cloud of smoke, which quickly approached the enemy's position, masked the attacking infantry and made a moral influence on the enemy, forcing the enemy to run away from the battle field. At the same time, fire and smoke had the opposite effect on the infantry, raising its fighting spirit and encouraging them to attack the enemy. As experience showed, a properly formed group of small, medium and large flamethrowers quickly broke the enemy's resistance and ended the combat in invading the enemy's territory, position (Teyne, 1927, pp. 43–44, 61–62, 64–65, 80).

In defense, heavy (trench) flamethrowers were used to defeat the attacking enemy. The jet of fire mixture they emitted also had a great impact force (Supotnitskiy, Petrov & Kovtun, 2017, v. 1, p. 56; Sergeev, 2013, p. 56). For this purpose, the flamethrowers were located primarily in places where there was a concentration of the enemy ready to attack, in narrow passages, gorges, tunnels, galleries, etc. (Teyne, 1927, p. 81). Small (backpack) flamethrowers were effective in defense against tanks. The flamethrower jet attack was directed mainly at tank's front part, where there were holes for observation, through which the fire could penetrate without hindrance. The most effective distance was 10–15 m from which the tank was attacked (Teyne, 1927, pp. 43–44, 83).

Flamethrowers were also used effectively under special conditions of offensive or defensive combat, in particular in residential areas where it was possible to approach the enemy at short distances without any obstacles. The enemy, who fired small arms from windows and roofs, and was smoked from basements, cellars, barricaded houses, dugouts and other shelters and was hit by a double jet of fire (Teyne, 1927, pp. 61–62). Thus, in our opinion, the army that had a flamethrower in its unit was in a more advantageous tactical position.

The war experience showed that weather conditions must be taken into account when flamethrowers were used. Otherwise, it would lead to tragic consequences. For example, on June 6, 1915, at the positions near Vokua (Vauquois), the French troops conducted the first flamethrower attack using 18 Schilt № 1 knapsack flamethrowers. The flamethrower attack was blown away by a strong headwind: the fire destroyed several flamethrowers, ammunition and equipment (which was on the front line), one flamethrower soldier was killed (18 – wounded) and 24 infantry (6 – missing and 109 – wounded) (Oleynikov, 2018).

It is believed that the greatest success in the development and use of flamethrowers was achieved by Germany. There are reports that during World War I, the German soldiers-flamethrowers took part in 653 combats, in which 523 attacks were carried out and knapsack flamethrowers were used. In 1916, the German soldiers-flamethrowers for successful operations at Verdun and Somme (the Somme Battle), who “made the enemy value the strength of the German weapons, and in a short time achieved success, and the French soldiers considered the German soldiers-flamethrowers the worst enemy in a close combat”, received from the Crown Prince (an heir of the Emperor of Germany) personally, as the highest honor of valor – “Totenkopf” (Eng. Dead Head), the soldiers-flamethrowers' patch (Nashivka nemetkikh ognemetchikov, 2009) on the left sleeve, which “will serve a reminder in a further development of the spirit of disrespect for death in a combat” (Teyne, 1927, p. 13).

During World War I, in order to smoke deep galleries, cellars, gorges, enclosed spaces, tanks and other shelters where the jet of fire could not penetrate, there were used “fire layers” or “fire bombs” of various designs filled with combustible oil. They were usually made of sheet

iron and filled with 2 liters of combustible oil. Tubes of ball or egg-shaped grenades were used to ignite “fire bombs”. The sound, fragments, smoke and flames from the explosion of these bombs (range 5–7 m) indoors had a great moral impact on the enemy (Teyne, 1927, p. 60).

During the war, in Germany and the United States, there began the first experiments on the installation of flamethrowers in tanks. But the first prototype tank with flamethrowers appeared in the United States only in 1918 and it was called “America”. Its exterior part looked like the British “rhombus” tank of 1916 – 1917. It was a “Steam Tank Tracked” driven by two 2-cylinder steam engines with a total capacity of 500 h.p. A flamethrower was the main weapon of the tank located in the front cabin. Unlike other systems, a separate gasoline engine with a capacity of 35 h.p. was used to eject the fire mixture but not a compressed air cylinder. The range of the flamethrower was 27 m, which was a very good characteristics for that time. The tank’s additional armament was located in onboard sponsons and consisted of four machine guns “Browning” M 1917 caliber 7.62-mm. Under combat conditions the firethrower tank was not tested because of an insecure design of the power equipment (Steam Tank Tracked, 2018).

In Britain, the attempts were made to install flamethrowers on warships. Thus, two flamethrowers were installed as special weapons on the armored cruiser HMS “Vindictive”, which on April 23, 1918 took part in the raid on Seebrugge (*Zeebrugge operation*, the attempt by the Royal Navy to block the port of Zeebrugge (Flanders, Belgium) – important for Germany and a well-fortified naval base, where submarines and destroyers were stationed. The flamethrowers were to help clear the way to the pier for airborne forces. But both flamethrowers were damaged by the enemy artillery during the combat: one had a broken tube supplying fire mixture from the tank, and the liquid spilled on the deck, what could cause fire; another one – had a flammable device knocked down and it turned into an “oil jet” instead of emitting flames (Traynin, 1939, pp. 5–6, 50, 53, 57–58).

During the war, Germany was the first country in history to use aviation incendiary bombs. They were perforated metal funnel-shaped containers filled with a mixture of kerosene and oil or termite. The shells of such bombs were made of a thick rope which was absorbed in an incendiary mixture and filled with rubber, or simply wound on a core. The bomb was ignited by an igniter which was activated during the launch (Bombardirovka angliyskikh pribrezhnykh gorodov, 2017). On the night of September 8–9, 1915, the L-13 zeppelin (LZ-45) of the Air Force Division of the German Navy made one of the successful air strikes on the capital of Great Britain, London, dropping from the height of up to 2.5 km about 2 tons of high-explosive and incendiary bombs: 55 incendiary 5-kilogram bombs, 14 high-explosive 100-kilogram bombs and one 300-kilogram high-explosive bomb (which was a technical novelty and used for the first time during the combat). Due to the weakness of the British air defense, the airship (dirigible) was able to penetrate unnoticed into the British airspace, to reach its capital, drop bombs on the city and return unhindered. In addition to a massive destruction and fires caused, the air strike affected the morale of the civilian population of London significantly, causing panic and fear.

During World War I, there began to be actively developed and widely used phosphorus and termite ammunition, including incendiary hand grenades, artillery shells, bullets for aircraft and anti-aircraft machine guns, etc. Incendiary hand grenades and phosphorus artillery shells were used as incendiary smoke for ousting the enemy from trenches, destroying armament and military equipment, damaging gas masks, and etc. Termite grenades proved to be quite effective in setting fire to wooden shelters, warehouses, vegetation, military equipment engines, and etc. Incendiary artillery shells firing was carried out to set in fire the enemy locations primarily;

especially effective was firing at warehouses with fuel and ammunition. Incendiary artillery shells were used rarely for other purposes (Artilleriya, 1968, pp. 131–132).

With the invention of aviation, the development of incendiary bullets intensified which was based on white phosphorus. Incendiary bullets were used mainly for the destruction of air targets by igniting balloons, airships refueled with combustible hydrogen, as well as airplanes that had a wooden and fabric construction at that time. White phosphorus left a trail of blue smoke after the shot, that is why, the first ignition bullets were called “smoke tracers”. A rapid burning of phosphorus caused effective firing at the distance of up to 320 m (Romanov, 1995). Nowadays, artillery and aircraft ammunition with termite and phosphorus are still used by many armies around the world.

During World War I, incendiary devices were developed for sabotage activities. For example, in Germany, an incendiary device was made in the form of a blue pencil of 175 mm long, 11.1 mm in diameter and weighing 12–13 grams. Inside the device there was a glass ampoule of sulfuric acid and a celluloid tube with potassium chlorate. When the ampoule was broken, the acid reacted with potassium chlorate and caused an explosion. Both substances were separated by a layer of clay, which delayed the weapon activation for up to 30 minutes. The “incendiary cigar” was another similar invention, constructed in 1915. It was a lead tube at the size of an ordinary cigar, divided by a membrane into two halves: one contained sulfuric acid, and the other one – a mixture of substances (for example, potassium chlorate mixed with powdered sugar), which after activating the “cigar” by the detonator interacted with the acid, released a large amount of heat energy, led to an explosion and a flame. The device was placed in the holds of ships with a military cargo heading from the United States to Europe. By this kind of devices, there were burnt and exploded more than 40 military enterprises and 47 ships loaded with a military cargo in the United States. Experience showed that the use of incendiary means during subversive activity usually gives a much better result compared to the use of even big explosive devices. Fire can spread and cause much more damage than an explosion. In addition, they are small in size, a variety of designs and appearance, they are easy to be disguised under the surrounding objects. Therefore, subversive incendiary devices, both regular (incendiary means, etc.) and special means disguised as ordinary household items, are still widely used in subversive activities (Ardashev, 2001, pp. 146–147).

**The Concusions.** Thus, during World War I, under the influence of science achievements and war conditions, new promising incendiary devices (jet flamethrowers of land and sea bases, incendiary bombs, shells, hand grenades, subversive incendiary devices, etc.), as well as incendiary substances and mixtures. Their unique combat properties of incendiary devices have not lost their significance under modern conditions.

Germany was the leader in invention of flamethrowers and incendiary aerial bombs. Russia was the leader in invention of high-explosive flamethrowers, Britain – ship flamethrowers, and the United States – a flamethrower tank.

Under the conditions of maneuvering and “trench warfare” flamethrowers, as auxiliary weapons during a close combat, proved to be effective against tanks, flanking and strongholds of positions, machine-gun nests, gorges, cellars, deep dugouts and other similar defensive buildings which infantry could not destroy or suppress with artillery, machine gun or rifle fire. By means of flamethrowers, powerful fires and smoke screens were made.

Flamethrowers were used under special conditions of offensive or defensive combat effectively, in particular in residential areas where the enemy was attacked by a jet of fire. The enemy, who defended in houses, was ousted from basements, cellars, dugouts and other shelters.



In addition to the destruction and fires, incendiary weapons had a significant impact on the morale of troops and civilians, causing panic and fear.

Mankind's experience in creating incendiary weapons and its use during World War I has not only a scientific but also a practical significance in terms of increasing the combat capabilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Taking into consideration this experience will contribute to the further development of perspective incendiary devices, as well as tactics for its use under various combat conditions.

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**THE VOLYNIA NS' EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE UKRA INIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL PERIOD (THROUGH THE PRIZM OF VOLYN REGIONAL ARCHIVE MATERIALS)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to find out to which extent the funds of the State Archive of Volyn region is filled with documents and materials that illustrate the everyday life of Volynians in the days of the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukrainska Tsentralna Rada). The research methodology is based on the complex application of general scientific method, special and historical method, special source studying methods. The basis of the research is formed with the principles of historical cognition, in particular, objectivity, systematic analysis, scientific character, historicism, etc. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that, for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography, on the basis of the analysis of the documentary funds of the State Archive of Volyn region, the author grouped and published documents illustrating Volyn region citizens' everyday life in the period of the Ukrainian Central Council. In particular, the research covers the following several aspect of the Volynians' everyday life: the Refugee Movement in Volyn territory, the Peasant Protesting Movement, and the Russian army soldiers' relations with the local peasants. The Conclusions.* Having analysed Volyn

region State Archive materials, the confirmation was found concerning the fact that a certain array of the Ukrainian Central Council documents have been accumulated there. The frontline status of Volyn region determined the peculiarities of the everyday life of the inhabitants of the area, in 1917 – 1918, in the conditions of permanent military operations, presence of a large number of soldiers who gradually left the front and returned home, the Refugee Movement, etc. SAVR funds revealed the documents that illustrate the attempts, which were made in order to resolve the land issue, characterize the Refugee Movement and the Peasant Protest Movement in the territory of Volyn, and explain the military's relationship with the locals.

**Key words:** Ukrainian revolution, Volyn region (Volynska huberniya), Volyn, peasants, army, everyday life.

## ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ ВОЛИНЯН У ДОБУ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЇ РАДИ КРИЗЬ ПРИЗМУ МАТЕРІАЛІВ ДЕРЖАВНОГО АРХІВУ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* – з'ясувати документне наповнення фондів Державного архіву Волинської області матеріалами, які ілюструють повсякденне життя волинян у добу Української Центральної Ради. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на комплексному застосуванні загальнонаукових, спеціально-історичних і спеціальних джерелознавчих методів. Основу дослідження склали принципи історичного пізнання, насамперед об'єктивність, системний аналіз, науковість, історизм тощо. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії на основі аналізу фондів Державного архіву Волинської області згруповано й оприлюднено документи, які висвітлюють повсякдення населення Волинської губернії в добу Української Центральної Ради за кількома аспектами: спроби врегулювання земельного питання, біженецький рух на території Волині, селянський протестний рух, взаємини військових російської армії з місцевими селянами. **Висновки.** Аналіз матеріалів фондів Держархіву Волинської обл. підтвердив, що тут накопичено певний масив документів часів УЦР. Статус Волинської губернії як прифронтової визначав особливості повсякдення жителів цього терену в 1917 – 1918 рр. в умовах веденням перманентних військових дій, наявності значної кількості військовослужбовців, які поступово залишали фронт й поверталися додому, біженецького руху тощо. У фондах ДАВО виявлено документи, які ілюструють спроби розв'язання земельного питання, характеризують біженецький рух і селянський протестний рух на території Волині, пояснюють взаємини військових із місцевими жителями.

**Ключові слова:** Українська революція, Волинська губернія, Волинь, селяни, військо, повсякденне життя.

**The Problem Statement.** To begin with, the Ukrainian Revolution (1917 – 1921) events studies acquired a new meaning during the last three years. The process was facilitated not only by the century that passed since then and the order of a number of public authorities to commemorate the military political episodes of that time, but also by seeking, rethinking and publishing a layer of archival documents on various spheres of life in the Ukrainian huberniyas (provinces).

Owing to the domestic researchers' work, today we have a chronology of events that took place during 1917 – 1921 in most parts of modern Ukraine, taking into account the requirements of the Ukrainian historiographical science. However, some aspects of the military political and socio economic history of territorial administrative units, to the territory of which the power and legislation of the Ukrainian state institutions extended, are still left behind by the researchers.

It is obvious that a significant part of the materials that will fill this gap can be found in the regional archives of Ukraine. On the other hand, researchers do not always study this layer of documents that require cross-checking, knowledge of local features, immersion in

the everyday life of the time. Instead, the study of the funds of regional archives helps to identify a number of aspects that allow better reproduction and understanding of the then socio political atmosphere in a particular region.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications.** There were numerous separate articles published with references to some cases from the funds of the State Archives of Volyn region during previous years. The authors of this research also got acquainted with those written articles. In particular, they were used to illustrate the illegal actions of the Russian army servicemen in Ostroh Povit (County) (Demyanyuk, 2019, pp. 132–133), local Volyn authorities measures in order to implement the state policy of the Ukrainian Central Rada (Demyanyuk, 2018, p. 79, 80), local peasants opposition to the Russian and Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Peasant Organizations (Bundak, 2016, pp. 82, 83), etc. However, there was no comprehensive study based on the materials of the State Archives of Volyn region, which was brought out in order to cover Volyn region inhabitants everyday life issue.

**The Purpose of the Research.** Taking into consideration the issue, we consider it necessary to illustrate the Volynians' daily life during the period of the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukrainska Tsentralna Rada), using the relevant materials of the State Archives of Volyn region.

**The Main Material Statement.** To begin with, the term “the Volynians' everyday life” is quite multifarious and broad in content to cover all its components within one article, in spite of a rather narrow chronological range – the spring of 1917 – the spring of 1918. Therefore, we will reproduce some pages of Volyn region everyday life primarily through attempts to solve the land issue, local authorities analysis, the Refugee Movement in Volyn, the Peasant Protest Movement, military relations with local peasants, using materials from the State Archives of Volyn region (State Archives of Volyn region).

It should be mentioned that a number of archival documents of this regional archive are devoted to the Russian Imperial Army servicemen relations with the local population, first of all, the peasants, less often – townspeople.

Taking into account that most poviats (counties) of Volyn guberniya (province) in 1917 still remained frontline, there were diverse cases of the Russian Imperial Army military intervention in the daily lives of local residents. For instance, in May of 1918 the population of the region faced up to the servicemen's long stay consequences, in particular, the local authorities noted the following “From the beginning of the revolution, the city of Lutsk was overcrowded with troops leaving the front and stationed in Lutsk, which polluted the city as much as possible. Especially pollution had been carried out since the autumn of last year, when all the troops at the front around Lutsk came to the city and settled down there for the winter” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1693, p. 3).

A lot of attempts were made to abuse military status to obtain additional funding and improve maintenance from the local authorities at that time. Hence, in July of 1917, the squadron committee members of the 1st squadron of the Horodnenskyi Hussar Regiment, stationed in Lutsk, appealed to the City Council to provide them with material assistance for more effective patrolling of the city, “otherwise they would be deprived of the opportunity to require their comrades to carry service carefully and drive into the dark corners of the city, as well as to serve two or three hours after four hours that they are obliged to serve” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1629, p. 58).

Furthermore, Volyn povit (county) towns were overcrowded with the Russian military personnel, who had, in fact, lost military discipline – anarchy, desertion, and disobedience to commanders were spreading, the above-mentioned request of the Hussars was rather a demand or they were trying to blackmail than make a polite request. As a result, the local authorities

and ordinary citizens had no decent alternative to maintain law and order than appeal to the regular army. Owing to an interesting document, which was kept in the State Archives of Volyn region, it became clear that not all the military supported such kinds of appeals. Thus, at Lutsk City Council meeting, Tsyvinskyi, the executive committee member of the Council of Soldiers, Workers and Peasants Deputies of Lutsk stated the following: "Considering such an illegal proposal as disgraceful to the glorious name of the soldier, I protest categorically against such demands and insist that Lutsk Garrison Chief was informed about it" (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1629, p. 57). However, there were no found documents with the local authorities reaction to Tsyvinskyi's appeal, the executive committee member.

It should be mentioned that the Russian army soldiers were engaged in looting and robbery, while leaving the leading positions on the Eastern Front, part of which passed through the territory of the West Volyn povits (counties). According to Yampil volost Police Chief's report: "I would like to inform you that on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August in 1917, at about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, I received information from some people that in the town of Yampil soldiers were walking in the streets in disarray and allegedly intended to make a mess" (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 511, p. 2). Due to Lutsk District Court records we managed to find out that the citizen, B. Rosenberg was robbed by the soldiers after eight o'clock in the evening, when after threats he was forced to open his shop in order to give them all kinds of goods that just caught their eye" (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 511, p. 26). Citizen I. Goldfarb described a similar situation: "... the soldiers began to take what caught their eye, although some paid money for things worth a ruble and more than 10-20 kopykas" (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 511, p. 26v.). The merchants also stated the amount of losses. The first merchant lost 700 rubles, the second – 200 rubles.

In addition, there were statements of other merchants indicating the circumstances of their robbery by servicemen of the 2nd Guards Cavalry Division and the amount of damage at the same fund. Owing to the analysis of these documents, similar cases were not uncommon and occurred during the autumn of 1917 – the spring of 1918 in most areas of the demoralized Russian troops retreat.

Moreover, the facts of theft were recorded in other documents of the State Archives of Volyn region. Hence, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> of January in 1918, Yampil Stage and Food Station Head, N. Rovinska, made the following report: "military units of the 6th Corps arbitrarily confiscated bedding straw belonging to Volyn Provincial Food Administration, which had been sheltered near Yampil railway station for 2,000 years". Later on, Lutsk District Court prosecutor was particularly interested in this case, which was recorded in the mentioned archival case (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 140, p. 4).

Another theft on the railway was mentioned on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January in 1918, when an act was drawn up at Rivne station of the South-Western Railway: "19.01 on the 2<sup>nd</sup> track of the South-West park the train was found open at 8 o'clock. The inspection did not reveal a box with 40 pairs of boots, and one was opened with signs of theft and a lack of 3 pairs of boots" (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 339, p. 5).

On the other hand, the local peasants, along with the Russian servicemen (mostly also peasants), resorted to theft and robbery for numerous times during the study period. Thus, Ostroh District Doctor Prushynskyi informed Lutsk District Court prosecutor about the destruction of his estate on the 29<sup>th</sup> of November in 1917: "On the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> of November in 1917, the local peasants from the village of Ilkovets together with Kazan Regiment soldiers of the 6th Corps of Army XI carried out a pogrom on my farm – they looted, dismantled and partially destroyed it" (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 107, p. 6).

Due to the military and political circumstances of the time, the local population had a large stockpile of firearms. As a result, it was used not for self-defense, but to demonstrate force, robbery, intimidation. Diverse attempts made by the authorized persons to seize weapons were not always successful. Typical of that time were the resolutions and orders, for example, one of them issued by Lutsk city district police executive committee on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April in 1918: "The Residents of the city of Lutsk and the village have different weapons in their hands. In order to keep a weapon you need permission from the Povit (county) Commandant. All residents, who have a weapon in their hands and do not have the permission of the Povit (County) Commandant must hand it over to the County Commandant Office within three days from the 3<sup>rd</sup> time of the announcement of this order. Whoever does not surrender his weapon, and it will be found at his place, will be punished by the law of wartime" (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1700, p. 86). However, the vast majority of such measures were ineffective.

In the days of the Ukrainian People's Republic, complaints continued to be received from various local residents in order to compensate for the damage caused during the first years of World War I. In the State Archives of Volyn region one of such documents was preserved. For example, there was a record concerning one small landowner I. Udod, who came from the village of Voyutyn of Torchyn volost (nowadays, Lutsk District, Volyn Region), appealed to Lutsk County Evaluation Commission to determine the losses with a complaint on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January in 1918: "On the land that belonged to me, located in the village of Voyutyn of Torchyn volost by order of our military authorities in August of 1915 destroyed crops. That is why, I am asking the Evaluation Commission to give me money for crops from the nearest treasury" (SAVR, f. 202, d. 1, c. 45, p. 1).

Furthermore, numerous documents certify the unauthorized seizure of arable land, hayfields, forests, destruction of stock and agricultural equipment of their fellow villagers or wealthy residents of neighboring settlements in the funds of the State Archives of Volyn region. It should be mentioned that the local authorities received dozens of complaints, which were made by the offended Volyn residents. For instance, we came across one interesting complaint, which was made by eight inhabitants of the village Mlynovtsi, Kremenets Povit (County): "From the 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> of February in 1918, the residents of the village Bakota began to hack and managed to cut down in the amount of four thousand five hundred rubliv. At our request and persuasion to suspend the deforestation at the disposal of the government, they did not pay attention and continued to destroy the forest" (SAVR, f. 49, d. 1, c. 139, p. 7).

In 1917 and at the beginning of 1918, the refugees issue was acute in Lutsk and the vast majority of West Volyn povits (counties). Hence, at the beginning of September in 1918, the head of Lutsk district police reported to Lutsk city administration that "the population of Lutsk has recently more than doubled due to the influx of a large number of refugees and other newcomers. There are many people who commit thefts, robberies, etc. in the city on a daily basis" (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1629, p. 2).

It should be emphasized that the local authorities did not hinder the civilian population resettlement, but the local state institutions continued to operate even in the face of the threat of settlements' seizure in Volyn by military or political opponents. Hence, A. Vyazlov, the Provincial Commissioner, wrote a telegram to the Povit (county) Commissioners of Lutsk, Kremenets, Dubno and Starokonstantyniv in July of 1917 and noted the following: "The city zemstvo council with all establishments will remain on places. No one can be prevented from leaving voluntarily at their own expense" (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1680, pp. 3, 4).

As a result, the problem did not disappear by the end of the year. On the contrary, the rumor reached the capital of the state, and all-Ukrainian public organizations began to take

care of it. In December of 1917, Lutsk branch of Kyiv Committee for Assistance to the Jewish Population Affected by the War wrote a letter to Lutsk City Duma stating the following: “There are more than 5 000 refugees from the surrounding areas devastated by the enemy in Lutsk. The Committee opened schools for the refugee children, and canteens at schools, thus serving up to 600 children. Three shelters were opened, in which about two hundred children found shelter. An outpatient clinic was opened, serving more than 2 000 refugees a month, in addition to helping at home. The City Duma must immediately apply to the General Secretariat of the Central Council with a request to subsidize schools and shelters” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1629, pp. 109–109).

Hence, the refugees issue was closely connected with another, no less important social problem – the education of children in the revolutionary military period. We found out from the materials of the State Archives of Volyn region that the Jewish community of Lutsk solved the above-mentioned problem by funding the educational institutions for the refugees of the Jewish nationality predominantly. In the list of schools operating in the county we came across the following: “2 Jewish refugee schools (operate at the expense of the Society for the Dissemination of Education among the Jews), 3 children’s schools – the center of the Jewish Health Society” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1472, p. 15).

Consequently, the local authorities tried to interfere in the work of the Land Committees. Thus, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of August in 1917, Volyn Provincial Zemstvo Committee sent a circular to the City Dumas of Volyn Hubernia (Province), putting emphasis on that “According to the Provisional Government Resolution, issued on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April in 1917 “On the Land Committees formation” and provided in Art. XIV item 1, that the composition of Povit Land Committees includes one member elected by the City Council” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1629, p. 93). However, it was not possible to implement it everywhere, even at the level of Volost Land Committees. Hence, Kurylenko, acting as Volyn Provincial Commissioner, addressed the District Commissioners of Volyn hubernia (province) on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December in 1917: “There is information confirmed by the force of complaints received by individuals from different parts of hubernia that the Volost Land Committees, without waiting for orders from higher institutions, took a direct initiative in the accounting and protection of estates and, thus, by these actions they exaggerated the chaos dominance in hubernia, because without the appropriate instructions, arbitrarily make and implement a number of regulations that do not meet the requirements of the 3rd Universal and the explanation to it” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1541, p. 15).

Due to M. Tkachenko’s circulars, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, who repeatedly addressed the Hubernia (provincial) and Povit (county) Commissioners concerning the above-mentioned matters, we found out that the land issue was not solved. In one of them, the Minister stated that “Recently, there have been frequent cases of looting by individuals of living and non-living inventory from the estates. Considering that on the basis of the land law all estates, as well as living and non-living inventory are the property of the people, that the Land Committees are responsible for the integrity of this good, it is proposed p.p. Commissioners to explain to the Land Committees that they should not commit such a crime, bearing in mind that they will be punished as negligence for the protection of the public good” (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1541, p. 19).

**The Conclusion and the Prospects for the Future Research.** Taking everything into consideration, owing to the State Archives of Volyn region funds materials analysis, we may state that a certain array of documents was accumulated in the State Archives of Volyn region, the processing of which contributed to the understanding of the peculiarities of an everyday



life of the Volynians in the days of the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukrainska Tsentralna Rada). Such features were caused by the status of Volyn gubernia (province) as a frontline. That is why, the daily life of the inhabitants of this area in 1917 – 1918 was determined by the conduct of permanent military operations, the presence of a significant number of servicemen, who gradually left the frontline and returned home, the refugee movement and, etc. Hence, the found documents in the SAVR funds, illustrated diverse attempts, which were made in order to resolve the land issue, characterizing the refugee movement in Volyn, the Peasant Protest Movement, and explaining relations of the military with local peasants.

The further research of other aspects of the life of Volyn region through the elaboration and analysis of SAVR documents seems promising, in particular, the local authorities activities, the local national institutions development, a number of military political aspects.

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**UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS: HISTORICAL PROGRESS (1917 – 1920)**

**Abstract.** *The aim of the research is to reveal the preconditions, history of the opening and functioning of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts (hereinafter – UAA) – the first institution of higher art education in Ukraine in 1917 – 1920. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity in the assessment of historical events and phenomena, systematics and comprehensiveness, which together allowed to reveal the subject field of research. The scientific novelty of the article is that despite the presence of historical and artistic explorations about the UAA, its functioning during 1917 – 1920 is a relevant poorly studied subject of special complex historical and art studies. The general scientific significance of the study of the history of the UAA is in the reconstruction of the complete, holistic process of organization and activity of the UAA as the first artistic institution of higher education of the period of national and cultural revival of 1917 – 1921. A wide range of historiographical and source base of the researched problem by domestic and foreign scientists during 1917 – 2020 has been analysed. The role of the Ukrainian Central Council, the General Secretariat of Education, the artistic elite in the establishment and activity of the UAA has been characterised. The normative and legal bases of its organization by means of the analysis of statutory*

documents have been traced. The main directions of work of the first professors (M. Boichuk, M. Burachek, M. Zhuk, V. Krychevskiy, F. Krychevskiy, A. Manevych, O. Murashko, H. Narbut) and rectors of the UAA (F. Krychevskiy, O. Murashko, H. Narbut, M. Burachek,) have been determined. The information on the art exhibition of the first professors of the UAA, organized on the opening day of the Academy, December 5, 1917, has been given. The work on the creation of the National Art Gallery at the Academy has been indicated. It is claimed that almost the entire revolutionary period (1917 – 1921) has been marked for the UAA by difficulties of the organizational, material, educational and methodological nature, which negatively affected the course of the educational process. **The Conclusions.** It is concluded that despite the short academic status of the UAA (1917 – 1922), in the extremely difficult revolutionary, military and political, socio-economic conditions, the academy was formed as a leading centre of national and cultural revival in Ukraine, the centre for consolidation of artistic intelligentsia, it gained popularity among the general population and it gained prestige in the artistic environment of the European countries. The foundation for the development of the Ukrainian culture, laid on the initiative of the creative intelligentsia, continued to develop even in the chaos of the civil war and revolution. The UAA, which began its activities so brilliantly in 1917, was subsequently subjected to devastating blows from the Bolshevik political system. First of all, the most talented leading pedagogues felt distress. The financial insolvency of art schools forced their leaders to resort to self-financing through the organization of production workshops. Turbulent revolutionary events later led to destructive processes in the UAA.

**Key words:** Ukrainian Academy of Arts; art institution of higher education; fine arts; national and cultural revival; Ukrainian revolution.

## УКРАЇНСЬКА АКАДЕМІЯ МИСТЕЦТВ: ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ПОСТУП (1917 – 1920)

**Анотація.** **Мета дослідження** – розкрити передумови, історію відкриття та функціонування Української Академії мистецтв (далі – УАМ) – першого закладу вищої мистецької освіти України в 1917 – 1920 рр. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, об'єктивності в оцінці історичних подій та явищ, системності та всебічності, що у сукупності дали змогу розкрити предметне поле дослідження. **Науковою новизною** статті є те, що, незважаючи на наявність історичних, мистецьких розвідок про УАМ, її функціонування впродовж 1917 – 1920 рр. виступає актуальним маловивченим предметом спеціальних комплексних історико-мистецтвознавчих досліджень. Загальнонаукове значення студіювання історії УАМ полягає в реконструкції повного, цілісного процесу організації та діяльності УАМ як першого мистецького закладу вищої освіти періоду національно-культурного відродження 1917 – 1921 рр. Проаналізовано широкий спектр історіографічно-джерельної бази досліджуваної проблеми вітчизняними та зарубіжними вченими впродовж 1917 – 2020 рр. Охарактеризовано роль Української Центральної Ради, Генерального секретаріату освіти, мистецької еліти в справі започаткування та діяльності УАМ. Простежено нормативно-правові засади її організації шляхом аналізу статутних документів. Визначено основні напрями роботи перших професорів (М. Бойчук, М. Бурачек, М. Жук, В. Кричевський, Ф. Кричевський, А. Маневич, О. Мурашко, Г. Нарбут) і ректорів (Ф. Кричевський, О. Мурашко, Г. Нарбут, М. Бурачек) УАМ. Подано інформацію про мистецьку виставку перших професорів УАМ, влаштовану в день відкриття Академії, 5 грудня 1917 р. Зазначено про роботу зі створення при академії Національної картинної галереї. Стверджується, що майже весь революційний період (1917 – 1921 рр.) позначився для УАМ складнощами організаційного, матеріального, навчально-методичного характеру, що негативно вплинуло на хід освітнього процесу. **Висновки.** Зроблено висновок, що, незважаючи на короткий академічний статус УАМ (1917 – 1922), в умовах надзвичайно складної революційної, воєнно-політичної, соціально-економічної ситуації, академія сформувалася як провідний в Україні центр національно-культурного відродження, осередок консолідації художньої інтелігенції, завоювала популярність серед широких верств населення й здобула авторитет у мистецькому середовищі країн Європи. Фундамент розвитку української культури, закладений з ініціативи творчої інтелігенції, продовжував розбудовуватися навіть у хаосі громадянської війни та революції. УАМ, яка так блискуче розпочала діяльність у 1917 р., надалі зазнала руйнівних ударів з боку більшовицької політичної системи. Поневірянь зазнали насамперед найталановитіші провідні педагоги. Матеріальна неспроможність мистецьких навчальних закладів змусила їхніх керівників вдатися до самофінансування через організацію виробничих майстерень. Буремні революційні події згодом спричинили деструктивні процеси в УАМ.

**Ключові слова:** Українська Академія мистецтв; мистецький заклад вищої освіти; образотворче мистецтво; національно-культурне відродження; українська революція.

**The Problem Statement.** At the beginning of the twentieth century, the art movement in the regions of Ukraine that were part of the Russian Empire was marked by the actualization of humanitarian education, in the formation and development of which public figures, intellectuals and state institutions took part. The restructuring of education in the field of Fine Arts until 1917 was mainly a personal initiative of the artistic intelligentsia, through whose efforts private art educational institutions were created. The state and the Tsarist government did not pay due attention and support to this movement. On the eve of the 1917 revolution, studio education became particularly widespread in Kyiv, which played an important role in the professional development of many artists, architects, art historians and, in general, in the aesthetic education of creative youth. In particular, there were studios that involved famous Kyiv artists – V. Galimskyi, O. Ekster, von Essen, I. Yizhakevych, M. Kozyk, Ya. Milman, I. Mozolevskyi, O. Monko, I. Rabychev, O. Romanov, A. Saratovskyi, H. Svitlitskyi, S. Svitoslavskyi, I. Selezniiov, O. Murashko, A. Kriuhher-Prakhova, M. Yarovyi and the others. They continued to operate in the context of the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921 in parallel with the Kyiv art school, the icon painting school of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, and the newly created Ukrainian Academy of Arts (hereinafter referred to as UAA). It was from that time that the situation with obtaining art education in Kyiv changed radically and began to correspond to pan-European trends (Storchai, 2013, p. 118).

UAA is a phenomenon of national culture of the twentieth century, the first institution of higher art education in Ukrainian history, officially opened during the time of the Ukrainian Central Rada (hereinafter – UCR) in Kyiv on December 5, 1917. As an academic institution, UAA functioned for only 5 years (1917 – 1922) and in this short time, in the conditions of an extremely difficult revolutionary, military and political, socio-economic situation, it formed as the leading center of national and cultural revival in Ukraine, the center of consolidation of the artistic intelligentsia, became known and authoritative in the art circles of Europe and the world.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** Versatile aspects of the history of the creation and functioning of UAA are reflected in a fairly wide range of historiographic and source bases during a hundred-year chronology. The first publications about UAA appeared in the press in 1917 and periodically continued in the following years. They varied in content – from short informational messages to lengthy articles. In the subsequent Soviet period, historiography hushed up everything related to the UAA, and if any information was presented, it was covered from the angle of “bourgeois nationalism”. In particular, I. Vrona in his study “Kiev Art Institute (its current state and work)” (1928) reviewed the process of creation and functioning of the UAA in 1917 – 1921, while omitting the initiative of the Ukrainian art elite and its support from the UCR (Vrona, 1928).

It is worth noting that at that time diaspora researchers outside of Soviet Ukraine wrote about UAA and its representatives (V. Pavlovskyi, V. Sichynskyi (both works on the organization of the Academy), V. Pavlovskyi (on the life and work of V. Krichevskyi) and the others (Pavlovskyi, 1968; Sichynskyi, 1926; Pavlovskyi, 1974). The books “Ukrainian art Historians about Yurii Narbut” (Munich, 1983) and “Yurii Narbut” by V. Sichynskyi are filled with valuable historical and artistic materials (Ukrainian historians..., 1983; Sichynskyi, 1943).

Only after 1991, objective works (dissertations, monographs, reference books, articles) from the versatile components of the national and cultural revival of 1917 – 1921, including research of UAA and its representatives, became possible in Ukraine. (We are talking about the works of V. Afanasiev (on the art exhibition of the founding professors of UAA), A. Chebykin (on the functioning of UAA in 1917 – 1921), V. Kapeliushnyi (generalization

of the developments of researchers of the Ukrainian revolution in various directions (including cultural and creative activities of the intelligentsia), T. Ostashko (functioning of the Academy during UCR), D. Rozovyk (the Academy in the context of national and cultural revival), Yu. Telyachyi (participation of the Ukrainian artistic intelligentsia in the national and cultural revival (1917 – 1921), organizational bases of the Academy's work), R. Shmagala (structuring, methodology, artistic positions of art education in Ukraine in the mid-XIX – mid-XX centuries), etc.) (Afanasyev, 1995; Chebykin, 1994; Kapeliushnyi, 2003; Ostashko, 1998; Rozovyk, 2011; Teliachyi, 2014; Shmahalo, 2005).

Documents and materials on UAA are presented in the collections of archives and museums – mainly in the central state archive of the highest authorities and administration of Ukraine, the Central State Archive – The Museum of literature and arts of Ukraine, the National Art Museum of Ukraine, etc.

The period of 1917 – 1920 was a time of recognition and success, difficulties and upheavals, ups and downs of the UAA; these years are defined as the most fateful in its entire short-term past. It is the aspects of the development of the UAA of this chronological dimension that were forbidden to study throughout the Soviet period and therefore require special scientific research.

Despite the presence of historical and artistic research on the UAA, its functioning during the period of 1917 – 1920 is a topical subject of special – first of all – complex historical and art history research at the present stage.

**The Purpose of Publication.** The general scientific significance of the study of the history of the UAA is to reconstruct the complete, integral process of organizing and operating the UAA as the first art institution of higher education during the national and cultural revival of 1917 – 1921.

**The Main Material Statement.** After 1917, with the general breakdown of the imperial order, the question of art education arose. Talented young people in pre-revolutionary times, after studying at drawing schools and colleges in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa and other cities, went to study at art academies in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Krakow, Vienna, Munich and Paris. It was under the UCR that reforms in the art and educational sphere began in 1917. Therefore, the co-existence of the most opposite artistic and pedagogical doctrines with absolutely illustrative propaganda of etatist, and later totalitarian ideas became possible. In other cases, as the Futurist movement in Italy and the example of K. Malevich's revolutionary individualism prove, the new direction in art was not perceived as anything other than anti-government. Most avant-garde artists of the early twentieth century opposed state interference in art affairs actively. From the current retrospective point of view, art education in Ukraine at that time became a field of real asceticism and put forward a number of outstanding artists who rose to the level of statesmen in their activities.

Art historians noted the active appeal of the new state leadership to purely cultural problems during the revolutionary socio-political events of 1917 as their personal merit (Shmahalo, 2005, p. 140; Holubets, 1926, p. 10). Such personalities as P. Kholodnyi, V. and G. Krichevskiyi, Y. Mykhailiv, D. Antonovych combined artistic creativity, state-creating activities and pedagogical work, laid the lasting and for decades indestructible foundations of the New Art School of Ukraine. Thus, in particular, in the status of a member of the UCR, comrade Secretary General of Education (comrade [deputy] minister of public education) of all Ukrainian national democratic governments, the last minister of public education of the Ukrainian People's Republic (1917 – 1921) P. Kholodnyi developed the organizational

framework for school reform. With his active participation and with government support, the Society of the Ukrainian artists and figures of the Ukrainian Art, The Society of the Ukrainian architects, the UAA appeared, the All-Ukrainian Congress of plastic artists was held, etc. (Danylenko & Teliachyi, 2002).

The most important event in the artistic life of Ukraine not only in 1917 – 1921, but also in the entire first third of the twentieth century, the greatest achievement of the cultural policy of the UPR was the creation of the UAA on the basis of the former secondary art school in Kyiv according to the decision of the UCR. The ideological factor of the organization of the UAA was the creative will of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the artistic elite of Kyiv, which at that time had a tradition of meeting every Thursday at the art critic D. Antonovych's apartment. In conversations and discussions about the fate and ways of art development, the idea of creating an Academy was born and matured for implementation (Pavlovskiy, 1968, pp. 45–46). D. Antonovych, M. Bilyashivskiy, G. Pavlutskiy in a collective conversation with the chairman of the UCR M. Hrushevskiy and the general secretary of the Education Secretariat I. Steshenko put forward a proposal to create an Academy of Arts, which received approval and support. From the very beginning, the organizers of the Academy stipulated that the new educational institution should create its own, completely new artistic traditions, different from the old academic routine of the past, with the rules of a living, free, creative spirit (Pavlovskiy, 1974, p. 40).

In July of 1917, on the initiative of M. Hrushevskiy, a special department was organized to promote the development of arts: music, theater, fine and artistic and industrial arts (Shmahalo, 2005, p. 142). At the meeting of the sixth session of the UCR on August 6, 1917, I. Steshenko made the first official report on the activities of the General Secretariat of Education (hereinafter – GSE), which united two industries: education and art. It was at this meeting that information about preparatory measures for the opening of the UAA was first published (*Materialy i dokumenty*, 1917). On behalf of M. Hrushevskiy and I. Steshenko a special commission was created [*also called Committee. – authors*] on the organization of the UAA, which was supposed to carry out preparatory work and prepare the UAA charter. It was headed by H. Pavlutskiy, and the specified body included (in addition to future professors) also D. Antonovych, M. Bilyashivskiy, P. Zaitsev and D. Shcherbakivskiy (the secretary was M. Zhuk). The above-mentioned Commission and employees of the special department for promoting the development of the arts of the GSE in August of 1917, among 20 candidates, the first eight professors of the academy were elected and approved by the order of the General Secretary of Education I. Steshenko (*Dokumenty pro zasnuvannia*, 1917 – 1918, p. 12).

On September 8, 1917, the chairman of the committee for the establishment of the UAA, Professor H. Pavlutskiy, and Secretary M. Zhuk submitted a special application addressed to I. Steshenko, in which it was reported that the draft charter of the UAA was submitted for consideration for approval the calculation of estimates for its maintenance and the list of elected professors – M. Boichuk, M. Burachek, M. Zhuk, brothers V. and F. Krychevskiy, A. Manevych, O. Murashko, H. Narbut (*Dokumenty pro zasnuvannia*, 1917 – 1918, pp. 1, 3–4). The professors were informed that an exhibition of original works of art was planned for the opening of the UAA, so each of them was separately informed on their mandatory delivery. According to the plan, the selected professors were to teach the following subjects: M. Boichuk – fresco, mosaic; M. Burachek – landscape; M. Zhuk – portrait, decorative art; V. Krychevskiy – folk art, Ukrainian ornament, architecture; F. Krychevskiy – historical and everyday genre, form and sculpture; A. Manevych – landscape, O. Murashko – portrait, H. Narbut – graphics (*Dokumenty pro zasnuvannia*, 1917 – 1918, pp. 10, 12). According

to the charter, they conducted individual workshops: religious painting, mosaics, frescoes and icons (later – a workshop of monumental painting); graphics; portrait; construction and folk art; intimate landscape; decorative painting; historical and everyday genre and etching; decorative landscape. The system of individual workshops provided for the free choice of a particular manager, and also allowed students to move from one workshop to another (Pavlovskiy, 1968, p. 50).

The affairs of the UAA organization at the state level were once again considered at a meeting of the state tax service on September 22, 1917, when I. Steshenko presented the text of the draft law on its establishment (Postanovy Heneralnoho Sekretariatu, 1917, p. 22). Eight days later, the government received a draft charter of this institution; I. Steshenko was instructed to amend the draft law on the establishment of the Academy (Postanovy Heneralnoho Sekretariatu, 1917, p. 27). On October 2, 1917, the General Secretariat adopted the following decision: "...recognize the necessity of the Congress of artists to discuss the case, establish a special committee (jury) that would take over the case of the foundation of the Academy, and at the meeting of the Secretariat on October 6, invite one of the initiators of the case of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts for explanations" (Postanovy Heneralnoho Sekretariatu, 1917, pp. 29–29).

At a government meeting on October 10, 1917, on behalf of the initiative group, Professor H. Pavlutskyi formulated the tasks, areas of activity and structure of UAA, noting that "it is a matter of establishing the Academy and selecting the jury... it was discussed in citizenship circles close to Ukrainian art, with the participation of members of the Ukrainian scientific society, artists, architects, etc.". The General Secretariat considered the opening of the UAA fundamentally necessary and asked the rapporteur to first expand the explanatory note on the charter, prepare a more advanced version of the draft law, and then submit documents for consideration by the UCR and approval by the interim government. At the same time, the GSE was instructed through the mass media to acquaint a wide range of the population with the prospect of the appearance of the first art-type institution in Ukraine (Postanovy Heneralnoho Sekretariatu, 1917, p. 34).

The fact of organizing the UAA received a positive assessment from the intelligentsia. Thus, in October of 1917, Professor K. Shyrotskyi noted: "a new flower of artistic culture should be woven into the lush and fresh crown of the Ukrainian Renaissance. .. Now it is flourishing not just as a whim of rich people, but as an inner need for the spiritual life of the Ukrainian artists and the masses for whom and on whose behalf they speak. The native Academy should wake up and help the native art to develop. This is a cause worthy of intelligent, highly educated patriots...". Welcoming this event, at the same time, he did not ignore some criticism of the process of preparatory Organization of UAA, which took place "quite far from the public eye", but hoped for the establishment of concrete cooperation between specialists, artists and all Ukrainians. His recommendations concerned the democratic procedure for electing the rector of the UAA, scheduled for October of 1917, the creation of academic art classes (for example, icon painting), public discussion of the charter, inviting talented artists to professorial positions (including from abroad), etc. The author stated: "We need to make sure that our academy immediately stands on solid ground and gives an education not biased, but truthful European, which from itself will already give the foundations for the formation of a noble national thing" (Shyrotskyi, 1917).

The purpose of the UAA, according to the famous artist O. Bohomazov, was that only the creation of a higher art school in Kyiv, free from academic routine and groveling before

authorities, can truly contribute to the flourishing of the Ukrainian Art in the circles of modern European trends (Kovalska, 2006, p. 61).

The UCR approved the law on the establishment of UAA and its states on December 5, 1917 (Dokumenty pro zasnuvannia, 1917 – 1918, pp. 29–32).

The grand opening of the UAA (on the premises of the UCR), together with an exhibition of works by the founding professors, took place on the same December 5, 1917 and became possible owing to the initiative of the artistic intelligentsia, the support of the government and the public. In the context of parallels with state-forming processes, the symbolic fact of the first meetings of the UAA Council directly in the UCR building is worthy of attention until the time of granting it premises in the Tereshchenko school in 1918 (Shmahalo, 2005, p. 145).

By the decision of the general secretariat of December 7, 1917, according to the submission of the GSE, F. Krychevskiy was appointed rector of UAA. He was a well-known artistic personality, and a practical artist (Protokoly (zhurnaly) zasidan, 1917, pp. 10–13). (He worked as a rector until June 1918). Although on October 24, 1917, according to the minutes of the meeting of UAA professors chaired by Professor H. Pavlutskiy, 6 people voted for Vasyl Krychevskiy to be elected rector. However, because of his categorical refusal, F. Krychevskiy was elected to this post by another voting (Dokumenty pro zasnuvannia, 1917 – 1918, p. 13).

Well-known masters were invited to join the UAA teachers, who had a common desire to combine the long-standing traditions of the Ukrainian art with new discoveries of European art trends. Artists of different generations who became founders of the UAA were educated in the best European art centers – Krakow, Munich, Paris, St. Petersburg. The founders of the new school went through the art nouveau style in the visual arts with a penchant for the synthesis of arts. This explains the specialization of workshops, which is not at all typical of traditional academies (Lahutenko, 2006, p. 101). At various times, such well-known artists as M. Kasperovych, L. Kramarenko, V. Meller worked as professors at UAA.

A wide range of acquired professional knowledge was provided by teaching decorative and applied arts, which in the general system of training were definitely not separated from visual arts. Many of the first students of the Academy in the future became famous artists (T. Boichuk, R. Lisovskyi, O. Pavlenko, I. Padalka, V. Sedliar, K. Piskorskiy, K. Redko, K. Antonovych, Yu. Vovk, N. Herken-Rusova etc).

Unfortunately, there is very little information about the art exhibition of the first UAA professors, organized on the opening day of the Academy, December 5, 1917. On the occasion of this event, F. Ernst recalled: “these were memorable days for Kyiv... With incredible difficulty, we got everything we needed to arrange the first exhibition of professors of the young academy. It is already evening, it is getting dark in the halls of the Pedagogical Museum, guests and the audience are gathering – but the lights barely flash – it is almost dark. An hour or two passes, and it’s still dark. We got candles somewhere – until it was finally light. Speeches and congratulations were heard. In the upper halls, guests were waiting for a well-organized exhibition - mostly from the best paintings of Murashko, Vasyl and Fedir Krychevskiy, Manevych, Burachek and Zhuk who were already familiar to Kyiv residents; only the works of Narbut and Boichuk were new for everyone” (Ernst, 1926, p. 61). In continuation of the memories, we can add: “the exhibition was beautifully decorated with ancient carpets and flowers. In the last hall, tea was prepared with sandwiches, cakes, cookies, fruit, etc. There were a lot of artists and other visitors, it was very noisy and fun”. When it became clear that the food was free, the members of our society began to devour the



supplies – I personally [*F. Ernst. – authors*], according to the most conservative estimates, probably ate a 20 banknote worth. In another hall, two vociferous men were singing on the stage, then there was a recitation by a very interesting actor of the young Ukrainian Theater. In general, I was left with a very pleasant impression. In general, life in the Ukrainian republic, by God, is better than the accursed katsaps have” (*Tsei den v istorii...*, 2020). Unfortunately, the catalog of this artistic event was not printed.

The purpose, structure, principles of management, principles of organization of the educational process in the UAA were characterized by its charter (*Statut Ukrainskoi Akademii*, 1917).

In September of 1917, the Charter of UAA and its first faculty were actively discussed in the artistic environment of Kyiv. Special interest in organizational issues, in particular, the UAA charter was shown by F. Krasyskyi, who criticized both the document itself and the faculty in two issues of *Rabochaya Gazeta* in the article “On the Case of the Ukrainian Academy of Art”. The editor of the newspaper refused to publish the final part of the material and instead made an apologetic note. Outraged Professor H. Pavlutskyi sent an extended statement on this issue to I. Steshenko on September 29, 1917. Although this action did not have a tangible impact on the course of events around the foundation of the UAA, it showed the fact of confrontation in the artistic environment itself, the presence of different paradigms of the future UAA model (*Narysy z istorii*, 2006, pp. 10–11). (Based on the positions of the present, we can understand the logic of individual comments of Professor H. Pavlutskyi, especially about the need for active public discussion of this issue not only in the Kyiv art environment, but also throughout Ukraine, because indeed, much was done in a hurry).

Thus, according to the document, the institution provided higher education to specialists in painting, carving, construction, engraving, art crafts, and was also supposed to contribute to the establishment and support of art schools in Ukraine. The higher art course could be learned both by men and women, regardless of nationality, faith, or age. Persons who graduated from secondary art schools were enrolled as full-time students without examinations. They paid about 100 karbovanets a year for training, and non-matriculating students paid 200 karbovanets each. Poor students were awarded scholarships. Training at the UAA was conducted in the workshops of professors exclusively according to their own methods (*Dokumenty pro zasnuvannia*, 1917 – 1918, pp. 2–11; *Academia mystetstva...*, 1918).

The academy was managed by the Council headed by the rector. It consisted of professors, academicians, and 1 representative out of every 50 students. Students were given the right to create their own societies. The rector was elected for a term of 3 years, professors – for 5 years, their first composition was subject to approval by the General Secretariat, and in the future these issues were to be resolved quite independently. When no student expressed a desire to study in a particular workshop, it was liquidated. Professors were not allowed to teach part-time. The UAA library and gallery received books, textbooks, paintings, and drawings duty-free, and Ukrainian bookstores were obliged to supply printed copies for every major subject the students learned (*Myronenko*, 1997). The UAA charter was approved by the UCR in mid-November 1917.

A little-known document that not only certifies the then views on art education, but also contains quite interesting information important for understanding art education, is the text of the memo on UAA compiled by M. Burachek: “art education mainly consists in the acquisition of stable techniques by students, the ability to draw a living object most truthfully and characteristically... The Ukrainian Academy will not follow the grievous mistake of the

old Petrograd Academy and will not rape the spiritual freedom of the artist; training at the academy should take place “under the banner of national traditions”, where “the principle of freedom of artistic creativity is recognized”, the replacement of “school with individuality” is proclaimed and “a system of workshops is approved under the guidance of individual artists; general classes are rejected, as well as the division into majors...”. UAA was supposed to develop a creative personality and warn against template approaches to artistic education, and not “...discourage the artist’s spiritual freedom”. These principles were the basis for developing the Academy’s Charter.

The weak point of the internal policy of the UCR regarding the creative (and indeed intellectuals in general) was the issue of financial support, material support, and the amount of wages. So, in 1917, the rector of UAA earned 200 karbovanets a month, a professor of the Academy – 75 karbovanets. At that time, a clerk in a ministry office was paid 300 – 350 karbovanets, and a typist earned 150 – 250 karbovanets. In January 1918, the ministerial cook earned a salary three times higher than an Academy professor (Myronenko, 1997, pp. 310–311). The situation with the library also needed to be resolved. Patron V. Shchavynskyi gave the UAA an extensive library with rare books on art, which laid the foundation for its library fund (Rozovyk, 2011, p. 270).

A distinctive feature of 1918 was the active exhibition activity of artists. Thus, during this year, 12 art exhibitions of various scale and direction were held in Kyiv alone. In April, the new temporary premises of the UAA (38 Velyka Pidvalna street) hosted an exhibition of the Kyiv Society of Artists, where the works of 33 artists, including some UAA professors, were exhibited (Narysy z istorii, 2006, p. 23).

During the All-Ukrainian Art Congress in times of the P. Skoropadskyi hetmanate (Kyiv, June 9–16, 1918), in June and July, an exhibition of works of art was held in one of the halls of the UAA, initiated by members of the “Society of Ukrainian plastic art” (Kataloh I vystavky, 1918, p. 1). Its opening took place on June 15, 1918 (Vystavka vseukrainskoho zyzdu, 1918). It represented 317 works by 31 artists. The exhibition catalog informs that M. Burachek presented 9 paintings, Yu. Mykhailiv – 4, V. Krychevskyi – 61, F. Krychevskyi – 5, and H. Pavlutskyi – 10 (Kataloh I vystavky, 1918, pp. 2–7). According to M. Holubets, the Department of architecture was of particular interest at the exhibition, illustrated with several hundred photographs and drawings of the most characteristic architectural monuments together with projects of new buildings in the Ukrainian style (Shukachi novykh dorih, 2010). Visitors had the opportunity to see the materials of the competition of projects of the People’s House, as well as photographs of ancient Ukrainian architecture taken from the collections of the city museum, as well as from Professor K. Shyrotskyi, Professor H. Pavlutskyi, V. Leontovych, D. Shcherbakivskyi, M. Bilyashivskyi, D. Arshenevskyi, H. Nagel, and F. Krasyskyi (Kataloh I vystavky, 1918, pp. 6–7).

An authoritative art critic, K. Shirotkyi, in a review of this exhibition (signed “K. Sushchanskyi”) pointed out the absence of representatives of the cities of Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Katerynoslav, and Odesa. The art critic outlined both the strengths and, in his opinion, the weaknesses of the works of a number of artists, including such as the brothers V. and F. Krychevskyi, because “...as it is known, a disaster befell them, and everything that was created by them in the recent years, was destroyed during a fire in Hrushevskyi’s house. What has been preserved by private individuals is on display”; the works of Prof. M. Burachek were “...extremely fragile in tone and complex in technique, quite pleasant... The master has apparently found his way and is following it with confidence, improving his abilities”, but “...in some works, the purple tone breaks through too

much; next to a wonderful silver-gray tone, it somehow is not easy on the eyes”); H. Pavlutskyi (“...in terms of tone, they [the works] are quite pleasant. But in terms of technique, they are weak, although in comparison with some old artists, they make a much more pleasant impression”) (Sushchanskyi, 1918, p. 3). (Of course, these rather peculiar characteristics given by K. Shyrotskyi are quite subjective in nature. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find an assessment of the work of these artists from other critics).

According to the periodical press (January of 1919), in order to improve the UAA faculty, at a meeting of the UAA Council, the famous Ukrainian artist A. Novakovsky, who originated from Podillia region, who at the time lived and worked in Lviv, was elected as a professor (V Akademii Mystetstva..., 1919). A selfless patriot of the Ukrainian culture and a well-known art critic, Danylo Shcherbakivskyi, worked as a secretary (later an academician) at the UAA (Teliachyi, 2014, p. 393). Taking into account the merits of Mykola Bilyashivskyi to the Ukrainian Art in the field of preserving cultural heritage, on April 26, 1918, he was elected an honorary academician of the UAA (Vynnytskyi, 1926, p. 10). A talented artist, Yukhym Mykhailiv, became a member of the UAA Art Council.

After F. Krychevskyi moved to work at the Myrhorod Ceramic Technical School (1918 – 1919), the duties of Rector were performed by Oleksandr Murashko, whose life was tragically cut short in June 1919.

It is established that on June 2, 1918, O. Murashko published an article in the press about the current state of the UAA and the difficulties of an educational, material, and faculty nature. It was mainly concerned with problems around the UAA premises, since its opening took place in the UCR building (where the institution operated for a short time), later changing its registration to the Tereshchenko City School, which it shared together with the military hospital. As O. Murashko noted, “...the Academy has barely lived through the past six months, with difficulties and losses, and has the right to hope that by the beginning of the new academic year it will be able to finally start its working life as required by complex and thoughtful work for art”. He criticized the groundless decision of former Prime Minister V. Holubovych to evict the UAA from the occupied premises without providing a new one. According to a comment by the “New Council”, the unresolved issue around the UAA was also observed in the hetmanate, since “...the new defender of Ukrainian Sciences, muses and graces M. Vasylenko has not even tried yet to defend the Academy” (Murashko, 1918).

Oleksandr Murashko devoted all his strength to the development of the UAA. In a letter dated September 17, 1918, and addressed to his cousin L. Novoselytska, the rector, in particular, wrote: “As for my person, I can say little of consolation. I’m terribly busy, but not with the work I’m supposed to be doing. I haven’t painted anything for almost two years: I was drawn into the construction of artistic life in Ukraine. And the issue is so acute and difficult that I don’t see any opportunity to leave this work yet. But I firmly hope that when I pay my debt to society, I will be released in peace to do my humble work” (Chlenova, 2004, p. 217).

Since the beginning of the revolutionary events of 1917, the issue of organizing art galleries and museums of fine arts was on the agenda of the development of Ukrainian national and cultural life. It was after the founding of the UAA when the UCR, together with the GSE, began active work on the creation of the National Art Gallery at the Academy. It was to be based on the works of the UAA professors and students. At the initiative of the Ukrainian artists, public figures, and museum scholars, active work on collecting paintings by the Ukrainian and Western European artists began in mid – 1917. In the autumn of 1917, this movement gained great scope and support. Such Ukrainian artists as M. Boichuk,

M. Burachek, H. Diachenko, M. Zhuk, M. Kozyk, V. Krychevskiy, H. Narbut, I. Repin, V. [? – *authors*] Rozhanova, M. Samokysh, P. Kholodnyi, S. Yaremych and others have sent their works to the Gallery. Members of the families of N. Pymonenko and M. Yaremenko also gave part of their artistic heritage to the Gallery. (Relatives of S. Vasylkivskiy and D. Markovych also gave consent to transfer of the paintings that belonged to them). A large number of paintings were presented to the gallery by the owners of private collections. Also, D. Antonovych, V. Vynnychenko, H. Pavlutskiy gave their own collections of paintings of the 16<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries by foreign and domestic authors to the Gallery. A particularly large and valuable collection of paintings by Dutch, Flemish, Spanish, Italian and other Western European and Asian art schools of the 16<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the amount of 150 pieces of works was given to the gallery by a collector and art critic, V. Shchavynskiy (*Zvit pro robotu...*, 1917 – 1918, pp. 18–45). (Later, it was on the basis of this collection that the Kyiv Museum of Eastern and Western Art was created) (Rozovyk, 2011, p. 270). One of the sources of replenishment of the gallery with art canvases was the purchase of paintings from private collectors, at auctions, in second-hand bookstores. This issue was resolved by a special commission created by the government, to which the General Secretariat allocated 1 million Karbovanets (Dopovid predstavnyka MVS, 1919, p. 156).

Almost the entire revolutionary period (1917 – 1921) was affected by organizational, material, educational and methodical difficulties for the UAA, which affected the unsatisfactory course of classes that were held irregularly. Figuratively and clearly, the then working conditions of the workshop under the leadership of O. Murashko were described by Ye. Kuzmin: “O. O. looked out of the half-closed window – probably, the cold apartments were before his eyes, where, barely warming their hands over the fire of a dirty heater, in galoshes, coats and hats, the studio students had to overcome the difficulties of skill, the lack of paints, pencil cases, canvases, typhus and the ghost of hunger that looked into their eyes then”. The UAA teachers needed to have great patriotism, determination, dedication and love of art in order to continue to develop culture while experiencing such difficult difficulties. At the same time, many difficulties arose in the process of functioning of the UAA itself, not related to the events of the Civil War. Having no experience in organizing a higher art educational institution, the management of the UAA did not develop a clear program for studying disciplines, which caused significant obstacles to proper professional and general training. According to O. Murashko, “the Academy was created as the fruit of the Revolution and, despite the best intentions, there is still a lot of confusion in it, since it is still in the period of construction, and therefore it is still difficult for us, who are at the head of this institution, as well as students, to find solid ground. And not only for people who realize that it is impossible to waste time and such a chaotic environment should not interfere with work” (Chlenova, 2004, p. 217).

As we can see, O. Murashko was objectively not satisfied with the situation at the UAA, but at the same time he was aware of the importance of artistic development in Ukraine. Even in moments of disappointment and difficulties, he did not lose hope and continued his creative work.

A tragic death on June 14, 1919 at the hands of bandits prematurely ended his life in the prime of his talent. Oleksandr Murashko was not only an outstanding painter, but also an artist who managed to create one of the most powerful cultural centers in Kyiv, which contributed to the consolidation of young artistic forces that played an important role in the development of the Ukrainian fine art (Sharov, 2007, p. 261). A few years after his death, in a biographical essay dedicated to O. Murashko, D. Antonovych wrote: “...In his person, Ukraine lost one of

its best artists, as well as the founder and professor of the Kyiv Academy of Art, a famous artist of European and even world fame, because Murashko's paintings were purchased not only in galleries in Europe, but also on the other side of the ocean. A criminal, unjustified murder directed against art and culture not only deprived Ukraine of an outstanding artist, but also a great and creative personality, perhaps most necessary for the further artistic development of Ukrainian creativity... Ukraine will fully feel the depth and irrevocability of Murashko's loss only in the near future... Murashko was sadly ripped away from Ukrainian art when his time had not yet come, when he could not have spoken with his own voice yet, when the aspirations of his art have not yet been understood in Ukraine..." (Antonovych, 1925, p. 5).

At that difficult time for the survival of the institution, the most conscious professors of the UAA continued to see it as the main center of cultural revival of Ukraine. Clear positions on this issue were officially declared in the statement to the UAA Council by professors H. Narbut and M. Boichuk on December 24, 1919. For the further development of the academy as a cultural center on a national scale, artists proposed expanding integration processes to existing galleries, museums, and the Ukrainian scientific society with an art history section. It was proposed to establish the Museum of Ukrainian antiquity at the academy to familiarize students with the traditions of folk art. Antiquities were supposed to create an ensemble directly and constantly present for viewing the exhibition for artistic and educational purposes. Improvement of the theoretical lecture course at the academy should take place by increasing lectures on the history of the Ukrainian art (Ukrainian glasswork, Ukrainian portrait, etc.). The thoughts and wishes of the two professors ended with the call: "Let this school be built on the basis of ancient native traditions" (Do Rady Ukrainskoi, 1919, pp. 1–4).

On January 2, 1919, Heorhii Narbut became the rector of the Academy. In 1918, he developed sketches of the UAA seal, signs of its office, and medals (Narbut, n.d. (a); Narbut, 1918 (a); Narbut, 1918 (b); Narbut, n.d. (b)). In 1919 – 1920, professors M. Burachek, M. Zhuk, and A. Manevich left the Academy. After a serious illness, the rector of the Academy H. Narbut died on May 23, 1920 (Shmahalo, 2005, p. 146).

Mykola Burachek often stood in as the rector of the UAA. In 1919, he actively fought not only for the existence, but also for the preservation of the newly created educational institution. A memo (1919) signed by him was preserved, which reflects the complex realities of the existence of the UAA in 1917 – 1919. The document shows that 147 students studied at the University in 1919. Despite the difficult learning conditions, they managed to organize an art exhibition between two semesters. In general, the situation with the educational process was not easy. The Academy rented three apartments at 11 Heorhiiivskyi lane. It housed training workshops, the UAA Council, the library, the museum, the student council, and the office. What the workshop managers had in common was that by that time all of them were already known as outstanding artists and teachers. Many of the Academy artists received art education in the best Russian and European educational institutions. The note on the UAA, compiled by M. Burachek, Acting Rector, said: "The volunteer authorities just barely tolerated this institution, refusing to give it funds and offering them to adapt their activities to the old laws and rules. The Council of the Academy, taking these conditions into account, began to take measures to establish a society for the distribution of art education, as required by the rules of July 1, 1914. But this intention did not have to be implemented, because the Ukrainian society of school education came to the aid of the Academy, which allocated funds for the maintenance of the Academy for all its needs: 219 679 karbovanets, 3 kopecks, on loan. This help from the School Education Society was the only source that gave the Academy the opportunity to

continue its work...” (Teliachyi, 2010, pp. 221–227). Under extremely difficult circumstances of the military and political situation, it became increasingly difficult to work. The cold and hungry winter was replaced by a hot and equally hungry summer. There was nary a sparkle of life at the Academy. The workshop rooms became empty – the students, in order not to starve to death, went home. There were no professors in sight either – with the onset of heat, they went to work. Everyone tried to make both ends meet, as best they could. M. Boichuk and M. Burachek stayed in Kyiv, and F. Krychevskyi, who mainly lived in the village of Shyshaky in the Poltava region, visited his workshop from time to time (Teliachyi, 2014, pp. 328–329).

In some period of time, the former rector of the Kyiv Art Institute, I. Vrona, stated: “The years 1919 – 1920 were the most difficult for the Academy. The work and activities of the Academy sometimes almost grind to a halt: students who were few even at the best of times (for example, in 1918 – 19 there were 36 full students and more than 100 non-matriculating students) now have scattered across the county, the faculty cannot stay at the Academy due to a complete lack of material resources. There were times when there was only one professor left at the Academy, who was also the rector, with a small handful of students. We will not say that there were no permanent premises, no equipment, fuel, etc.” (Vrona, 1928, p. 8).

According to the memoirs of M. Zhuk, “Kyiv of the last years of Narbut’s life was a long-suffering Kyiv. The governments changed all the time, and Kyiv was always bombarded. Working to the accompaniment of these cannonades was not easy, and Narbut set himself an extremely difficult task...” (Zhuk, 1929, p. 3). As a teacher and head of the reorganized Art and Ceramic Institute in Myrhorod, V. Krychevskyi was accused by the Bolsheviks of “counter-revolution”. Starting in 1920, he served as the rector of the UAA (until 1922, when it was closed and reorganized by the Bolshevik authorities) (Shmahalo, 2002, p. 54).

**The Conclusions.** Thus, the foundation for the development of the Ukrainian culture, laid on the initiative of the creative intelligentsia, continued to develop even in the chaos of the Civil War and revolution. The UAA, which started its activities so brilliantly in 1917, later suffered devastating blows from the Bolshevik political system. The ordeal was felt, first of all, by the most talented leading teachers. The material failure of art educational institutions forced their managers to resort to self-financing through the organization of production workshops. Violent revolutionary events later led to destructive processes in the UAA.

An important, but poorly studied page of the UAA is the period of 1921 – 1922 – the last two years of its history and the first years of the establishment of the Bolshevik power, which asserts the relevance of research on the development of art education in Ukraine.

Prospects for using the results of the study consist in the possibility of their application in the educational process of students of general education schools and extracurricular institutions, students of institutions of higher and professional pre-higher education, as well as in the preparation of historical and art history research.

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**SOCIAL PROTECTION ISSUES OF MILITARY SERVICEMEN  
IN SUPREME AUTHORITIES ACTIVITIES OF THE UNR  
(DECEMBER OF 1918 – NOVEMBER OF 1920)**

**Abstract. The Purpose of the Research.** *The organization of an effective social protection of servicemen is an important component of the state policy in the military service formation sphere. Therefore, the purpose of the article is to elucidate the highest authorities activities of the Ukrainian People's Republic (the UNR) during the Directory period. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, logic, scientific objectivity in assessing the past, a critical approach to the sources, including the highest authorities official legislation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the research works of participants and eyewitnesses. The scientific novelty of the article consists in the fact that the social protection issue of servicemen of the UNR Army, although it occupied one of the key places in the activities of the highest authorities of the UNR – the Directory and the government – the Council of People's Ministers, was not the subject of a separate scientific study. The social protection issue was presented in the context of a military policy and military formation in general, or in the aspect of the state social policy. The Conclusion.* *The social protection issues of servicemen were constantly in*

the field of view of the highest state authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the Directory period. By means of relevant laws adoption, the state tried to make service in the army prestigious, to increase the status of a soldier in the society not only materially but also socially. However, the unfavorable situation on the fronts, the critical domestic and foreign policy situation of the state did not allow to implement the adopted bills.

After the final defeat of the Ukrainian People's Republic in the war with Soviet Russia and the retreat of the Ukrainian army on November 21, 1920, to the territory of Poland, the government tried to support its troops during the year. However, the depletion of funds put an end to the functioning of social care for them. The military had to adapt to the new realities of an emigrant life on their own.

**Key words:** Ukraine, the UNR Directory, Active Army, social protection of servicemen.

## ПИТАННЯ СОЦІАЛЬНОГО ЗАХИСТУ ВІЙСЬКОВОСЛУЖБОВЦІВ У ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ВИЩИХ ОРГАНІВ ВЛАДИ УНР (ГРУДЕНЬ 1918 – ЛИСТОПАД 1920 рр.)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження.** Важливою складовою політики держави у сфері військового будівництва є організація ефективного соціального захисту військовослужбовців. Тому метою статті є висвітлення діяльності у цій галузі вищих органів влади Української Народної Республіки періоду Директорії. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, логічності, наукової об'єктивності в оцінках минулого, критичного підходу до наявних джерел, зокрема, офіційних законодавчих актів вищих органів влади УНР, праць учасників та очевидців подій. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у тому, що проблема соціального захисту військовослужбовців Армії УНР хоча посідала одне із ключових місць у діяльності вищих органів влади УНР – Директорії і уряду – Ради Народних Міністрів не стала об'єктом окремого наукового дослідження, а подавалась у контексті військової політики та військового будівництва загалом або ж у руслі соціальної політики держави. **Висновки.** Питання соціального захисту військовослужбовців постійно перебували у полі зору вищих державних органів влади УНР періоду Директорії. Держава намагалася через прийняття відповідних законів зробити службу в армії престижною, підвищити статус військовика у суспільстві не тільки у матеріальному, але й суспільному плані. Однак несприятлива ситуація на фронтах, критичне внутрішнє та зовнішньополітичне становище держави не дали можливості реалізувати прийняті законопроекти.

**Ключові слова:** Україна, Директорія УНР, Дієва армія, соціальний захист військовослужбовців.

**The Problem Statement.** A social protection of citizens is one of the most important functions of the state. After all, its authority in society, the formation of respect for the state institutions, and the formation of patriotic feelings depend on the establishment of an effective system of a social protection. The military occupy a special place in a social protection system because of their functional status, on the one hand, they represent the defenders of the state, on the other hand – they are largely dependent on it in social and material aspects. Therefore, in accordance with historical experience, the proper social, material and financial security of servicemen is, if not the only, a very important factor in the entire military mechanism functioning. The words of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the “father” of the Ukrainian People's Republic, who in 1918, outlining his vision of the place and role of the army in the revived Ukrainian state, emphasized that the service in it should be “financially profitable” for soldiers not to run away from the army “to have more substantial pies”, as our ancestors used to say” (Hrushevskiy, 1991, p. 175). The social protection issue of servicemen of the Active Army of the UNR, although it occupied one of the key places in the activities of the highest authorities of the UNR – the Directory and the government – the Council of People's Ministers was not the subject of a separate scientific study. Mainly, it was analyzed in fragments in the context of military policy and military formation in general, or in the aspect of the social policy of the

state. Taking into consideration the current situation, when the Ukrainian Armed Forces since 2014 have been involved in rebuffing the aggression of the Russian Federation in the east of our country, the social protection issues of servicemen become extremely important. Thus, the acquired historical experience in this sphere of the state authorities activity is actualized. The above mentioned aspects determine the topicality of the research.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** The source base of the study is the published archival materials, which concern the activities of the highest authorities of the UNR – the Directory, the government, and S. Petliura, the Chairman of the Directory and the Chief Otaman of the UNR Army, as well as I. Ohiyenko, the Chief Government of the UNR.

Nowadays, in domestic historiography there are no studies that would purely concern the social protection issue of servicemen of the Ukrainian army during the Directory period of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Mainly, the authors mention the social protection issue superficially, covering the social policy of the UNR governments. Thus, O. M. Zavalniuk analyzes this issue, covering the activities of the Ukrainian governments on the social protection of citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918 – 1919. At the same time, it should be noted that the author did scrupulous analysis of the Ukrainian social legislation of that time, as well as the measures taken by the state in the social protection sphere (Zavalniuk, 2012, pp. 314–327). The financial support issue of the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the Directory period, and social payments to soldiers, are analyzed by T. Liaskovych and V. Holubko partially. Although the authors analyze the same thematical issue, but they do it from different aspects. T. Liaskovych elucidates the social protection issue through the prism of subjective impressions of contemporaries, which they recorded in their memoirs and, thus, reconstructs the events at the micro level, characterizing the image of soldiers' reception of material and everyday life, its assessments and personal impressions (Liaskovych, 2020, pp. 363–377). Instead, V. Holubko focuses on organizational and legal measures of the state bodies during the period of 1917 – 1920 aimed at creating the supply and financing system of the Ukrainian troops. The author draws the conclusion that the difficult military and political situation in which Ukraine was at that time – permanent hostilities at almost its entire territory left an imprint on the supply and financing of the troops, which made the authorities and the army command legalize emergency measures concerning financing and supply (Holubko, 2019 – 2020, pp. 339–352). I. Terliuk analyzes some aspects of the researched issue (Terliuk, 2011). It is obvious that the issues related to the servicemen social protection, especially cash benefits, depended on the financial situation of the state, its ability to fulfill its obligations, which were fixed in the correspondent regulations. Therefore, to some extent, the publications on the financial system of the UNR and money circulation, in particular, are related to the research topic. There should be mentioned the researches of V. Lozovy (Lozovyi, 1996, pp. 42–45), O. Petruk (Petruk, 2020), M. Utkina (Utkina, 2015), P. Hai-Nyzhnyk (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2008).

**The purpose of the research** is to elucidate the activities of the Republic governing structures in the social protection sphere of the Army servicemen of the Ukrainian People's Republic, especially their financial and material support, various social benefits, based on the analysis of historiographical works, the source materials – the documents of the highest authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the Directory period, as well as the memoirs.

**The Main Material Statement.** The period of the Ukrainian revolution during the rule of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic (December of 1918 – November of 1920) is the most difficult and dramatic, both in terms of the search of the nation-formation model and

the international situation imposed on it (Hai-Nyzhnyk, Leiberov, 2013). The state social policy issues played a leading role in these processes. Having raised an uprising against the regime of Hetman P. Skoropadsky on November 14, 1918 under the slogans of social justice and the implementation of the model of the welfare state in the form of the Ukrainian People's Republic, without losing the influence on the situation, its leaders were forced to follow the revolution-stirred society. As the eyewitness to these events, L. Tsehelsky, one of the leading figures of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, recalled, "the phrases "land and freedom", land to the working people", "away with the landlords, away with the kurkuli, away with the bourgeoisie!" – float in the air. The string of the social zhakeriya strongly dominates... The phrase about Ukraine "without a peasant slave and a landlord" is rare. (Tsehelskyi, 2003, p. 129). At the same time, the experienced politician focused on a very difficult task for the Directorate to solve – to keep under control the conscripts, mostly peasants, who self-demobilized spontaneously after the relatively easy overthrow of the Hetmanate. As L. Tsehelsky remarks in his memoirs ironically, "when the siege of Kyiv ended, this "revolutionary army" dispersed to their homes, taking with them overcoats, boots, soldiers' caps, blankets, armament, and etc. This was the "revolutionary", one hundred or two hundred thousand army of "conscious working class people" (Tsehelskyi, 2003, p. 130). Therefore, it is not surprising that the social preferences provided by the leadership of the UNR to thousands of soldiers significantly affected the preservation of the popularity among them. Since the Directory army consisted of peasants, it was clear that a key element in encouraging peasants to the military service would be a favorable agrarian reform. A few days before the capture of Kyiv by the republican troops, S. Petliura, the Chief Otaman of the UNR Army, emphasized in the issued order that "all those who do not take an active part in the fight against the Hetman and his government will not be given a plot of land". Accordingly, the commander of each subordinate unit was required to conduct daily personnel checks and to record the presence of each soldier (Petliura, 2004, p. 223). In the first programme document of the "Declaration of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic" of December 26, 1918 it was stated, "that all small peasant farms and all labour farms remain intact in the use of their previous owners, and the rest of the land is given to cultivation by the landless and peasants who had not so many plots of land, and especially those who joined the army of the Republic to fight against the Hetman" (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 391). However, in January of 1919 the military and strategic position of the UNR deteriorated sharply – much of the Left Bank territory of Ukraine was lost, and important administrative centers were lost as well, the Active army, which consisted of mostly semi-regular and poorly disciplined units, began to fall apart (Holubko, Hrytsiuk, Kryvyziuk & Lysenko, 2019, pp. 220–221). To prevent spontaneous demobilization and encourage the peasantry to serve in the army, on January 18, 1919, the Council of People's Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic adopted the law on additional land allotment for soldiers who serve in the army. According to its provisions, "all Cossacks, who serve in the regular Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, in addition, to the share of land the citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic may have by law, are immediately given an additional plot of land in the amount of 1 to 2 tithes in their counties" (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 439). In addition, the law provided for the provision of benefits to the military after the war in the form of a non-repayable state loan of 2 thousand hryvnias and the same amount of interest loan for a period of five years for the purchase of implements. During the period of the army service, each soldier had the right to lease the land received, and in case of his death the land could be inherited. At the same time, traitors and deserters were deprived of the right to additional plot of land (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 440).

The Directory and the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic provided citizens with various social benefits in order to attract them to serve in the army. Thus, according to the law of January 13, 1919, the conscripts – soldiers, officers, military officials, were guaranteed the preservation of previous positions in government and private institutions, as well as the half of the salary received. The families of those mobilized, who did not belong to these categories received allowance from the state on condition of the absence of other sources of subsistence (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 431). To make service in the army more attractive, on January 26, 1919, the government approved the law “On Improving the Status of Servicemen of the Active Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic” (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 68).

The financial support issues of servicemen were in the field of view of the highest authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic constantly. Taking into account the acute economic crisis caused by the military devastation, almost completely destroyed state economy, as well as the loss of the major part of the state territory, the country financial system was undermined by galloping inflation. The situation was especially critical in the spring of 1919, when the Ukrainian government controlled only a few counties in western Podillia and southern Volhynia. In this regard, the Directory and the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic had to reconsider the amount of salaries in the army. Thus, on March 30, the latter decided to increase the salaries of government officials. In particular, it was about increasing the financial support of Kamianets youth school, employees of Kamianets district military chief and artillery staff (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 12). As for the military schools where officers were trained, the government law of January 21, 1919 guaranteed the full state maintenance of cadets on a par with the servicemen of the active army (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 450). Among the highest authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic it became common practice to consider issues related to one-time cash payments to soldiers and army officers in case of financial difficulties, and medical expenses in case of wounding or illness. As the Ministry for Military Affairs was responsible for this item of expenditure, the government established a military fund at the end of December of 1918, by means of which the army was financed, including expenses for salaries and other forms of financial assistance to servicemen. At the meeting on January 26, 1919, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic, considering the amount of salaries, at the suggestion of the Military Minister, General Olexander Hrekov, assigned a loan of 500 000 hryvnias for “assistance in various cases” (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 217). In addition, it was decided to preserve previous positions and the corresponding salaries of all government officials, who joined the army and did not demobilize (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 131). Despite the fact that the salaries of the Active Army servicemen of the Ukrainian People's Republic were high, they were “eaten” by inflation. Therefore, the government had to revise the amount of salary regularly, increasing it, to set various interest rate premiums according to the specific situation. However, the finances allocated to the army were often used inefficiently and even abusively. The fact is that under conditions of the armed aggression expansion against the UNR at the beginning of 1919 and the lack of combat-ready troops, the command introduced the practice of forming units according to the so-called “Otaman” principle, when commanders (otamans) were given money to recruit volunteers. Let alone the control and efficiency of money wasting. According to the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Isaac Mazepa, this “Otaman” principle and the lack of money wasting control caused a severe financial crisis. “Our financial situation”, he acknowledged, “was so dire that the main financial stocks taken from Kyiv by the Directory were spent mainly on ...legendary otaman formations by previous governments ...” (Mazepa, 2003, p. 229). The lack of banknotes, the issuance of

which in the required quantity in Ukraine was impossible to establish, was especially noticeable. Some of them were printed in Stanislaviv, then in Kamianets-Podilskiyi, but mainly banknotes were imported from Berlin. It is obvious that salary delay affected the mood of the military negatively. It should also be taken into account that due to the lack of well-established logistics for the soldiers of the Active Army, they had to buy food or even weapons from the population at their own expense. But it was difficult to do it due to the lack of money, sugar, salt were used mainly in purchasing purposes, and substituted the functions of banknotes (Bytynskiyi, 1935, p. 3). Of course, the government did its best to respond quickly to such situations. For instance, during the combats with the Red Army in the first half of July of 1919 near Kamianets-Podilskiyi, after receiving the information about the situation at the front, the government decided to instruct the Minister of Finance to organize paying money to Zaporizhia groups and other combat units urgently, which were fighting there (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 408). Due to the rapid depreciation of the Ukrainian currency and the decline in its purchasing value in the autumn of 1919, in order to ensure at least the minimum subsistence level of servicemen, S. Petliura was forced to sign the Directory law on a one-time in-kind food tax for the army on November 6. However, it provided for their forced redemption for the prices set by the state from the population. Consequently, it was possible to achieve the acceptance of the Ukrainian money only by implementing the above-mentioned way (Petliura, 1999, p. 135). In general, at the meetings of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) government and even the Directory often there were addressed issues related to the provision of individual financial assistance to servicemen, who were in a difficult financial situation due to the loss of personal property as a result of hostilities. Hence, it was a common case for the servicemen to apply directly to the government for compensation for property lost during the combat. These cases became especially frequent after units of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) Army were interned in Poland in December of 1919. The absence of the Polish currency put the military in an extremely difficult position, as payments received in Ukraine in hryvnias and rubles ceased to be a means of payment. Thus, on January 11, 1920, S. Petliura issued an order to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, appointing 200 000 marks from the 50 million fund in Polish marks in order to help the soldiers in need, who were in Poland (Petliura, 1999, p. 172). In addition, the higher authorities often returned to the consideration of individual requests of both soldiers and officers for financial assistance until the end of their stay in Ukraine. For example, on March 30, 1920, at the meeting of the Directory with the participation of S. Petliura, the report was considered, written by Captain M. Vedensky on the issuance of financial assistance. It was decided to allocate him 10 thousand Polish marks "due to the difficult situation" (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 13). The cash payments were given to the servicemen as well as awards. Hence, after the end of the First Winter Campaign of the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic in May of 1920, the Cabinet of Ministers instructed the Military Minister to submit for his consideration a bill on awarding all participants in the campaign a special order and financial assistance (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 26). At the beginning of June of the same year, when the Ukrainian troops and the allied Polish army liberated Right Bank Ukraine and Kyiv from the Russian Bolsheviks, the expenses for the army increased significantly due to the mobilization. Therefore, at the meeting on June 5, the government granted the request of V. Salskyi, the Minister of Defense, to allocate 5 million hryvnias at his disposal "for giving various financial assistance to servicemen" (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 56). Meanwhile, the events at the front, which broke out in the middle of June of 1920, turned out to be not in favor of the allied armies. On June 12, the Red Army regained control of Kyiv and launched a general offensive in the western direction. Under such

circumstances, the financial system of the UNR was shaken even more. The galloping inflation caused a sharp fall in the exchange rate of the Ukrainian currency. As a result, the government allowed the Minister of Finance to issue 60% of cash in Polish marks for the needs of the army (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 109). But its foreign exchange resources were quickly depleted. The fact is that the government of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic failed to adopt the state budget and used the foreign exchange reserves accumulated by its predecessor, the Hetman's government. It should be mentioned that high and often uncontrolled expenditures (Dotsenko, 1923, p. 143) led to a high budget deficit, which was mainly compensated by banknotes emission. Of course, this could not improve the financial condition of the Ukrainian People's Republic and had a detrimental effect on the financing of the army.

Furthermore, the higher state authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic did not ignore the custody issue of wounded soldiers and army officers. Permanent hostilities in which the Ukrainian army was involved during the year of 1919, caused heavy losses. It was especially difficult in the first half of the year when the army was forced to make long retreats and cover long distance. On August 25, at the meeting, the government decided to allocate 200 thousand hryvnias from the military fund in order to help the servicemen of the Active Army when the situation stabilized a bit (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 468). It should be mentioned that the state aid was extended to those soldiers and officers of the former Tsarist Army, who became disabled but had the Ukrainian citizenship.

Due to the spread of typhus in the Ukrainian army in the autumn of 1919, the state allocated considerable funds to overcome it. On September 29, 1919, at the government meeting, it was decided to allocate 10 million hryvnias for one-time cash benefits to servicemen in case of falling ill with contagious diseases (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 526). At the same time, there was discussed the issue of establishing new norms for providing one-time benefits to the soldiers, who were wounded in battle or performing official duties during hostilities. According to the minutes of the meetings of the Directory and the Council of Ministers, it was common practice to consider providing one-time assistance to wounded and sick soldiers. In particular, on October 11, 1919, the Directorate adopted the law on providing one-time assistance to servicemen of the Active Army – “the Cossacks, officers, military, government officials of various kinds and the clergy in case of getting ill with various contagious diseases, other diseases during the war, after recovery in a difficult situation, and due to lack of funds to continue treatment” (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 600). Certain sums of money were transferred by the Ministry for Defense to the Chief Military Sanitary Administration, which in turn distributed them among the hospitals which provided the money to those in need. The amount of assistance was set from 300 to 2000 hryvnias. In total, one million of hryvnias was allocated from the state treasury to the military treasury for the implementation of this law (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 600).

The Ukrainian People's Republic government also tried to take care of the pensions of the military, as well as their families. The above-mentioned issue was repeatedly discussed during the meetings of the Directory and the government. In particular, on February 17, 1919, there was discussed the report of I. Krasovskyi, the director of the Directory, on the procedure for assigning pensions and assistance to the parents of fallen soldiers (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 53). The case was finally regulated by the law issued on July 30, 1919 when the Directory approved the “Law on the Provision of the Families of Persons in Active Military Service” adopted by the government. It established the right to the state assistance to the families of soldiers, officers and military officials, who were mobilized or enlisted voluntarily in the army. It was applied to wives and children under the age of 16, incapacitated family



members of servicemen: parents, brothers, sisters. The law determined the monthly amount of financial assistance: 100 hryvnias for parents and 50 hryvnias for children, brothers and sisters. Also, the family of the conscript was provided with a part of the salary from the previous place of work until the moment of his return from the army. All these benefits were lost if the serviceman deserted or surrendered voluntarily (Petliura, 2006, pp. 260–262). On July 30, 1919, at the meeting of the Council of People's Ministers, the draft pension statute of the People's Republican Ukrainian Army proposed by the Military Minister provoked a discussion. As a result, it was decided to finalize it, taking into consideration the principle that "the pension statute should be based on the principle of social security and labour protection of the employee, that the statute should be the same for all workers, that pensions should be granted – on the principle of a greater or lesser threat to life or health at a particular field of work, and only those who worked for the benefit of the UNR and its people can have the right to pension" (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 440). The so-called social pensions were granted by the UNR government to the families of servicemen who died in hostilities or died of the wounds. The social pensions were granted at the suggestion of the Military Minister. In particular, on October 6, 1919, at the government meeting, a one-time allowance of 16 800 hryvnias and an annual pension of 16 800 hryvnias per year were granted to the widow of Dmytro Sokolovsky, a famous insurgent leader – Nadiya Sokolovska, a widow of Konstantyn Vozny, the commander of the 53rd Novohrad-Volyn Regiment, who was shot dead in Zhytomyr, – Zoya Vozna, who was granted an annual pension of 14 400 hryvnias per year, as well as to the severely wounded in the battle a centurion Ivan Popov, the head of the political department of Slobidska Ukraine Kish – an annual pension of 19 200 hryvnias (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, pp. 537–538). One-time financial aid and pensions were also allocated to the widow of Yevhen Myshkovsky, the colonel, a former chief of staff of the Galician Army – Lisaveta Myshkovska and the widow of General Fedor – Kolodiy Hanna Kolodiy (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, pp. 24, 156). It should be noted that the procedure of one-time financial aids for servicemen and their families was regulated by the law of July 7, 1920 (Dyrektoriia, 2006b, p. 155).

The children of servicemen were not neglected by the highest authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic. In August of 1919, the Directory passed the Law on the Provision of Children of Soldiers, the Victims of War. It established benefits for the children of dead or wounded soldiers, who were in the Ukrainian service since the proclamation of the First Universal by the Central Council of Ukraine (Tsentralna Rada) on June 23, 1917. All of them had the right to education and training at public expense up to the age of 18. If the children were unable to work due to physical disabilities, their maintenance was still fully assumed by the state. For this purpose, it was planned to establish the state shelters, as well as shelters at local governments, public and private institutions. The school-age children were sent to primary, secondary and vocational schools and the state scholarships were allocated for their maintenance (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 586).

Due to the rapid inflation cash payments were insufficient to support servicemen and their families, the government also introduced such forms of social assistance as food rations, clothing, tailors, and etc. On October 31, 1919, at the government meeting, during the consideration of the draft resolution on one-time assistance to government officials of central and local institutions for the purchase of clothing and assistance to families, the Military Minister was instructed to elaborate a similar bill for military families (Dyrektoriia, 2006, pp. 568–569). The difficult situation at the front in the autumn of 1919, and, hence, the deterioration of the army supply due to the depletion of available resources, forced the

government to reconsider the existing practice of issuing rations. According to the government decision issued on September 18, 1919, employees of the military department involved in the rear institutions were deprived of the right to food rations from the quartermaster office, except for those who served in the drill units (Dyrektoriia, 2006a, p. 511).

In addition to the Directory and the Council of People's Ministers, the Chief Commissioner of the Ukrainian People's Republic Government also dealt with social protection issues of the Ukrainian People's Republic soldiers. The institution of the Chief Commissioner was established on November 15, 1919, the day before the departure of the highest state authorities from Kamianets-Podilskyi. Already on November 16, according to the agreement of S. Petliura with J. Pilsudski, the leader of Poland, the territory of Podillia was occupied by the Polish army. This occupation was done to prevent occupying Podillia by the Russian White Guard troops under command of General A. Denikin. As many local Ukrainian government officials remained in the area, as well as soldiers, who for various reasons could not leave with the army and government, it was the responsibility of the Minister of Religion, Ivan Ohiyenko, to represent their interests before the Polish authorities. He was appointed the Chief Commissioner of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which at that time was located in Tarnów, Poland. Four districts of Podillia hubernia (province) and Starokostiantyniv povit (district) of Volyn fell under the competence of the Commissioner. To resolve military issues, he had a military officer, who was subordinated to the Military Ministry. I. Ohiyenko's attention was focused on supporting servicemen, providing them with at least minimal means of subsistence. In fact, it all came down to paying salaries, all kinds of cash benefits, arranging cheap or free food, caring for wounded soldiers, who were in hospitals. For this purpose, a fund of the Chief Commissioner was created, through which finances were transferred for these purposes. Hence, on December 16, 1919, he decided to allocate 3 million rubles for sewing clothes, linen and shoes for the sick and those who returned from captivity (Holovnoupovnovazhenyi, 2017, p. 168). The biggest problem faced by I. Ohiyenko was the rapid devaluation of the Ukrainian currency. He had to increase constantly the salaries of soldiers, help their families, the amount of per diems for the recovering people. Hence, in January of 1920, he decided to provide assistance to the families of officers, who found themselves in the Polish internment camp in Dąbie in the amount of 200 hryvnias per day, to ordinary soldiers for rehabilitation after illness – 160 hryvnias per day. For ordinary soldiers, who were in Kamianets-Podilskyi, a salary of 150 hryvnias per day with the addition of rations of tea and sugar was allocated at the rate of no more than 40 hryvnias per day. From the 25<sup>th</sup> of January to the 1<sup>st</sup> of March in 1920, 300 hryvnias were allocated for the daily maintenance of an ordinary man, in addition to lunch, dinner and tea 2 times (Holovnoupovnovazhenyi, 2017, pp. 213, 226, 232). In order to illustrate to what extent those payments were commensurate with the prices of that time we should provide the following data: lunch cost 40 rubles (or 80 hryvnias, 1 ruble was equal to 2 hryvnias), breakfast and dinner – 20 – 30 rubles, one liter of milk – 45 rubles, bread – 30 rubles, eggs – 25 rubles for two eggs) (Holovnoupovnovazhenyi, 2017, p. 386). The prices for fats and meat were also sky-high. However, it should be noted that the activities of the Commissioner played a significant role in providing assistance to the Ukrainian military at the most difficult time for them.

After the final defeat of the Ukrainian People's Republic in the war with Soviet Russia and the retreat of the Ukrainian army on November 21, 1920, to the territory of Poland, the government tried to support its troops during the year. However, the depletion of funds put an

end to the functioning of social care for them. The military had to adapt to the new realities of an emigrant life on their own.

**The Conclusions.** Hence, the social protection issues of servicemen occupied an important place in the activities of the highest state authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the Directory period. Legislation in this area was socially oriented. The state tried to make service in the army prestigious and to increase the status of a soldier in the society by means of adoption of relevant laws. However, the unfavorable military situation on the fronts and a general military and strategic position of Ukraine prevented the implementation of the adopted bills in the field of social protection of the military.

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## ASSYRIAN NATIONAL ELITES OF GEORGIA IN THE 1920s: PUBLIC POLICY AND NATIONAL CULTURAL IDENTITY

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to explore the paradigm of the relationship between a national minority and a state in which an authoritarian and totalitarian model of government is formed. This analysis is conducted by the author on the relationship between the state and a national elite. The research methods:* realization of the specified purpose demands from the researcher use of historical-system, historical and biographical, comparative methods, the complex approach. **Main results, brief conclusions:** *At the beginning of the 20th century, Georgia became a center not only for the emigrant and refugee masses of the Assyrians, but also for the national and political elite. The years of Georgian state-building coincided with an active stage in the implementation of the Assyrian national issue in the field of international law. The Soviet government radically changed the methodology for resolving the Assyrian national issue. Markers of a national statehood were replaced by the Soviet loyalty artificially. Elites who became the generator of solutions to the national issues were repressed and replaced by loyalists to the existing system. The issue of obtaining various formats of statehood had long been removed from the agenda. The practical significance:* the results of the study can be used for further scientific research on the history of the Soviet totalitarianism and the history of the Assyrians in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s. **The scientific novelty:** *the research is formed on the basis of a wide range of historical sources. The author presents the material stored in the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, the Central Historical Archive of the National Archives of Georgia, the State Archives of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History, the State Institution “National Archives of the Republic of Adygea”.* **Article type:** analytical.

**Key words:** Soviet totalitarianism, Assyrian national minority, Public policy, National elites.

## АССИРІЙСЬКІ НАЦІОНАЛЬНІ ЕЛІТИ ГРУЗІЇ У 1920-х рр.: ДЕРЖАВНА ПОЛІТИКА ТА НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-КУЛЬТУРНА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ

**Анотація.** *Мета статті – полягає у тому, щоб дослідити парадигму взаємовідносин між національною менщиною та державою, в якій формується авторитарно-тоталітарна модель управління. Даний аналіз автор проводить на взаємовідносин держава-національна*

еліта. **Методи дослідження:** реалізація зазначеної мети вимагає від дослідника використання історико-системного, історико-біографічного та компаративного методів, комплексного підходу. **Основні результати, стислі висновки:** Грузія початок XX століття стає центром не тільки для емігрантсько-біженських мас асирійців, а й для національно-політичної еліти. Роки грузинського державного будівництва збіглися з активним етапом реалізації асирійського національного питання в полі міжнародного права. Радянська влада кардинально змінює методологію рішення асирійського національного питання. Маркери національної державності штучно змінюються на радянську лояльність. Еліти, які стали генератором рішень національних питань були репресовані і замінені лояльними до існуючого ладу. Питання про отримання різних форматів державності надовго було знято з порядку денного. **Практичне значення:** результати дослідження можна використовувати для подальших наукових пошуків історії радянського тоталітаризму та історії асирійців на території СРСР у 1920–1930-х рр. **Оригінальність:** поєднання дослідження функціонування національної еліти та майбутнього існування національної громади в умовах формування тоталітарної моделі управління державою. **Наукова новизна:** дослідження формується на підґрунті широкого кола історичних джерел. Автор презентує матеріал, який зберігається у фондах Архіву Міністерства внутрішніх справ Грузії, Центрального історичного архіву Національного архіву Грузії, Державного архіву Російської Федерації, Російського державного архіву соціально-політичної історії, Державного закладу «Національний Архів Республіки Адиґеї». Тип статті: аналітична.

**Ключові слова:** радянський тоталітаризм, асирійська національна меншина, етнічні еліти.

**The Problem Statement.** The wave of national liberation movements, which flooded the European political space in the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth century found its echoes everywhere in the world. This became possible because of transformation processes of the systems of colonial and imperial ownership, the transition to the industrial phase of society, the growth of the number of political parties and their active participation in the life of the states. Under these conditions, the historical claims of nations that did not have or lost their own statehood to self-determination were realized and came true.

The Assyrians, who traditionally lived in Turkey and Persia, due to historical circumstances, were drawn into these processes. Their desire for their own statehood was caused by the searches for safe models of existence in a non-national and mono-confessional hostile environment. Over the centuries, the uncertain opportunity to achieve this goal used to appear. The issue of the return of statehood and the restoration of historical justice arose very acutely during World War I and especially acutely after its end. Supporting the Entente countries the Assyrians hoped to resolve their statehood issue. The territorial sovereignty of the Assyrians was one of the issues, which were discussed at the Lausanne Conference (November 20, 1922) and later at the Council of the League (1925) (Matveyev, 1979, pp. 95–106).

The Assyrian elite were inspired by the ideas of the state sovereignty and establishment of statehood. These ideas found a response among a few ranks of the Assyrian elite. And for many decades it was declared as the main task of their consolidated work. The territory of the Russian Empire, in particular Georgia, becomes the generating centers for such ideas (Komakhia, 2006, pp. 159–164).

The scientific interest of specialists, who were involved in the survey of the USSR's history is aimed at the issue of the national policy during the period of a totalitarian system formation. These debates were resulted in radically opposite judgments using the appropriate evidence base that is opened up to modern researchers nowadays.

Representatives of the theory of the ethnization of Stalinism present the concept of the directed repressive policy of the Soviet state concerning the national minorities living at its territory (Mick, 2006, pp. 145–147; Baberowski, 2003, pp. 195–196). According to this

concept national minorities and titular republican nations are considered as a “competitor” in information and ideological space formation for the approval of the Soviet state ideology.

Their opponents were researchers who supported and adhered to the concept of Harvard University professor Terry Martin. In his research, he presents the USSR as the empire of “a positive activity”. In these works the emphases are aimed at meeting the needs of the national outskirts and national minorities in a greater part than the Russians (Martin, 2015).

Analyzing the state national policy, we move to the republican level. This level can give researchers a complete picture of the specifics of the Soviet national policy. In his works, Stanislav Kulchytsky, the Ukrainian researcher (Kulchytsky, 2014) refutes the concept of Terry Martin, arguing that the republican titular nations have no independence from Moscow center, as well as he rejects the pursuit of a massive, repressive policy.

Continuing to adhere to the republican format, we can observe the continuation of the all-union discussion. We witnessed a scientific dispute about the role of the republican titular nation in the regulation of a national policy concerning the national minorities at the territory of Georgia during the interwar period. Researchers and public figures from Georgia, Germany and foreigners who live in Georgia took part in the discussion. The subject of a lively dispute was the question of the role of the republican party and Soviet bodies in carrying out actions of the Great Terror against the backdrop of the all-Soviet repressive campaign. As well as making the boundary of responsibility delimitation of the center and the republic (Junge & Bonwerch, 2015).

In their work, the French researchers Joseph and Claire Yacoub present the history of the Assyrians of the Caucasus during the Soviet period (1920 – 1991) as a positive trend, focusing on several stages of cultural and social upsurge (Yacoub, 2015). The works of Hegumen Stefan (Sado) and Sergei Osipov are noteworthy (Hegumen Stefan (Sado), 2017; Osipov, 2007). These works represent a wide range of factual, both bibliographic and historical material. The authors of classic works on the history of the Assyrians who lived at the territory of the USSR are A. K. Matveev and K. P. Matveev. Working in the chronological framework of the Soviet period, they were able to identify the main historical and ethnographic markers of the existence of the Assyrians at the territory of the USSR. Unfortunately, in our opinion, we are not able to reproduce fully the chronology and essence of events from the history of the Assyrians of Georgia in the 1920s – 1930s based on these works.

The analysis of the scientific literature allows us to conclude that the problems we have chosen have not become the subject of research both by the international scientific community and the domestic (Georgian) one. In the works of the Georgian researchers, the main place is given to more numerous nationalities and promising directions of the state policy (Tsarakhov, 2004; Natmeladze & Daushvyly, 2008; Daushvyly & Natmeladze, 2011).

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** Representatives of the theory of the ethnization of Stalinism present the concept of a directed repressive policy of the Soviet state in relation to national minorities living at its territory (Baberowski, 2003, pp. 195–196; Jones, 1988). National minorities and titular republican nations are considered in this concept as a “competitor” in the process of creating an informational and ideological space for the establishment of Soviet state ideology.

Their opponents were researchers who adhered to the concept of Professor Terry Martin, University of Harvard. In his studies, he presents the USSR as the empire of “a positive activity”. These works emphasize the satisfaction of the needs of national suburbs and national minorities in the greater part than the Russian population (Terry, 2011).

When analyzing the state national policy, we are moving to research the situation onto the republican level. This part of knowledge may give researchers a complete picture of the specifics of the Soviet national politics (Kul'chitskiy, 2014). In his works, the Ukrainian researcher Stanislav Kulchitsky disproves the concept of Terry Martin, arguing that the republican titular nations lack independence from Moscow center, as well as pointing the mass phased repressive policy is conducted.

Continuing to adhere to the republican format, we can see the continuation of the all-Union discussion. Thus, we witnessed a scientific debate about the role of the republican titular nation in the regulation of national policies in relation to the national minorities in Georgia during the interwar period (Junge, Bonwerch, 2015).

In their work, the French researchers Joseph and Claire Yacoub present the history of the Assyrians of the Caucasus of the Soviet period (1920 – 1991) as a positive trend. They focused their attention on several stages of cultural and social upsurge (Yacoub, 2015). The works of Father Superior Stefan (Sado) and Sergei Osipov are worth analyzing (Hegumen Stefan (Sado), 2017; Osipov, 2007). These works represent a wide range of factual, bibliographic, and historical material. The authors of the classic works on the history of the Assyrians who lived in the USSR were A. K. Matveev and K. P. Matveev (Matveev, 1990; Matveev, 1968; Matveev, 1979). Unfortunately, in our opinion, we are unable to rely on the indicated works to fully reconstruct the chronology and essence of events from the history of the Assyrians of Georgia in the 1920s and 1930s.

**The Main Material Statement.** Considering the Assyrians living in Georgia in the 1920s – 1930s the object of the state policy, we managed to introduce into the scientific circulation a number of archival materials that made it possible to draw independent conclusions.

Meanwhile, it must be noted that the history of the Assyrian minority at the territory of Georgia cannot have a centric sequence, but it is closely connected and involved into the national policy of the state-republican level.

The analysis of the socio-economic development of the Assyrian community leads us to the conclusion of its pre-industrial state, which automatically affects the qualitative and quantitative indicators of the national elite. The classification of the Assyrian elite at the beginning of the century has some ethno-national characteristics. We tend to rank among the traditional elite who have influence over the community, the clergy (especially Mar-Shumun (a religious and secular head of the Assyrians)), Malik (tribal princes and members of their families). By the end of the XIXth century functional elites appear in the society. They are public leaders, representatives of the intelligentsia (teachers, doctors), officers of the tsarist army and national Assyrian battalions. To the elite of the period of the end of the XIXth–the beginning of the XXth century one can also add people with higher or at least secondary education. It can be proved on the results of their active social mobility and the orientation of society towards their achievement.

At the beginning of the 20th century Georgia had the status of the unofficial national center of the Assyrian refugees. It was the county, which, in our opinion, was one of those territories where the mass settlement of the Assyrians acquired political and legal forms. This was facilitated by a number of factors, such as traditionalism in resettlement, the high economic level of development of representatives of the local Assyrian community, the availability of vacancies for employment and a competitive labour market, a positive educational marker, the concentration of politically active refugees.



As the confirmation of our argument we can use the following document. In September of 1917, the Special Transcaucasian Committee (OZAKOM) considered the issue of the uncontrolled and unauthorized resettlement of the Persian and Persian-Assyrian citizens from Persia. The immigrants had refugee certificates, which were issued in great numbers by the Assyrian priests in Julfa – Lazarus Georges and in Tiflis – Abbot of the Church of St. Efreim Sirin – A. Beat-Alkhas. The resolution had a decision to suppress unauthorized movement, which complicates “local life” and does not contribute to the matter of counting the population; it confirmed that the movement of refugees within the Caucasus is allowed and is known by the Executive Committee of the Council on the organization of refugees of the Caucasian front. The resolution forbade the issuance of refugee certificates by the Assyrian priests. The decision was made in response to the appeal of the Council’s Executive Committee on the refugee system of the Caucasian Front (CHA of Georgia, f. 1950, d. 1, c. 77, p. 237). We also know that in the Russian consulate in Julfa there was information that a person named Mirza Venyamin, a Syrian from Khosrov, helped the Turkish citizens to get Persian passports for 4-8 cranes for a further movement to Tiflis (1916) (CHA of Georgia, f. 520, d. 1, c. 2, p. 4). Because of a lot of refugees, and the government’s inability of their support, the Tiflis Governor received the order from Major-General Tamashev (05/24/16). It was prescribed to send refugees from Tiflis: 2193 people were to be sent to Erivan province, 4000 people to Nakhichevan, 500 people to Julfa (CHA of Georgia, f. 520, d. 1, c. 33, p. 145).

From the report to the commander-in-chief on the organization of refugees of the Caucasian Front made by A. Shelkovnikov, where we can see the following facts: the Assyrians have got the idea of the geographical and political unification of their people. A. Shelkovnikov interviewed representatives of the Assyrian people in the city of Khoi, the Bishop Mar-Elijah and the Dr. F. Beat-Abramov. There is another document with similar specifics, it is a report of the Commander-in-Chief on the organization of refugees of the Caucasian Front, made by Major General Tomashev from Nikitin July 9, 1916: there are 10 thousand Turkish refugees in Persia, they should be supported because of: 1. The traditional policy towards the Christians East; 2. it is necessary to “strengthen gratitude to Russia in the minds of this nation”. It is also noted that 10 thousand Turkish Christians do nothing because of their lack of culture. They settled on clan-tribal basis (CHA of Georgia, f. 520, d. 1, c. 4, p. 172). As we see, the need for humanitarian support for the Assyrians coincided with need of the state policy of the Russian Empire.

Among the majority of the Assyrian population, the mood to return to their homeland was widespread, which was especially characteristic in the 1920s (NA of the Republic of Adygea, f. 136, d. 1, c. 8, p. 163). This is supported by documented facts: the activities of a unity of political party of the Assyrians of that period have got the goal to return to their homeland (RGASPI, f. 495, d. 1, c. 51, p. 127).

When using the concept of the Czech researcher M. Grokh on the formation of nations and national movements of small nations, we can state that the Assyrians were at the beginning of the third stage at the beginning of the 20th century. The first stage, connected with the appearance of scientific works on the history and culture of the Assyrians, was inspired from the middle of the XIXth century by missionaries in Persia and Turkey (places of traditionally-compact residence).

With the active participation of American and English missionaries, the written literary language of modern Assyrians was created in the 40s of the XIXth century, it replaced the Old Syriac language that was far from the spoken language of the overwhelming majority

of the population. This practice was closely connected with the legacy of the Old Syriac language. The main drawback of the ancient language was that even under the conditions of its secular functioning it did not receive literary development and existed in the oral tradition of the people (Lalayan, 1914, p. 6).

With the organization of the Urmia Orthodox mission (the Russian Orthodox Church) at the territory of Persia, there was an urgent need for a comprehensive study of the new congregation, which would probably speed up the missionary process.

During this period, the foundations of the second stage were laid. It was the birth of nationally conscious elite who had the desire to establish national statehood. Enlisting all the possibilities, the national elite sought to raise the self-consciousness of the masses to the level of the nationalist movement.

While the Assyrians were at the territory of the Russian Empire, the case of the existence of a national party was recorded; it was the Assyrian Socialist Party. The history of this party dates back to January of 1916. This Party was founded by the patriotic intelligentsia in the city of Urmia in North-West Persia. At the stage of party organization, its central committee was headed by Benjamin Arsanis (a graduate of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages). By 1917, the party had its own cells in the villages of Urmii district and Salmas, in the Transcaucasus (in the cities of Tiflis and Yerivan) and had more than two hundred full members. The establishing activities involved also the measures to unite scattered Assyrian communities at the historical territory and gain a certain level of independence. Based on this, the cells in the Russian Empire and, subsequently, the Soviet Union were supposed to facilitate the return of the Assyrians to their homeland (RGASPI. f. 495. d. 1. c. 51, pp. 131–133).

Such a nationally-oriented process did not suit the Bolsheviks because the role and place of the Soviet party and the government were completely leveled. Other priorities were presented that were radically opposed to the tasks of building the Soviet society on the principles of communism.

Stalin in his work “Marxism and the National Issue” defines the main directions of the party in the national issue. He characterizes the nation as a community of language, culture, history and territory (Stalin, 1946, p. 269). When interpreting the multi-ethnicity of the Soviet Union exclusively in the key of Sovietization, the authorities made an attempt to erode the national markers in stages. The nation was perceived as a politico-social community, that is why, the Soviet functionaries tried to monopolize all the intra-national processes. One of the obstacles in this area, under the conditions of “political pluralism” of the beginning of the 1920s, could be the national elites.

Representatives of the traditional elite became an “alien element” in the Soviet realities, it was they who were regarded by the authorities as a vestige of the old order. Such a position of the state towards representatives of traditional elites in combination with targeted measures completely discredited them in the eyes of the community and reduced their managerial and authority functions to zero. Our attention will be focused on the socio-political elite who took the responsibility to transfer the Assyrian national issue to a new plane in the international arena. It was a small group of people who stood at the forefront of modernity, but without losing their own national identity. It should be noted that, institutionally, this type of elite had no historical tradition in the national environment. Its appearance was a consequence of the educational and cultural mobility of certain representatives of the Assyrian community. This fact influenced the level of authority and support from the general public.

On January 3, 1918, the National Council of Transcaucasia was elected out of 17 members and 6 commissioners delegated to the localities by a national convention of the Assyrians

residing at the territory of the Transcaucasus. The initiative to convene a congress proceeded from F. Beat-Abram (he was elected a chairman), and he operated on the powers that were granted to him by Mar-Simun. During the voting, V. Eyvazov (he was elected an assistant chairman) insisted that the Assyrian who has the Transcaucasian origin should be the chairman of the Council (MIA archive, f. 6, c. 6, p. 17). Initially, the work of the council consisted in arranging the Assyrian refugees from Persia, Turkey, from Erivan and Kars provinces.

In January of 1918, the decree named “On the new conditions of service on the Caucasian front ...” was issued, where the army command announced the appearance of national combat units consisted of the Armenians, the Georgians, the Ukrainians, the Muslims, the Greeks, the Assyrians, the Ossetians, the Russians people (CHA of Georgia, f. 1968, d. 1, c. 22, p. 22). On January 16, 1918, permission to form the Assyrian battalion in the city of Erivan was received from the front headquarters, the supply of which was taken over by the front headquarters (CHA of Georgia, f. 1968, d. 1, c. 32, p. 5).

Representatives of the Council joined this process immediately. In February of 1918, F. Beat-Abram, a Chairman of the Assyrian National Council of the Transcaucasus, corresponded with the Inter-Ethnic Military Council at the Naval Commissar of the Transcaucasian Commissariat on the issues of form and insignia for officers of the Assyrian units (CHA of Georgia, f. 1968, d. 1, c. 32, p. 2). The Chairman of the Assyrian National Council not only dealt with these issues, but he was always up to date on the events on the Persian front, informing all sorts of instances about the events.

The data show that the Council initially went out of its sphere of competence; it was in constant informative area about the events on the Caucasian front. The possibility of the formation of the national military formations as an army basis for the future state formation was considered.

The Council worked for five months under the leadership of Dr. F. Beat-Abram as a Chairman. But in the spring, many members of the Council disagreed, and in May of 1918 only 3 active members remained. At the last meeting on May 22 it was decided to dissolve the Council. The reasons for such actions were the following: differences of opinion on various issues among the Assyrians of Persians, Turkey and Transcaucasia on the issue of the elimination of military units in Tiflis, company and battalion in Erivan, which were created to protect the left flank of the Caucasian front after peace and the closure of the Erivan-Julfa road; 3 members representing a minority could not be considered as legal body (CHA of Georgia, f. 520, d. 1, c. 240, p. 3).

A. Badalov, in his duty of being a chairman of the Transcaucasian National Council, went to Denikin’s bid (October 21, 1919) to resolve the issue of granting the Assyrians temporary accommodation in response to the demands of the Georgian national government to evict the Assyrians.

At the meeting, they expressed their solidarity with the actions of the Volunteer Army, and the readiness to provide assistance from the Assyrians of the Transcaucasus. Such actions were condemned by the other wing of the Assyrian People’s Council (F. Beat-Abram) in the newspaper “Great Russia” No. 305 (Rostov edition) of October 8, 1919.

The Assyrians had a split – some were guided by the national Georgian government and chose a new national Assyrian Council in Georgia, the others held the former Assyrian Council of Transcaucasia (MIA archive, f. 6, c. 2341, p. 28). There were two identical organizations that did not recognize the activities of one another. And it was a natural process, the symptoms of which were diagnosed at the constituent assembly. The difference of goals

and the conflict of interests of local and the Assyrian refugees on the other hand were the dynamics of political changes within Georgia and the region itself.

At a meeting of the Assyrian deputies in Georgia, the Assyrian National Council in Georgia decided to close that official body and organize the new Assyrian National Council of Georgia (ASSNARS). On March 6, 1921 at the secondary meeting of the Assyrian deputies of Georgia they elected the executive committee of the Assyrian People's Council after the meeting on March 11 in the building of the 105 Assyrian labour school on a Brick lane (MIA archive, f. 6, c. 22110, pp. 210–212). Beat-Abram F. Ya. became the chairman, Ogamezov Babe and Beat Eyvaz were elected the Comrades of a Chairman, Beat Ward V., Beat Baba M. was a Secretary, Beat Urmuz A., Beat Tuma T. – was a Treasurer, Beat Peer M., Beat-Dances R. were the members of the executive committee. (March 23, 1921. F. Makharadze approved the charter) (MIA archive. f. 6. d. 22110, p. 131). Shumun Gandzha was the President at the congress; (later he immigrated to America), Beat-Babkash A. was a secretary; (later he was repressed on 03.10.1938) (MIA archive, f. 12. Lists of those shot in 1937 – 1938, p. 13).

Assyrian People's Council under Soviet Georgia on April 20, 1922, Tiflis sent an analytical note to the Supreme Court. It ran that the Assyrians in Georgia are made up of citizens of Georgia and of refugees from North-West Persia, and Turkey (1915 – 1918). The citizens of Georgia inhabited almost 100% purely Assyrian villages (Dzveli Kanda and Mirzoevka); among the semi-Assyrian village there was Vasilyevka, there were about 1000 people. They are engaged in arable farming. Among foreign nationals there was the craft proletariat who, before the war, came to Tiflis at the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries. The best stone official buildings and private houses were built by the Assyrian masons, carpenters, and painters. There were about 3.5 thousand such emigrants with family members. There were about 1 200 people of the highlanders of the Assyrians; they were former Turkish citizens in the cities of Batum, Kutais. There were also 200 people of petty bourgeois, intellectuals, homeowners, contractors, breeders. Total number was not more than 6 thousand people (MIA archive, f. 6, c. 22110, p. 207).

The sympathies of the Persian and Turkish-granted Assyrian elite in relations with Russia passed on, in our opinion, evolution, but they were constantly considered in the context of own national state-building. To confirm this thesis, we present some facts from the public political life of the Assyrians.

They were in relations with Russia as a political entity without attachment to a political regime and a method of organization. In Persia in April of 1917, the document “The Urmian manifesto of the association for Free Assyria” was signed. It consisted of 20 articles, the purpose of which was to establish national government with future accession to Russia with autonomy at the territories compactly populated by the Assyrians (in the region of Urmia, Mosul, Julamerka and others). The Assyrian National Council met the news of the victory of the revolution by holding a support meeting of many thousands, at which B. Arsanis, Beat-Abram Freydzun, Mar-Shimun had speeches (Sargizov, 1979, p. 69).

Another significant event was the writing of a memorandum by representatives of the National Council of the Transcaucasus dated on December 20, 1918. Its signatories were F. Beat-Abram, Veniaminov, Teimurazov. This memorandum was sent to the commander of British troops in Baku, Major General Thomson, the British, French, American Consuls representative of the Russian government, the Transcaucasian Russian National Council. After the historical preamble, this document dealt with the provision of weapons to the Assyrian fighting forces, the reunification of all lands with compact residence in a united

state, with further international patronage, payment of reparations to the Assyrian state by Persia and Turkey (CHA of Georgia, f. 1820, d. 150. c. 42, p. 10).

The first congress of the Assyrians of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow in 1925, demonstrated the hierarchy of the Assyrian ethno-territorial communities at the territory of the Soviet Union. The RSFSR was to be represented by 12 delegates from seven cities (Moscow – 4, Leningrad – 2, Rostov-on-Don – 2, Armavir – 1, Art. Labinsk – 1, Voronezh – 1, Vladimir – 1), from the Georgian SSR – seven delegates, from the Armenian SSR – four people, the Azerbaijan SSR – two people, the Ukrainian SSR – six representatives (Kyiv – 2, Kharkiv – 1, Slovyansk – 1, Stalino – 1, Yekaterinoslav – 1) (GARF, f. 3302, d. 1, c. 14, p. 7). As it can be seen, the Assyrian community of Georgia was the most numerous among other regions of the Soviet Union. This may be another proof of its quantitative composition and advanced socio-political positions held by its representatives at the territory of the Soviet Union.

It is believed that the peak of the repressive policy of the Soviet government dates back to the years of 1937 – 1938. This is indicated by direct facts as a legislative rationale, trained personnel, the number of victims, an elaborated procedural mechanism, and socio-economic and political consequences. In this material we wanted to change the vector of the research for the period of the 1920s, the time when the Soviet authorities were not yet so authoritative in the society, but they already demonstrated the tectonics of the future state system in the public law area.

Without a more effective tool for reformatting national elites, the Soviet authorities used repression as an effective argument. An exceptional majority of members of the functional Assyrian elite were persecuted with varying degrees of intensity and consequences. Alexander Badalov was arrested in December of 1921 on charges of fraud and counter-revolutionary activities. The protocol of the meeting of the Collegium of the Cheka of Georgia from June 25–27, 1922 A. Badalov was sentenced to 3 years of camps with confiscation of property (MIA archive, f. 6, c. 22110, pp. 191, 232).

In the activities of Freyduun Yakovlevich, espionage was discerned, his case as a person accused was transferred to the people's commissariat of justice the SSR of Georgia for a public hearing, and as the result of October 2, 1926 he was shot (MIA archive, f. 12. Lists of those shot in 1937 – 1938, p. 18).

Accused cases against social activists were not a single phenomenon in the 1920s. In October of 1926, Vladimir Pavlovich Eyvazov (b. 1885) was arrested. By the decision of the Special Meeting at the OGPU College on February 11, 1927 V. Eyvazov was sentenced to 3 years in the camps. A year earlier (October of 1925), Ivan Oganezov (born in 1885) was arrested; from 1921 a member of the RCP (b), although a poorly literate painter. He was a deputy chairman of the Assyrian National Council. The set of charges against him led to the application of capital punishment (01.25.26).

**The Conclusions.** Active citizenship with a clear national color led to sad consequences. Regarding such actions as an open threat, the Soviet government, long before the start of the Great Terror, began to “clean out” the initiative public space. The victims of such policy were representatives of the national elite. The first wave of repression broke out at the beginning of the 1920s for the representative of the Assyrian community. Punishments, in our opinion, also had a conditional differentiation; the leaders of the Assyrian movement, who were of a Russian origin, were sentenced to shorter terms.

As we see, among the Assyrian social and political elite of the beginning of the 1920s there was a conflict situation. The society was divided into two polar centers: the local population

followed the pro-Russian policy (fully adapted to the local conditions of life), the refugees from Persia and Turkey were considering options for returning to their historic homeland in the format of an independent state association. Such trends led to an open form of conflict that entered the public area through the media.

Each of the parties was forced to interact with the existing government of the time, despite the presentation of its emphasized neutrality. Taking a clearly expressed pro-national position, and demonstrating the desire to defend the interests of the national community, the elite presented themselves. And at the same time, it became a victim of political repression by the Soviet government bodies. Selective repressions against the Assyrian national elite were able to reverse the vector of geopolitical orientation. In some period of time, the idea of a national state foundation disappeared from the information space. The elite, who were Persian or Turkish in origin and held an active civil position in Georgia before and during the initial Soviet period, were completely removed from the administrative resource. Tools of such work were repression by the state or emigration. Despite their selectivity and the non-mass nature of the repression during the 1920s, they were able to reorient the Assyrians to the concepts of the Soviet state-building.

Analyzing the debate about the role of the Soviet state national policy, we can see distinctive imbalance clearly. On the one hand, the state, through its legislative acts, announced the policy of “indigenouization”, but on the other hand, it repressed the entire elite that could put national authenticity into this policy and could give a fresh breath into national idea. “Cultural revolutions” had objectives that corresponded to the interests of government to build the Soviet statehood which destroyed a national identity. In this issue the basic concepts of the theory of “ethnization” of Leninist-Stalinist politics concerning the Assyrians who lived in Georgia are manifested.

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**PLACE OF UKRAINE IN THE SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE REGION  
OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM  
THEORISTS' WORKS (the 20–30s of the XXth century)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to study and analyze the Ukrainian nationalism theorists' views of the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the place and role of Ukraine in the security system of the macroregion of Central and Eastern Europe, primarily in the context of developing mechanisms to deter the Russian aggression and the effective realization of its geopolitical potential. The methodology of the research is based on the methods of historicism, comparative analytical and structural system analysis, the principle of problem is applied. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time there has been elucidated a comprehensive vision of foreign policy directions of Ukraine's development in*



the context of security problems of Central and Eastern Europe in the works of the Ukrainian nationalist thinkers of the interwar period of the XXth century. **The Conclusions.** In the 1920-ies and 1930-ies the Ukrainian nationalism theorists, determining Ukraine's place in the security system of the macroregion of Central and Eastern Europe, considered the following components: Ukraine – Russia, Ukraine – Poland, Ukraine's place in the confrontation with the Western-Eastern civilization, the security policy in the Baltic – the Black Sea region and foreign policy directions of the Black Sea region.

According to the nationalist thinkers, Ukraine should carry out active foreign policy activities in the direction from the Baltic to the Caucasus and the Balkans. Furthermore, Turkey was determined as the main strategic ally of Ukraine among the countries of the Black Sea area, and Bulgaria was also potentially the closest ally among the Eastern Balkan state. It should be mentioned that allied relations with the South Caucasus countries as independent states were vital and the relations with Belarus were considered as a protective shield from the north.

In addition, the Ukrainian thinkers are convinced that only a united Europe can withstand the Russian aggression and its potential geopolitical consequences. Consequently, in Ukrainian thinkers' works Ukraine is given a central place in the security system on the eastern borders of the European continent and a role in countering Russia's aggressive policy.

**Key words:** Central and Eastern Europe, geopolitics, nationalism, foreign policy strategy, the Ukrainian state.

### МІСЦЕ УКРАЇНИ У СИСТЕМІ БЕЗПЕКИ РЕГІОНУ СЕРЕДНЬО-СХІДНОЇ ЄВРОПИ У ПРАЦЯХ ТЕОРЕТИКІВ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАЦІОНАЛІЗМУ (20–30-х рр. XX ст.)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – вивчення і аналіз поглядів теоретиків українського націоналізму міжвоєнного періоду XX ст. на місце та роль України у системі безпеки макрорегіону Середньо-Східної Європи, передусім у контексті вироблення механізмів стримування російської агресії та ефективної реалізації свого геополітичного потенціалу. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на методи історизму, порівняльно-аналітичний та структурно-системний аналіз, використовується принцип проблемності. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше подано комплексне бачення зовнішньополітичних напрямів розвитку України у контексті безпекових проблем Середньо-Східної Європи у працях українських мислителів націоналістичного спрямування міжвоєнного періоду XX ст. **Висновки.** Визначаючи місце України у системі безпеки макрорегіону Середньо-Східної Європи, теоретики українського націоналізму 20–30-х рр. XX ст. розглядали такі складові: Україна – Росія, Україна – Польща, місце України у протистоянні Західна – Східна цивілізації, безпекова політика у Балто-Чорноморського регіоні та зовнішньополітичні напрями реалізації її Чорноморської складової.

Україна, на думку мислителів-націоналістів, повинна здійснювати активну зовнішньополітичну діяльність у напрямі від Балтики по Кавказ і Балкани. Серед країн чорноморського простору головним стратегічним союзником України визначалася Туреччина, також потенційно найближчим союзником позиціонувалася східнобалканська держава – Болгарія. Важлива роль відводилася союзницьким відносинам з країнами Південного Кавказу як незалежними державами, а також відносинам з Білоруссю як захисним щитом з півночі.

Українські мислителі переконані, що лише об'єднана Європа здатна протистояти російській агресії та її потенційним геополітичним наслідкам. У своїх працях вони відводять Україні центральне місце у системі безпеки на східних кордонах Європейського континенту та роль противаги агресивній політиці Росії.

**Ключові слова:** Середньо-Східна Європа, геополітика, націоналізм, зовнішньополітична стратегія, Українська держава.

**The Problem Statement.** The Ukrainian state faced numerous geopolitical challenges at the beginning of the XXIst century, due to clear historical tradition. It should be mentioned that Ukraine is facing the problem of developing and implementing an effective geopolitical doctrine that would help maximize its geopolitical potential in the region of Central and

Eastern Europe, while creating reliable guarantees of protection from the constant military threat from Russia for more than a century. Taking into account the Ukrainian state economic and military potential, as well as its geopolitical position, Ukraine has a golden opportunity to become a leader in the macro-region of Central and Eastern Europe, in general, and the Baltic-Black Sea region, in particular.

As a result, there were diverse practitioners and theorists of the Ukrainian nationalist movement of the interwar period of the XXth century, who devoted their works to the above-mentioned issue: Dmytro Dontsov, Yuriy Lypa, Dmytro Andriyevskiy, Mykhailo Kolodzinskiy, Dmytro Myron, Zenon Pelenskiy and the others. Hence, the theorists' geopolitical visions remain relevant at the current stage of Ukraine's foreign policy strategy development.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications.** Numerous researchers studied geopolitical views of the Ukrainian nationalism theorists of the 20–30-ies of the XXth century: O. Bahan (Bahan, 2016), V. V'yatrovych (V'yatrovych, 2004), R. Demchyshak (Demchyshak, 2014), O. Zaytsev (Zaytsev, 2012), H. Kas'yanov (Kas'yanov, 2004), M. Posivnych (Posivnych, 2018) and the others. However, the above-mentioned authors did not conduct a comprehensive study on the works of the Ukrainian nationalist thinkers of the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the issue of determining the foreign policy directions of Ukraine's development in the context of security problems of Central and Eastern Europe.

**The purpose of the research** is to study and analyze the Ukrainian nationalism theorists' views of the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the place and role of Ukraine in the security system of the macroregion of Central and Eastern Europe, primarily in the context of developing mechanisms to deter Russian aggression and the effective realization of its geopolitical potential.

In addition, the geographical and geopolitical position of the Ukrainian state in all historical periods was favorable for it to become one of the main factors of European security and stability. Due to the location on the shores of the Black Sea, combined with Ukraine's efforts to integrate culturally, politically and economically into the European Community, made the best contribution to this mission.

**The Main Material Statement.** Dmytro Andriyevskiy's views should be taken into consideration. This is because the researcher's views were interesting in terms of determining the impact of the world history events on the process of Ukraine's geopolitical positioning. In his geopolitical visions, the thinker highlighted the economic benefits of the location of Knyazyi Kyiv, put emphasis on the fact that Kyiv State was a trade center, where merchants from Europe and Asia had their offices. Owing to the advantageous geopolitical position on the way "from the Vikings to the Greeks", Kyiv political influence managed to extend as far as the Caucasus and the Balkans.

However, according to D. Andriyevskiy, two events took place that did not allow Kyiv to realize its geopolitical prospects and changed the Ukrainian state development course radically. The first event, which occurred, was the Byzantine Empire disappearance and the Ottoman Empire emergence in its place, as a result, Kyiv State became detached from the Black Sea, which came under the Turks' complete control. Hence, Kyiv lost its importance as a trade, political and cultural center between Europe and Asia, as well as the status of a maritime state.

The second important event that diminished the geopolitical importance of Ukraine as a maritime power was the discovery of America. Owing to the navigation's center relocation from the Mediterranean to the world's oceans, as well as the decline in the importance of

the eastern land routes from Europe to Asia, led to the complete isolation of the Black Sea. D. Andriyevskiy stated that after the above-mentioned event: “The main world political, cultural and trade ties stretched around Ukraine, leaving it as a province, which from the XVth to the XIXth century was forced to wage a constant struggle for its own existence and was repeatedly divided between its neighbours: Moscow, Poland and Turkey” (Andriyevskiy, 1928, p. 316).

It should be mentioned that at the same time, Dmytro Andriyevskiy was convinced firmly that Ukraine as a country with its historical tradition, cultural and economic ties, belonged to the Western civilization.

Furthermore, one more renowned figure kept to the same point of view, Dmytro Dontsov put emphasis on the fact that Ukraine belonged historically to the Western European community on many grounds, in particular “given its geological and climatic conditions, and most importantly its river system, which is not a continuation of the Eastern Russian plain, but because of Lithuania and Poland and through their river system it is an extension of Central Europe. And although Ukraine was politically separated from Europe at the end of the XVIIIth century, culturally it always belonged to European civilization” (Dontsov, 1957, p. 84).

In Mykhailo Kolodzinskyi’s mind, Ukraine’s geopolitical future was seen in Eastern Europe. The purpose of the Ukrainian nation was defined as a cultural, trade and political center in this geopolitical space. According to Kolodzinskyi, “After all, since ancient times, the Ukrainian state must fulfill a strategic task – to establish geopolitical control over the Black and Caspian Seas, defending this area, as well as European culture from Russian military and ideological aggression” (Kolodzinskyi, 1957, p. 27).

In addition, Yuriy Lypa, in contrast to the traditional choice of vectors of Ukraine’s foreign policy development in the East-West coordinate system, defined the South as the main geopolitical axis of development for Ukraine. He believed that the “South-North” was Ukraine’s main geopolitical coordinate, determined by the established Ukrainian tradition. In his work, which was called “The Black Sea Doctrine”, Yuriy Lypa gave the Ukrainian state the primacy among the Black Sea countries, given its space, wealth and population. “The Black Sea area is a vital space for Ukraine, which is a vault around the Black Sea, which has a beam length of 800 – 900 km around its natural center, which is the Crimean Peninsula” (Lypa, 2007, p. 17).

Taking everything into consideration, the Ukrainian nationalist thinkers, each with his own specifics, attributed Ukraine to Western civilization in general, giving it the role of a leader in the region of Eastern Europe or the Black Sea.

Hence, the Ukrainian nationalist thinkers identified the main foreign policy threat – the Russian Empire in all its forms, which, in their opinion, will always menace Ukraine’s existence as a sovereign state, try to destroy its geopolitical potential and prevent European integration in their geopolitical works. At the same time, they identified the paramount causes and motives of Russia’s aggressive policy towards Ukraine and ways to overcome it.

Consequently, the Ukrainian thinker, Dmytro Dontsov noted that Russia’s policy left Ukraine no choice in foreign policy formation and made the Ukrainian state face a dilemma: “with them or against them?”. D. Dontsov stated confidently the following: “our main national strategic task should be the principle of complete independence from Moscow and imitation of Western culture, which saves Europe from Moscow’s invasion” (Dontsov, 1957, p. 89).

It should be mentioned that Russia always felt the cultural and political threat from Europe instinctively and tried to fight with Europe in various methods and forms. Therefore, as Dmytro Dontsov stated, Russia cannot allow Ukraine’s rapprochement with Europe, let alone the full integration of Kyiv into the European community, and will make every effort

to prevent and make such integration processes impossible. Moreover, Dmytro Dontsov made the following conclusion: “worldview civilizational confrontation between Russia and Europe is a struggle of two hostile civilizations, which will lead to a constant struggle between these two different worlds and cultures” (Dontsov, 1957, p. 80).

D. Dontsov’s thoughts were developed by D. Andriyevskiy. As a result, Dmytro Andriyevskiy in his geopolitical visions noted that Ukraine, independent of Moscow, politically, economically and culturally integrated into Europe, will be able to move Europe’s borders far to the East and North. It is obvious that such a geopolitical perspective was perceived by the Russian state leadership as a threat.

Moreover, D. Andriyevskiy also managed to spot the obvious fact that in the XVIIIth century Russia’s capture of large and extremely important from the geopolitical point of view of the Ukrainian space changed its foreign policy orientation, which until then was directed to the East and the North exclusively. D. Andriyevskiy concluded the following in this regard: “Since then, Russia began to promote its influence in the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Crimea. Russia tried to capture the Black Sea from the South, tried to spread its influence in the Persian Gulf, and even tried to reach the Suez” (Andriyevskiy, 1930, p. 223).

Hence, the above-mentioned information reflects Ukraine’s significance in Russia’s confrontation with the West, which is confirmed by modern international realities convincingly. Nowadays, military aggression by Russia and the Ukrainian territories’ annexation are seen in this context as an attempt to restore imperial control in Central and Eastern Europe, which gives Moscow enormous advantages in the geopolitical confrontation with Europe and the United States.

Mykhailo Kolodzynskiy in his works, carried on working on his predecessors’ thoughts, also drew attention to the fact that: “the way to Eastern Europe passes through Kyiv” (Kolodzynskiy, 1957, p. 40). Such realities motivate Russia to wage a constant and uncompromising struggle for the geopolitical control over Ukraine in order to ensure a dominant influence on the political situation in Eastern Europe. As a result, we should state again, in support of the thinker’s views, that current war between Russia and Ukraine is being waged for a geopolitical leadership in Eastern Europe not so much for the Crimea or Donbas.

In addition, M. Kolodzynskiy made the conclusion: “since the eternal struggle for dominance in Eastern Europe is being waged in Ukraine, the Ukrainians are forced to be in a constant war with Russia, which is a spiritual threat to the whole world” (Kolodzynskiy, 1957, p. 40).

The Ukrainian thinker was convinced that in order to stop Moscow military aggression, Ukraine must give an adequate military response. The condition for this is the readiness to defend the independent Ukrainian state, the ability to create a combat ready naval and air force, the drastic need to strengthen its geopolitical position in Eastern Europe.

Another Ukrainian thinker, Dmytro Myron, shared the same point of view. D. Myron argued that the determining factor in the armed struggle against the Russian aggressor will be the high state of combat readiness and cohesion of the internal forces of the Ukrainian people themselves and their ability to fight the occupier. Consequently, international support will be a separate favorable factor that will provide new additional opportunities for the Ukrainian people successful struggle. At the same time, Dmytro Myron in his work “The Idea and Act of Ukraine” noted that the confrontation between Moscow and Kyiv was a landmark phenomenon not only for Ukraine itself, but also for all Eastern European countries, which were under constant pressure from Russian imperial policy. According to the thinker: “Ukraine’s victory in this confrontation will guarantee the restoration of the balance of power in this geopolitical region and help rebuild Eastern Europe effectively on the basis of the

national principle of equality of all independent states between the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea” (Myron, 2018, p. 303).

Dmytro Andriyevskiy, considered Moscow imperialism to be the most dangerous of all foreign policy threats to the Ukrainian state, which aimed at the complete destruction of Ukrainian nation’s historically, spiritually and physically, while developing his previous thoughts. Moreover, the thinker stated that in the Russian – Ukrainian War, the Ukrainians must realize what it means for them to be “to be or not to be”, while for Russia it is about its economic and geopolitical preferences in building a new Russian empire. Dmytro Andriyevskiy also claimed that “the Russian aggression can be stopped only by Kyiv’s victory over Moscow” (Roh, 2010, p. 82).

Yuriy Lypa in his geopolitical visions made conclusion that Russia’s and Ukraine’s geographical location determined to be complete opposite. According to the thinker, “If the land axis of Ukraine is the northeastern shore of the Black Sea, then such an axis for Russia is the upper Volga region. Another important difference between the two states is the direction of the rivers. If in Russia most of the rivers flow to the North, in Ukraine on the contrary, they flow to the South. Therefore, Ukraine is the South and Russia is the North” (Lypa, 2007, p. 277).

In Yuriy Lypa’s opinion, it is impossible to talk about the peaceful coexistence of these two irreconcilable centers of different civilizations – Kyiv and Moscow. Therefore, the only possible and acceptable way out for Ukraine in this geopolitical situation, according to the thinker is the following: “The destruction of Russia – as a center of supranational distribution of land over the Volga, Pechora and the White Sea” (Lypa, 2007). Only on condition of the absence of a geopolitical threat from the North, Ukraine will be able to realize its geopolitical potential and guarantee sustainable economic development in the Black Sea macro-region fully.

It should be noted that Yuriy Lypa was not talking about the Russian state destruction, but only about the empire’s liquidation. Consequently, several nation-states of the Finnish and Ural peoples must be formed at the territory of the modern Russian Federation. And Moscow state “will be able to exist at its historical geographical territories, which will delineate the national borders of the “Russians”, and there will appear a state formation much smaller in size than the Ukrainian state” (Lypa, 2007).

As a result, both Ukrainian thinkers: Dmytro Myron and Yuriy Lypa considered the fact of the Russian Empire’s complete collapse, as the main precondition for Ukraine’s successful geopolitical development in the region of Central and Eastern Europe and the full realization of its potential in it, but not a great alliance, agreement or federation with Russia.

Thus, all Ukrainian political thought of a nationalist orientation representatives were unanimous virtually in determining the main foreign policy threat to Ukraine. It was Russia’s position in all possible forms of its imperialist policy. Moscow imperialism was proclaimed the paramount hindrance not only to Ukraine’s European development path but also to the state formation process in general.

Hence, the Ukrainian nationalist thinkers considered Ukraine’s successful geopolitical development in its natural macro-regions of Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic-Black Sea, which is in fact a continuation of the former.

Dmytro Dontsov considered the integration process into the European Community to be correct and natural for Ukraine. In addition to the fact that Ukraine historically belongs to European civilization, it also has an extremely important historical mission – to be a shield for Europe against Russia, which not only destroys the fundamental forces of the Ukrainian nation, but also destroys the basic principles of Western culture. D. Dontsov put emphasis

on that the protection of our independence was equivalent to the protection of European traditions and values. In fact, the victory of one of the two principles on the continent depends on Ukraine's foreign policy positioning in the macro-region of Central and Eastern Europe: European or Moscow. After all, Ukraine was always the first to accept the onslaught of Russia's political and cultural expansion to the West.

Dmytro Andriyevskiy expressed similar views, noting that Ukraine should become one of the main factors of security on the European continent. The thinker made the following conclusion, while developing his thoughts: "Only an independent Ukraine that is able to conduct independent foreign policy can stop Russia's geopolitical expansion to the European continent and push the boundaries of the latter's influence from the Carpathians beyond the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea" (Andriyevskiy, 1928, p. 381).

Furthermore, Andriyevskiy stated that the specifics of Ukraine's geopolitical position allow: 1) to guarantee the security of Western Europe in its confrontation with Russia; 2) to promote the establishment of mutually beneficial political and economic cooperation between these two different and irreconcilable world civilizations.

The geopolitical views of the Ukrainian thinkers in relation to Poland are somewhat different. This is primarily due to the peculiarities of the historical coexistence of Ukraine and Poland. It should be mentioned that in the 20–30s of the XXth century Western Ukraine was under the Polish occupation and subjected to all kinds of oppression by the Polish authorities, who tried in every way to suppress the Ukrainian nation independent movements.

Despite diverse unresolved issues between Ukraine and Poland that developed during the long historical coexistence, the Ukrainian thinker, D. Dontsov believed that they were local in nature and will not have a decisive impact on the general state of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. Dmytro Dontsov identified Poland as Ukraine's main strategic partner in Central and Eastern Europe.

Ukraine and Poland must work together to counter Russia's aggressive policy in Central and Eastern Europe, becoming a center for uniting other countries in countering geopolitical threats from Russia. It should be mentioned that Russia is not eager to see the existence of Kyiv and Warsaw as independent political centers in achieving its imperialist goals. According to Taras Starodub, Europe cannot be indifferent to the Russian-Ukrainian War, and the European community must use all means at its disposal, including all economic potential, in order to stop the Russian aggression, which once again poses a huge threat to European security, as this primarily applies to the Baltic States, Poland and the entire Baltic-Black Sea basin (Starodub, 2019, p. 52).

Only a united Europe can guarantee security and stability on the European continent and stop the Russian aggression. Taking into account the above-mentioned, D. Dontsov quoted Herzen rightly: "Russia can take over Europe to the Atlantic Ocean, just as it can be defeated up to the Urals. In the first case, Europe must be separated. In the second, Europe must be united firmly" (Dontsov, 1957, p. 99).

Dmytro Andriyevskiy, who considered Ukraine to be the second main geopolitical adversary, held a completely different opinion. The Ukrainian thinker stated that although Poland did not threaten our independence, it may hinder Ukraine's geopolitical potential development in Eastern Europe. Furthermore, D. Andriyevskiy noted that neither the Polish public nor the state's leadership treat the Ukrainian state's independence properly and did not realize its importance for the security and independent existence of Poland.

At the same time, Poland belongs to the European Community common with Ukraine, and this requires from Ukraine a completely different foreign policy approach. First of all, Ukraine

must convey to the European community the argument that any anti-Ukrainian policy conducted by Poland, weakens the Eastern Front and weakens Europe in the face of the Russian threat.

According to Dmytro Andriyevskiy, Ukraine, fighting the Russian aggression, must find a good opportunity to get rid of the political swing between Moscow and Warsaw and find reliable allies outside them. Due to the Ukrainian integration into the European community it could be implemented. As a result, the Ukrainian state will be able to take on the role of a unifying center in Eastern Europe, joining the political processes taking place on the continent. The Ukrainian thinker made the following conclusion: “The Ukrainian policy can and should vote for that consolidation, naturally promoting a radical reorganization of the state borders in the East. In this way, Ukraine will enter the system of European relations faster and easier and gain common ground with international political factors, than if it, while opposing state delimitation in the East, kept away from the whole of Europe” (Andriyevskiy, 1930, p. 226).

Mykhailo Kolodzynskiy also warns Kyiv concerning the readiness for a constant geopolitical struggle on two fronts at the same time: with Russia and Poland in his geopolitical visions. In addition, the Ukrainian thinker also considered these two countries to be Ukraine’s main competitors and opponents in the struggle for geopolitical supremacy in the Eastern Europe region.

It should be mentioned that M. Kolodzynskiy rejected any claims of Russia and Poland to the Ukrainian territories, as well as their desire to establish leadership positions in Eastern Europe. The thinker stated that such a historical right belonged to Ukraine exclusively. Moreover, M. Kolodzynskiy drew historical parallels and claims that Ukraine was the first to accept and deter the Tatars attack on the European continent, thus, saving Western civilization from imminent political and cultural destruction. And Moscow and Warsaw, at that time, were developing and strengthening their positions, and were carefully preparing for the attack on Ukraine (Kolodzynskiy, 1957, p. 39).

However, such Ukrainian thinkers’ views may seem somewhat outdated and irrelevant, but the events of recent years, including the so-called “war of the monuments” based on different interpretations of complex pages of the Ukrainian-Polish history, as well as some diplomatic statements by Poland and Hungary, provide the opposite ideas.

Hence, in determining the place of Ukraine in the security system of the region of Central and Eastern Europe, the Ukrainian nationalism theorists gave an important place to the Ukrainian-Polish relations. Moreover, there was no unity in views concerning the above-mentioned issue. D. Dontsov considered Ukraine and Poland as allies in the joint security mission in Eastern Europe, and D. Andriyevskiy and M. Kolodzynskiy regarded the countries as competitors.

The Ukrainian nationalist thinkers paid special attention to Ukraine’s geopolitical positioning in the Baltic-Black Sea macroregion.

Yuriy Lypa presented his Black Sea doctrine as a basis for Ukraine’s foreign policy. The thinker considered the Black Sea space vital for Ukraine and assigns it the first place among the Black Sea countries.

Yuriy Lypa put emphasis on Ukraine’s indisputable right to own the Crimea, either as the heiress of the Bosphorus Empire or as the heiress of Kyiv great power. The Crimea was identified by Yuri Lypa as the main command center of the Black Sea vault.

Furthermore, Yuriy Lypa paid vital attention to mutually beneficial, good-neighborly relations between Ukraine and Belarus, which he considered the key to the Black Sea vault. Therefore, Belarus must always be in the forefront of geopolitical priorities of the Ukrainian foreign policy, so that it does not become a geopolitical tool in the hands of neighbours, especially Russia, hence, an open threat from the north. The thinker put emphasis on the

following: “The Belarusian lands are not an admission to the common border between the Baltic and Finno-Ural expansion centers. The swamps and forests of Belarus are the best as compared to the threat to Ukraine from the North (Lypa, 2007, p. 18).

According to Dmytro Myron, the author of “The Idea and Action of Ukraine”, Belarus can gain independence and economic development with the support of a strong Ukraine. Moreover, the renowned thinker truly believed that the geopolitical future of Belarus should be in close cooperation with Ukraine, not Russia, as Russia did not allow Belarus to develop fully its political, cultural and economic potential fully.

According to Dmytro Myron, Ukraine was given the role of a driving force and the main subject in the geopolitical space over the Baltic, the Caspian and the Black Seas. But in order for Ukraine to stop the Russian aggression in the Black Sea region, it needs to assert its geopolitical influence in the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea and Turkestan.

In addition, Dmytro Myron proclaimed the independent Caucasian states creation and removing them from Russia’s sphere of influence as the main priorities of the Ukrainian geopolitics in the Caucasus. Future subjects of international relations in the Caucasus were considered as potential allies of Ukraine. Consequently, Oleh Bahan considered the above-mentioned thesis to be super-relevant for the modern Ukrainian state, which suffered such a fatal blow from the south-east (occupation of the Crimea and Eastern Donbass by Moscow), namely, from the Caucasian direction (Bahan, 2016).

However, D. Myron believed that Ukraine should support the concept of an independent state of Turkestan and the Idel-Urals, while establishing ties with the Turkic peoples, who were under constant pressure from Moscow (Starodub, 2020, p. 193). It should be mentioned that in the geopolitical sense, their geographical location, which is a giant belt from Turkey to Tugva-Uyghur, serves as a deterrent for Russia to pursue its aggressive policy in the south.

Moreover, Zenon Pelenskyi decided to keep to the views of his predecessor, arguing that only if Russia’s expansion in the Caspian-Caucasus was blocked, its attack on the Ukrainian territory could be prevented. Z. Pelenskyi considered the strong contacts’ establishment with three Transcaucasian states: Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan to be the main task for the Ukrainian foreign policy in this geopolitical region. The renowned thinker also considered the vital idea, in particular, to establish foreign policy relations with the pre-Caucasian peoples: the Dontsy, the Kubans and the Volga Tatars, who should create the European Cossacks Federation (Muravskyi, 2006, p. 271).

Hence, the Ukrainian thinker Yuriy Lypa noted that Ukraine should support the idea fully and promote the Caucasus unification in all major aspects: geopolitical, economic and cultural, as this geopolitical space was perceived as part of the entire Black Sea macroregion. The countries of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia were considered by the thinker to be strategically important allies of Ukraine in the Black Sea area. Moreover, Yuriy Lypa stated the following: “The connecting link between Ukraine and the Caucasian peoples should be the Kuban, whose population is related to the population of southern Ukraine, and which from the end of the XVIIIth century became the center of the Ukrainian resettlement” (Lypa, 2007, p. 44).

According to Yuriy Lypa, Turkey should become Ukraine’s main partner in the Black Sea region. The two states will combine not only geographical proximity, but also common economic and political interests. In addition, Turkey and Ukraine will be united by security issues in the face of a common threat: Ukraine from the north and Turkey from the south and southwest. Therefore, the political alliance between Ukraine and Turkey is becoming a crucial link in security and cooperation in the Baltic-Black Sea region.



However, Dmytro Myron made bold to state that there may be contradictions between Ukraine and Turkey in the struggle for the spheres of influence in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, despite common economic and political interests.

Oleh Bahan, taking into consideration Yuriy Lypa's and Dmytro Myron's geopolitical visions, had clear understanding of the main strategy for the nation on the Black Sea: to solve the problems of relations with Turkey and begin together to "build a strong geopolitical bastion of common dominance in the Black Sea" (Bahan, 2016).

Another important geopolitical region for Ukraine in the creation of the Black Sea Union is the Balkans. Yuriy Lypa considered Bulgaria to be the central country of the region, at the same time very close and mentally related to Ukraine.

Zenon Pelenskyi also highlighted the importance of establishing close relations with Bulgaria in order to weaken Romania's influence and gain wider access to the Black Sea.

On the other hand, Yuriy Lypa noted that due to the Black Sea unification, it could be possible to initiate a new form of socio political system and contribute to new growth of European culture with the specifics inherent in the mentality of the Black Sea space. According to Yuriy Lypa, Ukraine should be the main initiator of these integration processes, given its geopolitical location and the huge Ukrainian vault, which is the four-seventh of the Black Sea space and wealth. The Ukrainian thinker made the following conclusion: "The Black Sea doctrine of the unity of the Black Sea states and the first place of Ukraine in the unity is the doctrine of development and offensive" (Lypa, 2007, p. 98).

Taking everything into consideration, we can state that the main foreign policy issues on the Black Sea component of the Baltic-Black Sea macroregion, theorists of the Ukrainian nationalism (Yu. Lypa, D. Myron, Z. Pelenskyi) considered: the Caucasian direction (or the Caspian-Caucasian direction), the Balkan relations with Turkey. The Black Sea area was considered as an important factor in the formation of the security system of the entire region of Central and Eastern Europe, an integral element of which was considered Ukraine.

**The Conclusions.** The Ukrainian nationalism theorists in the 1920s and 1930s, determining Ukraine's place in the security system of the macroregion of Central and Eastern Europe, considered the following components: Ukraine – Russia, Ukraine – Poland, Ukraine's place in the confrontation with the Western-Eastern civilization, the security policy in the Baltic-Black Sea region and foreign policy directions of its Black Sea component.

According to the nationalist thinkers, Ukraine should carry out active foreign policy activities in the direction from the Baltic to the Caucasus and the Balkans. Furthermore, Turkey was determined as the main strategic ally of Ukraine among the countries of the Black Sea area, and Bulgaria was also potentially the closest ally among the Eastern Balkan state. It should be mentioned that allied relations with the South Caucasus countries as independent states were vital and the relations with Belarus were considered as a protective shield from the north.

The Ukrainian-Polish relations were given the paramount role in determining Ukraine's place in the security system of the region of Central and Eastern Europe by the Ukrainian nationalism theorists. Moreover, there was no unity in views on this issue. D. Dontsov considered Ukraine and Poland as allies in the joint security mission in Eastern Europe, and D. Andriyevskyi and M. Kolodzinskyi – as competitors.

The Russian Empire in all its forms was unequivocally positioned as the main foreign policy threat. Hence, the emergence of a number of independent states in the ethnically non-Russian territories of Russia in accordance with their national and historical character will correspond to Ukraine's geopolitical interest.

In addition, the Ukrainian thinkers are convinced that only a united Europe can withstand the Russian aggression and its potential geopolitical consequences. Consequently, Ukraine is given a central place in the security system on the eastern borders of the European continent and a role in countering Russia's aggressive policy in Ukrainian thinkers' works. In the context of modern international politics, the question remains whether Ukraine will play this role in the guise of a country – the last EU member in the east (the concept of “outpost”) or a buffer country between the EU and Russia (the concept of “bridge”).

**The Prospects for the Further Research.** The foreign policy situation in which Ukraine finds itself requires the an effective and efficient geopolitical development strategy to deter the Russian aggression and preserve the integrity and independence of its territory. Taking into consideration, the international relations' modern system's active transformation and the world politics and the definition of Ukraine's geopolitical priorities, the prospect of further research into the geopolitical achievements of the Ukrainian nationalist thinkers seems quite relevant and is highly demanded.

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**THE USAGE OF THE OPEN SOURCES INFORMATION  
BY THE SPECIAL UNITS OF THE UKRAINIAN  
NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE 1920s – 1980s**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to highlight the intelligence activities based on open sources by special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the 1920s – 1980s. The principles of scientific objectivity and historicism are the methodological basis of the research. The scientific novelty of the obtained results consists in the following: for the first time in domestic and foreign historiography the intelligence activities of special units of the Ukrainian nationalists have been analyzed on the basis of open sources, the unpublished archival materials have been introduced into a scientific circulation as well. The Conclusions.* *The intelligence departments of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UMO) began the collection, compilation and analysis of the enemy's press in various languages by the special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations for the first time during the 1920s.*

*During the 1930s, intelligence of the Ukrainian Nationalists Organization (OUN) learned about the repressions in the USSR from the Soviet and Polish newspapers. After the German-Soviet annexation of Poland, the Security Service (SS) of the OUN was engaged in this work. During the post-war period,*

the Security Service focused on district and regional Soviet newspapers. From the newspapers the SS learned about the death or capture of underground fighters, planned measures of the Soviet government, identified the enemy active supporters among the local population.

The OUN Foreign Units (FU) played a particularly important role in obtaining and analyzing the Soviet publications. To know about the situation in the USSR, "Referentura of Countries Affairs, which were under the Soviet Rule" ("RCAUSR") was established in Munich at the end of September of 1953. Due to a lack of funds and the necessary specialists, it was dissolved in 1968 and its functions were transferred to the Ukrainian Information Service (UIS) in London.

Conducting surveys of the civilian population was one of the types of getting intelligence information by special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations.

The OUN special units in Western countries used journalistic cover-ups or correspondence with relatives in the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty (the Warsaw Pact) countries to conduct covert surveys. At the beginning of the 1960s, the "offensive" departments were established in the structure of "The Central" and Field Leadership of the OUN SS FU, which were responsible for survey the Soviet tourists and employees of international institutions of the Ukrainian SSR. In addition, the "offensive" department of the OUN SS FU, as well as "The Public Guardianship Referentura", interviewed Western tourists who visited the USSR.

Simultaneously with the "offensive" departments of the OUN SS FU, the "analytical and intelligence group" of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council and the "dviykari" intelligence collected and analyzed the Soviet open sources of intelligence information.

**Key words:** intelligence, open sources, periodicals, offensive departments, OUN, SS, FU OUN, RCAUSR, UkrSSR, survey, KGB.

## **ВИКОРИСТАННЯ СПЕЦІАЛЬНИМИ ПІДРОЗДІЛАМИ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАЦІОНАЛІСТИЧНИХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ ВІДКРИТИХ ДЖЕРЕЛ ІНФОРМАЦІЇ У 1920 – 1980-х рр.**

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – висвітлити здійснення спеціальними підрозділами українських націоналістичних організацій у 1920 – 1980-х рр. розвідувальної діяльності на основі відкритих джерел. **Методологічною основою дослідження** стали принципи наукової об'єктивності та історизму. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів полягає у тому, що вперше у вітчизняній і зарубіжній історіографії проаналізована розвідувальна діяльність спецпідрозділів українських націоналістів на основі відкритих джерел, а також впроваджено до наукового обігу неопубліковані архівні матеріали. **Висновки.** Уперше з-поміж спеціальних підрозділів українських націоналістичних організацій збір, впорядкування й аналіз преси супротивника різними мовами розпочали у 1920-х рр. відділи діловодства розвідки Української військової організації (УВО). Протягом 1930-х рр. розвідка Організації українських націоналістів (ОУН) дізнавалася з радянських та польських газет про репресії в УРСР. Після німецько-радянської анексії Польщі зазначеною роботою займався Служба безпеки (СБ) ОУН. У післявоєнний період головна увага есбістів зосередилася на районних та обласних радянських газетах. Із них вони дізнавалися про загибель або потрапляння до полону підпільників, заплановані заходи радянської влади, виявляли активних прибічників ворога серед місцевого населення.

Особливо важливу роль здобуттю й аналізу радянських видань приділяли Закордонні частини (ЗЧ) ОУН. Спеціально для вивчення ситуації в СРСР наприкінці вересня 1953 р. у Мюнхені було створено "Референтуру Підсовєтських Справ" ("РПС"). Через нестачу коштів та необхідних фахівців у 1968 р. вона була розформована, а її функції перейшли до Української інформаційної служби (УІС) у Лондоні.

Одним із різновидів збору розвідувальної інформації спеціальними підрозділами українських націоналістичних організацій було опитування цивільного населення. Для негласного опитування спеціальні підрозділи ОУН в країнах Заходу використовували журналістське прикриття або листування з родичами в СРСР та країнах Варшавського договору. На початку 1960-х рр. при "Централі" та Тереновому проводі СБ ЗЧ ОУН було створено "офензивні" відділи, які відповідали за опитування радянських туристів та співробітників міжнародних установ УРСР. Крім того, "офензивний" відділ СБ ЗЧ ОУН, а також референтура "Суспільної опіки" займалися опитуванням західних туристів, які відвідували СРСР.

Паралельно з "офензивними" відділами СБ ЗЧ ОУН збором і аналізом відкритих радянських джерел інформації займалася "аналітично-розвідувальна група" Закордонного Представництва Української Головної Визвольної Ради та розвідка "двійкарів".

**Ключові слова:** розвідка, відкриті джерела, періодика, офензивні відділи, ОУН, СБ, ЗЧ ОУН, РПС, УРСР, опитування, КДБ.

**The Problem Statement.** The opening of the archives of the Soviet secret services in Ukraine, combined with the dynamic development of information technology in a relatively short period of time, raised historical researches to a qualitatively new level. Preconditions emerged for the study of previously unknown aspects of important scientific problems. One of these preconditions is the intelligence activities on the basis of open source intelligence (OSINT) by special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations. With the development of information technology, the role of open source intelligence is growing in all intelligence services around the world.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications.** There is no publication directly related to this topic currently. Oleksandr Sych and Hennadiy Ivanushchenko studied some of its aspects. However, this is for the first time that comprehensive work on the intelligence activities of special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations has been carried out on the basis of open source intelligence.

**The Main Material Statement.** The collection and analysis of open source intelligence information always played an important role in the intelligence activities of special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations. During the 1920s, one of the tasks of the 1st departments of the “Intelligence Bureaus” (IB) of the UMO was to learn about the enemy based on the press publications. All received newspapers and magazines were added to the “evidence” book. During the registration the newspapers and magazines were classified into “domestic” (written in Ukrainian) and “foreign” (written in foreign languages) (National Archives Czech Republik (NACR), f. 1659, d. 20, c. 538, pp. 16–17). For example, the 1st Department (Office) of “The Central Intelligence Bureau” (“CIB”) UMO made press excerpts: from the Soviet newspapers (“Izvestiya” (Moscow), “Pravda” (Moscow), “Ekonomicheskaya Zhyzn” (Moscow), “Visti” (Kharkiv), “Bilshovyk” (Kyiv), “Chervona Armiya” (Kyiv)); from the newspapers of the Russian emigration (“Rul” (Berlin), “Dni” (Berlin), “Posledniye Novosti” (Paris), “Za Svobody!” (Warsaw)); from Warsaw press (“Rzeczpospolita”, “Polska Zbrojna”, “Robotnik”, “Kurier Warszawski”, “Kurier Poranny”, “Przegląd Wieczorny”, “Kurier Polski”, “Żołnierz Polski”, “Gazeta Warszawska”, “Nasz Przegląd”); from the newspapers of other cities in Poland (“Kurier Lwowski” (Lviv), “Kurier Poznański” (Poznań), “Słowo” (Vilnius), “Dziennik Wileński” (Vilnius)); from the free city of Danzig (Gdansk) (“Gazeta Gdańska”, “Baltische Presse”) (NACR, f. 1659, d. 24, c. 559, p. 215).

In the 1930s, this activity was continued by the OUN intelligence referentura. Antin Krushelnitsky, a writer, wrote that most of the information about the events in the Ukrainian SSR, including repressions, the OUN members learned about from the Polish newspapers. Journalists often received the information from embassy staff. Another important source of information was the Soviet newspapers, which published the names of the convicts and their sentences (Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 5, d. 1, c. 47932, vol. 2, p. 126). During the years of 1940 – 1941, the OUN Security Service analyzed the enemy’s newspapers, magazines, and books at the territory of the Governor-General’s. Thus, Yuri Sokolovsky (“Utio”) secretly brought the Soviet military documents, statutes, manuals and periodicals across the border from Lviv to the town of Sanok. (Knysh, the year is not marked, p. 136).

During the period of the German occupation, the collection of intelligence information from open sources became even more developed. The SS staff not only analyzed the legal and illegal press (in German, Russian, Polish, Romanian and other languages), but also all available radio broadcasts. For example, Bohdan Yavorsky (“Director”), a clerk in the SS of Odesa regional branch of the OUN, studied and summarized the data from the local

Russian-language and Romanian press in the summer of 1943. Volodymyr Stelmashchuk (“Yurko”), a head of intelligence of the OUN Buchach district, received “Biuletyn Ziemi Czerwieńskiej” (Lviv) and “Biuletyn Informacyjny” (Warsaw) from agents periodically. Petronia Zeleniuk, a head of the Security Intelligence Network in Lviv (“Myroslava”) added to the information reports the data from the Polish newspapers at the beginning of 1944. Anna Ivasiuk (“Romashka”), a spy of the Security Service of Lviv city branch of the OUN, noted radio messages at the beginning of 1944 (Archive of Department of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv region, f. 5, c. 13359, p. 231; Archive of Department of the Security Service of Ukraine in Odessa region, f. 6, c. 25307, vol. 3, p. 139; SSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 75592, p. 28; c. 74327, vol. 1, p. 145; c. 76079, pp. 51–54).

During the post-war period, the SS attention was focused on the Soviet press again. It was focused on district and regional newspapers especially. Georgy Bandusiak (“Lys”), a Security Service officer of the Transcarpathian Command of the OUN, did this work in May of 1945 (Archive of Department of the Security Service of Ukraine in Zakarpattia region, f. 7, c. 5678, vol. 1, p. 123). On April 1, 1946 the magazines “The Soviet Ukraine”, “Pravda Ukrayiny” as well as the latest issues of regional and district newspapers were found in the kryivka of the district officer of the SS during the search by operative group of Velykomostivsky regional department of the Ministry of State Security (MSS) of the Ukrainian SSR (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 162, p. 102). Analyzing the press, the Security Service learned about the planned activities of the authorities, the death or capture of underground fighters, identified active supporters of the enemy among the local population. In the report of the Office of the People’s Commissariat of State Security (NKDB) of Lviv region of February 19, 1945, it was stated that the esbists (the SS) clarified certain facts from the Soviet newspapers by informants (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 192, p. 101). This information was mentioned at the meeting of the Office of the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of Lviv region in August of 1945 (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 63, p. 71). In response to the situation, beginning in 1946, the Soviet periodicals kept silent about the underground of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the UPA).

One of the sources of the enemy newspapers supply for the SS staff was sabotage-terrorist operations. For example, on May 7, 1945, the SS captured special couriers of the NKVD regional department near the city of Pidvolochysk, Ternopil region. The NKVD couriers had a bag with regional and central newspapers (SSA SSU, f. 73, d. 1, c. 469, pp. 113–114). However, the press was mainly supplied to the SS by their informants. For example, a postman Demian Nykolaichuk from the village of Yelne, Klesiv district, Rivne region; Pavlyna Makovska, a collective farmer from the village of Horodok, Zalishchyky district, Ternopil region; Vasyl Davydovych, a resident of the village of Dobrotvir, Kamiianka-Buzka district, Lviv region (Archive of Department of the Security Service of Ukraine in Rivne region, f. 5, c. 5440, p. 291; SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 244, p. 32; State Archive of the Ternopil region, f. R–3429, d. 1, c. 1603, p. 3). Informants from Busk district of Lviv region supplied the local intelligence officer of the SS with the district newspaper, as well as the regional newspaper “Vilna Ukraina” (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 302, p. 45). The SS intelligence officer of the OUN, Rohatyn district received the Soviet newspapers from informants periodically: “Pravda”, “Pravda Ukrainy”, “Vilna Ukraina”, and Ternopil regional newspaper “Vilne Zhyttia” (SSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 50213, vol. 1, p. 297). Often these tasks were performed by the SS spies in the Soviet institutions. During the year of 1946 Volodymyr Hevko, a postman of Zastavia village of Velykoborkivskyi district, Ternopil region, supplied boyivka “Sirka” with the press (SSA SSU, f. 73, d. 1, c. 119, pp. 84–85). Yevhenia Obukhovska, an employee

of Ternopil Regional Press Union in Chortkiv, analyzed the materials received for publication in local newspapers and periodically gave the collected information to Yaroslav Namak, the SS county secretary-referent (“Klym”) (SSA SSU, f. 73, d. 1, c. 39, p. 109; c. 211, pp. 97–98).

“The Ukrainian Information Service” played an important role in the analysis of the Soviet periodicals. On January 31, 1947 during the liquidation of kryivka in the village of Vybudiv, Koziv district, Ternopil region the Soviet newspapers were found by the operative group of the regional department of the State Security Service (SSA SSU, f. 73, d. 1, c. 480, p. 216). In the kryivka-publishing house of the OUN, Kamianets-Podilsky district, the operative group of the State Security Service found the files of the Soviet press of 1948 – 1949. In particular: the magazines “Ogoniok”, “Krokodyl”, “Rabotnitsa”, “Perets”, the newspapers “Pravda”, “Pravda Ukrainy”, “Radianske Selo”, “Radianske Podillya” (Archive of Department of the Security Service of Ukraine in Khmelnytskyi region, f. 7, c. 29159, vol. 2, p. 337).

At the end of the 1940s – beginning of the 1950s, the Soviet periodicals became the main source of information for the SS about the Ukrainian lands, which were the part of other republics. Thus, the SS Referentura of Bukovyna district learned about the events in the Moldavian SSR from the Soviet newspapers mainly (SSA SSU, f. 5, d. 1, c. 67579, vol. 4, p. 145). The situation was similar in the SS of Kovel district concerning the Byelorussian SSR (Kovalchuk & Ohorodnik, 2011, p. 522). In addition, the SS staff read the Polish and Czechoslovak periodicals (SSA SSU, f. 62, d. 4, c. 18, p. 9). On the basis of the latter, the SS Referantura of Lemkivsky district “Beskyd” made an analytical brochure covering the period of May – June of 1946 (Institute of National Remembrance Office of Access (INROA), 1554/66, pp. 21–35). In 1946 the SS staff of Przemyśl district of the OUN “Kholodny Yar” used the articles from the Polish newspapers to prepare “Vistky z Terenu”: “Dziennik Polski” of February 1, “Trybun roboczy” of June 10 and “Nowe Horyzonty” of 23 June (SSA SSU, f. 62, d. 4, c. 78, p. 207). Not only the Soviet and Polish newspapers, but also American newspapers were found in the kryivka of Petro Fedoriv (“Dalnych”), the OUN SS secretary-referent (INR OA, 1554/12, pp. 1–94).

Based on the analysis of the Soviet periodicals, the UPA publishing house “Vulkan” published informational “Reprints from Bolshevik Newspapers”. One of its issues of 1946 consisted of the press materials: “The Soviet Word” of June 19 (the article “What’s Happening in China?”); “Pravda Ukrayiny” of July 27 (“New Masters of the Ukrainian-German Nationalists”); “Vilna Ukrayina” of July 31 (“The Czech Newspaper on the Activities of Fascist Groups in the Western Zones of Occupation of Austria”) (INR OA, 1063/85/1, pp. 54–55). The major part of this information could be obtained by listening to and analyzing radio broadcasts. In Osyp Mytskyk’s pad (“Donsky”), the SS intelligence officer of Stryi district, who was liquidated on April 30, 1951, the MGB officers found the list of radios that were located in kryivka (SSA SSU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 404, p. 227).

The special units of the OUN FU attached special importance to the collection and analysis of the Soviet periodicals. At the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, the SS “Central”, located in Munich at 67 Zeppelin Strasse, received the newspapers periodically: the “Pravda”, “Ogoniok”, “Izvestiya” and “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (SSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 51997, vol. 2, p. 134; Ivaniushchenko, 2019, p. 196).

On September 21, 1953, according to the decisions of IV Conference of the OUN FU, Stepan Lenkavsky (“Proffesor”), a member of the “chief link” of the SS, established “Referentura of the Countries Affairs which were under the Soviet Rule” (“RCAUSR”) in Munich (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1984, p. 211). Its leadership included natives of the central, southern and eastern



regions of the UkrSSR. For example, Andriy Mykulyn (a former Major of the Red Army who came from Argentina) dealt with the army, state apparatus and concentration camps. Marchenko – the Soviet publications, Lysenko – economy, Kizko – culture and religion. The following departments functioned as the part of “RCAUSR”: a) information-collection department; b) department for Ukraine and the USSR; c) department for the satellite-countries of the USSR and the communist activity in the world; d) department for the study of liberation and revolutionary movement in Ukraine; e) archives and secretariat department (Sych, 2005, pp. 66–68). The RCAUSR staff not only monitored all changes in the USSR, but also systematized and analyzed the information obtained (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1984, p. 211). In particular, they drew up detailed reports on the heads of the State Security Committee bodies (KGB) and the party leadership of the Ukrainian SSR, including the regional departments. Similar data were collected concerning the central office in Moscow and even other republics of the Soviet Union (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1983, pp. 48–50). Information on the detention places of political prisoners was also recorded. A separate identification card was issued for each prison. In one of the cards it was written that there was the KGB “concentration camp” near Kharkiv. In this “concentration camp” there were dissidents, religious preachers and criminals imprisoned (Archive of the Liberation Movement Research Center (ALMRC), f. 23, vol. 6, p. 1). In 1958, based on these data, A. Mykulyn published the book “Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union” (Mykulyn, 1958). During the year of 1960, three brochures marked “for internal organizational use” were published in the “Information Notebooks” of the OUN FU – “On the XXth Congress of the CPSU”, “Agriculture in the USSR” and “Concentration Camps in the USSR” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 0940, p. 27).

In the future, a commissioner of the “RCAUSR” was to be present at each Field Office of the OUN FU, to establish contacts with Western research, social and political institutions that specialized in the studies of the USSR (Sych, 2005, p. 77). For example, the “RCAUSR” cooperated with the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR in Munich. Its authors were published in the “Library of the Ukrainian Underground” (Ivaniushchenko, 2019, p. 198; Artemyev, 1956). Stepan Mudryk (“Mechnyk”), the intelligence officer of the OUN SS FU, recollected the fact that there were some problems with other research institutions. The representatives of the Russian emigration mainly, who had a negative attitude to the Ukrainian nationalism, dealt with the direction “The Soviet Studies” in these research institutions (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1989, p. 73).

At the beginning of the 1960s, the “RCAUSR” experienced a severe crisis. Almost all employees emigrated from the Federal Republic of Germany (Germany) and resigned. In the letter dated July 16, 1962, Andriy Mykulyn reported that only he and Shushyk, a technician, remained from the entire staff. After the year of 1968, eventually, the “RCAUSR” ceased its activity due to lack of funds and necessary specialists (Sych, 2005, pp. 69–70, 76–77).

In the future, the UIS was the main OUN FU center for collecting information from the Soviet open sources. It was located in London: Liverpool Road street, 200. At the same time, in the 1970s – 1980s there was organized the subscription to the Soviet periodicals: “The Moscow News”, “The Communist of Ukraine”, “The Ukrainian Historical Magazine”, “The Economy of the Soviet Ukraine”, “The Philosophical Thought”, “The Universe”, “The Fatherland”, “The Kyiv”, “The New World”, “The Bell”, “The Soviet Military Review”, “The Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR” and the others. The Soviet books were bought constantly, which were grouped according to the subject: 1) books on history; 2) fiction books; 3) economical books; 4) ideological books; 5) geographical books; 6) legal books.

Some publications were brought to the UIS by tourists, athletes, and conference participants. This is evidenced by the stamps “Allowed for export from the USSR” (Ivaniushchenko, 2019, p. 196). Students from “the third world” countries who studied in the Soviet Union were sometimes used for this purpose (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1073, p. 143). Analytical reports were made on the basis of the collected information. For example, members of the OUN SS came to the conclusion that in March of 1985 Mykhailo Gorbachev took the post of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee with the support of Yuri Andropov and the leadership of the USSR KGB (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1989, p. 95).

Survey of the civilian population was also a widely spread way of getting information from open sources. The first “questionnaires” appeared in the intelligence of the UMO. Later this practice was continued by the OUN members. On the eve of the sabotage in the summer of 1930, they got information from the local population by means of the “questionnaire” consisting of 28 questions. Among the questions there were the following: are there any police stations, post office, railway station, bridges, schools (Polish or Ukrainian), communists, informers, “khruni” (the authors – traitors) in your residence place? (Wysocki, 2003, p. 266).

During the postwar period, “questionnaires” were used to obtain intelligence data from the eastern regions of Ukraine and other Soviet republics (INR OA, 1554/116, pp. 2–5; SSA SSU, f. 5, d. 1, c. 68236, vol. 2, p. 327; f. 6, d. 1, c. 68811, v. 1, p. 128; c. 75386, v. 2, p. 281). On the basis of the information obtained this way, on October 10, 1946, the staff of the Security Service of Lviv Regional Command of the OUN compiled “The Description of the City of Yaroslavl” (the authors – Yaroslavl city, the Russian SFSR) (SSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 74268, v. 2, pp. 125–126). On April 30, 1950, the MGB took away the “questionnaire” consisting of 55 questions from Mykola Mylosh, a teacher from Kyiv region. The OUN SS was interested in the following: the mood of the local population, dissatisfaction with the collective farms, attitude to the Soviet government, the Ukrainian liberation movement, the state of Russification, intolerable working conditions at enterprises, abuse by the Soviet officials and the military (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 270, pp. 80–90; f. 73, d. 1, c. 569, pp. 1–2).

The OUN SS special units were particularly active in getting information by means of secret surveys in the western branches of the Ukrainian diaspora. “The Information Bulletin” of April 9, 1946, published the information from Frankfurt am Main (Hesse, West Germany) on the Soviet repression in Galicia. The information was obtained by interviewing the Jewish emigrants from the western regions of the USSR (INR OA, 1063/85/1, p. 12). Spies of “Political Intelligence Service” often operated under the guise of Western journalists. In 1948 one of them managed to meet with Andriy Gromyko, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Andrei Gromyko, in New York (SSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 56232, pp. 193–194). Correspondence with relatives in the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty countries (the Warsaw Pact) was a less reliable way of getting information. During the year of 1949, Myron Matvieiko (“Usmikh”), a referent of the OUN SS FU, sent several letters to his cousin, Vasil Davydovych, a priest from the village of Dobrotvir of Kamyanka-Busk district, Lviv region (SSA SSU, f. 71, d. 9, c. 244, p. 33). However, this method of getting information was considered unreliable. Letters were often read by the Soviet secret services, and it led to repression of relatives or their recruitment.

At the beginning of the 1960s, “offensive” departments were established in the OUN SS FU “Central” and TP (Archive of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists at the Ukrainian Information Service – London (AOUNUIS L), f. 1, d. 1, c. 45, p. 106). Their task was to find contact with the Soviet tourists, as well as employees of international institutions of the

UkrSSR. the “offensive” department staff often sought contact with foreign “colleagues”. Specialists in certain fields of science or art who were well acquainted with the situation in the USSR were selected to the “offensive” department staff. They obtained the necessary information during friendly conversations with “colleagues”. In addition, the “offensive” department dealt with Western tourists who intended to visit the USSR or the Warsaw Pact countries. Those were Western tourists of not only Ukrainian origin, as they were less closely monitored by the KGB. On the eve of the trip they were given detailed instructions (AOUNUIS L, f. 1, d. 1, c. 44, pp. 74–77).

The OUN FU Referentura of “Public Guardianship” also collected intelligence information from tourists who visited the USSR. The instruction for its heads of the regional level of June 5, 1975 included the recording of personal data (name, surname, address, telephone number, membership in emigrant organizations and societies, having relatives in Ukraine). Tourists were classified into categories: old emigrants, children of old emigrants, new emigrants, the OUN members and their relatives. The latter coordinated their trips with the regional leader and received instructions from him. After each tourist trip, the following issues were clarified: its influence on political views, contacts with the Soviet “statesmen”, detention and recruitment by the KGB. All tourist’s observations of visits to the USSR were recorded, often on a “tape” (bobin) with the smallest details (AOUNUIS L, f. 1, d. 1, c. 45, pp. 62–63; f. 31, d. 1, c. 52, p. 1). The information received was used by the OUN FU to conduct intelligence surveys, as well as in propaganda work (ALMRC, f. 23, vol. 2, pp. 5–6).

Emigrants from the Warsaw Pact countries of a non-Ukrainian origin were sometimes surveyed by the SS. For example, the SS Chief Ivan Kashuba (“Chad”), intelligence officer Stepan Mudryk (“Mechnyk”), and Volodymyr Lenyk, a head of the Ukrainian Youth Union (UYU) branch, visited the Jewish immigrant center near Rome in May of 1977, and in August of 1981 – the Polish refugee camps near Vienna (Austria), Nuremberg (Bavaria, Germany) and Göttingen (Lower Saxony, Germany) (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1060, p. 151; c. 1089, pp. 270–271).

Beginning with the 1960s, the practice of publishing questionnaires continued. One of the first was the “Note for Visitors who are back from the Iron Curtain”. It consisted of 197 questions for interviews with citizens of the USSR (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 0994, p. 28). In December of 1975, the OUN TP of Canada elaborated a questionnaire for the Soviet citizens abroad. The questions were classified according to the following items: education, personnel policy in higher education, the role of party organizations, place of work, national composition of workers, employees, students, wages, the state of supply of products, industrial goods, the government’s response to them shortage, reasons for mass migration of peasants to cities, the party and Komsomol organizations in collective farms (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1048, pp. 91–92). On June 5, 1984, the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR informed the Central Committee of the Communist Party that the OUN elaborated a new questionnaire for survey of the Soviet citizens abroad. It provided for thematic groups: 1) the Soviet and party members, its national composition; 2) the language of teaching in higher educational institutions of Lviv and Kyiv; 3) the facts of Russification; 4) persecution of the Greek-Catholic priests (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1105, p. 245). According to the data of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR dated on April 3, 1985, a new OUN questionnaire was published, which provided additional questions: 1) activity of illegal organizations in Western Ukraine; 2) the number of the Ukrainians among servicemen in the USSR (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1108, pp. 231–232).

The “analytical and intelligence group” of the Foreign Office of the Ukrainian General Liberation Council (FOUGLC), established on January 24, 1971 by the decision of the Great

Congress in New York, also collected and analyzed open sources of information. Its work was carried out in the following areas: 1) survey of the Soviet citizens; 2) getting information by correspondence with relatives in the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries; 3) cooperation with American journalists who were accredited in the USSR (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 0991, pp. 83–85). In March of 1971, the questionnaire entitled “They Don’t Believe You” was published by “dviykari”. The Soviet citizens were classified into “reliable”, “honest people” and “activists of the Soviet party organizations” (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 0993, p. 238). There was warning written in the questionnaire: every Soviet citizen must be checked by the KGB before leaving for abroad (SSA SSU, f. 16, d. 1, c. 0999, pp. 16–28; ALMRC, f. 23, vol. 7, p. 1).

**The Conclusions.** For the first time among the special subdivisions of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations, the collection, organization, and analysis of the enemy’s press in various languages began in the 1920s by the UMO intelligence departments. During the 1930s, the OUN intelligence learned from the Soviet and Polish newspapers about repression in the USSR. In particular, the names of convicts and sentences against them. After the German-Soviet annexation of Poland, the Security Service was engaged in this work. Illegally its staff sent various military documents and enemy periodicals across the border from the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR to the Governor-General’s Office. In the spring of 1943, the collection of intelligence information from open sources by the Security Service became even more developed. Analysis of press and radio broadcasts in German, Russian, Polish, Romanian and other languages was performed. During the postwar period, the SS focused on the Soviet district and regional newspapers. From them they learned about the death or capture of underground fighters, planned measures of the Soviet government, identified active supporters of the enemy among the local population, events in the Ukrainian lands of the Moldavian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR. The SS informants supplied periodicals.

The OUN FU played a particularly important role in getting and analyzing the Soviet publications. They subscribed to the majority of periodicals legally. To study the situation in the USSR, the “Referentura of the Countries Affairs which were under the Soviet Rule” (“RCAUSR”) was established in Munich at the end of September of 1953. Each of its employees was assigned a specific thematic group: the army, the state apparatus, places of detention, publications, economy, culture and religion. On the basis of the obtained information, card indexes were compiled and brochures on the situation in the USSR were published. To analyze the data, cooperation was established with research institutions in the West. Due to a lack of funds and the necessary specialists, the RCAUSR was dissolved in 1968 and its functions were transferred to the UIS in London.

Survey of the civilian population was one of the types of getting intelligence information by special units of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations. For the first time, this method was used by the UMO intelligence in the form of “questionnaires”. This practice was continued by the OUN during the 1930s and at the beginning of the 1950s. Questionnaires were used to collect information on enemy troops, officials, strategic objects, public mood, abuse, and suspects.

The OUN special forces in the West used journalistic cover-ups or correspondence with relatives in the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries to conduct covert surveys. At the beginning of the 1960s, “offensive” departments were set up at the “Central” and the OUN TP SS FU, which were responsible for interviewing the Soviet tourists and employees of international institutions of the Ukrainian SSR. It selected specialists in certain types of science who could be trusted were selected to its staff. In addition, the “offensive” department of the OUN SS FU, as well as the “Public Guardianship Referentura”, interviewed Western

tourists who visited the USSR. Special “questionnaires” were published for the work, and stories were often recorded on a magnetic tape. Sometimes the respondents were citizens of the USSR or the Warsaw Pact countries of a non-Ukrainian origin – the Jews, the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Russians, etc.

Simultaneously with the “offensive” departments of the OUN SS FU, during the 1970s the “analytical and intelligence group” of the FOUGLC and the “dviykari” intelligence collected and analyzed the Soviet open sources of information.

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**THE SOCIETIES “PROSVITA” OF VOLHYNIA VOIVODESHIP  
IN CONFRONTATION WITH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES (1921 – 1934)**

**Abstract.** *The article focuses on the analysis of the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which resulted in the persecution of the Ukrainian public organizations and the Ukrainian national movement, in particular in Volhynia Voivodeship, during the interwar period. The political situation in the lands of Western Ukraine after their entry into the Polish state and the peculiarities of the formation and implementation of Promethean policy in these areas are studied.*

*The national idea promoted by “Prosvita” was considered to be hostile by the Polish administration in Volhynia because it contradicted the state doctrine of transforming the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a unitary state. Advocacy by “Prosvita” of the Ukrainian language and culture contradicted the visions of the nation-state’s national policy. **The purpose** of the study is to identify and analyze comprehensively the causes and features of the Polish authorities’ persecution of “Prosvita” in Volhynia Voivodeship during the 1920s and 1930s and to analyze the consequences of the liquidation of “Prosvita”. **The methodological basis** is the principles of historicism in the combination of all its components, systematics and scientificity. Interdisciplinary research is focused on the involvement of historical comparative and historical system methods, techniques of microhistorical analysis.*

**The Scientific Novelty.** The dynamics of the relations formation between the national and cultural organization of the people of Volhynia “Prosvita” and the Polish state administration has been traced on the basis of the new discovered archival documents. It has been found out that it was during the voivodship of Heinrich Yuzevsky in Volhynia that a purposeful policy of oppression and persecution of “Prosvita” by the Polish authorities began, which eventually caused the complete liquidation of one of the most popular and respected public organizations in the region. The liquidation meeting of “Prosvita” took place in Lutsk on July 1, 1934, after which the majority of the society’s branches ceased to operate. On the basis of the researched archival documents the authors came to **the conclusion** that as a result of the implementation of the “Volhynia experiment” the voivode Heinrich Yuzevsky destroyed the cultural and educational society “Prosvita” under various pretexts in the region and created societies to implement the voivode’s political programme. These societies became the “Prosvita Houses”.

**Key words:** “Prosvita”, the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Volhynia Voivodeship, public organization, oppression, national policy, persecution, the Ukrainian hromada, national idea.

### “ПРОСВІТИ” ВОЛИНСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА У ПРОТИСТОЯННІ З ПОЛЬСЬКОЮ ВЛАДОЮ (1921 – 1934 рр.)

**Анотація.** У статті аналізується національна політика Другої Речі Посполитої, результатом якої стало переслідування українських громадських організацій та українського національного руху, зокрема у Волинському воєводстві, у період між двома світовими війнами. Досліджується політична ситуація, що склалася на землях Західної України після їх входження до Польської держави та особливості формування і реалізації політики прометеїзму на цих теренах. Національна ідея, яку пропагувала “Просвіта”, вороже сприймалася польською адміністрацією Волині, оскільки суперечила державній доктрині перетворення Другої Речі Посполитої на унітарну державу. Обстоювання “Просвітою” української мови та культури йшло у розріз із баченнями національної політики державницької нації.

**Метою дослідження** є виявлення та комплексний аналіз причин і особливостей переслідування польською владою “Просвіти” у Волинському воєводстві у період 20–30-х рр. ХХ ст. і аналіз наслідків її ліквідації. **Методологічну основу** становлять принципи історизму в єдності всіх його компонентів, системності та науковості. Міждисциплінарне дослідження орієнтоване на залучення історико-порівняльного й історико-системного методів, прийомів мікроісторичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна.** На онові виявлених нових архівних документів прослідковано динаміку формування взаємин поміж національно-культурною організацією волинян “Просвітою” та польською державною адміністрацією. З’ясовано, що саме у період воєводства Генріха Юзевського на Волині розпочинається цілеспрямована політика утисків та переслідування “Просвіти” з боку польської влади, яка у кінцевому результаті призвела до повної ліквідації однієї із наймасовіших та найшановніших у краї громадських організацій. Ліквідаційні збори товариства “Просвіта” відбулися у Луцьку 1 липня 1934 р., після чого більшість осередків товариства припинили існування.

На основі досліджених архівних документів автори дійшли **висновку**, що внаслідок втілення у життя “волинського експерименту” воєвода Г. Юзевський знищував під різними приводами культурно-освітнє товариство “Просвіта” у краї і створив товариства, які мали впроваджувати в життя політичну програму воєводи. Ними стали Просвітянські хати.

**Ключові слова.** “Просвіта”, Друга Річ Посполита, Волинське воєводство, громадська організація, утиски, національна політика, переслідування, українська громада, національна ідея.

**The Problem Statement.** The place and role of the “Prosvita” society are difficult to overestimate in the lives of Western Ukrainians, who became the part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the interwar period. After all, it was this Ukrainian cultural and educational society that brought together the most conscious Ukrainian elite, representing the national culture, language, education, and promoting the Ukrainian national idea by all possible means. Being founded in 1868 by the Galician intelligentsia, “Prosvita”



gained more and more supporters in Volhynia at a fairly rapid pace, becoming, one of the most popular organizations in Volhynia region after the end of World War I.

That is why, the newly established authorities of the Second Commonwealth were hostile to the "Prosvita" society, considering it as a threat to the Polish national interests, at all costs, trying to polonize the newly annexed territories. On the other hand, the "Prosvita" movement became more and more widespread, and its popularity grew, thus causing concern on the part of the Polish authorities and, subsequently, persecution.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches.** The problems of formation and evolution of the oppression policy and persecution of the "Prosvita" society in Volhynia were raised by the Ukrainian historians and political scientists. In particular, M. Kuchererepa (Kuchererepa, 2001), (Kuchererepa, 2016) doing research on public organizations in Volhynia during the interwar period, also focuses on the "Prosvita" society, analyzing its relations with the Polish authorities. Much attention of Volyn scientist is devoted to the creation and activity of "Prosvita Houses" in Volhynia region in the mid-30s of the XXth century.

It is necessary to single out the scientific work of M. Filipovych, who studied the political conditions of "Prosvita" in Volhynia during the interwar period, as well as its national, cultural and educational activities. The researcher published a number of scientific articles (Filipovych, 2016), (Filipovych, 2018), and a thorough monograph "Lutsk Prosvita in 1918 – 1935" (Filipovych, 2007), which is interesting and useful for the presented research.

The book of a historian from Ivano-Frankivsk, V. Komar "The Concept of Prometheanism in the Politics of Poland (1921 – 1939)" is devoted to the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was implemented during 1921 – 1939, in particular to the policy of Prometheanism (Komar, 2011). In the book there are covered various aspects of the political situation which developed and evolved in the lands of Western Ukraine after their entry into the Polish state. The book is intended to shed light on interethnic contradictions and the reasons for the Polish authorities' persecution of the Ukrainian national and cultural organizations, such as "Prosvita".

A historian from Ternopil, I. Zuliak did great work on the study of "Prosvita" (Zuliak, 2005). Although the author focuses on the activities of "Prosvita" in Galicia, but his remarks on the basic principles of the public organization were useful for the presented article.

In addition, the authors used a wide range of archival documents to write this article, which shed light on the peculiarities of the liquidation of the "Prosvita" society in Volhynia Voivodeship in the mid-1930s of the XXth century.

**The purpose** of the article is finding out and comprehensive analysis of the causes and features of the Polish authorities' persecution of "Prosvita" in Volhynia Voivodeship during the period of the 1920s and 1930s of the XXth century and the consequences analysis of "Prosvita" liquidation.

**The Main Material Statement.** It is common knowledge that before World War I Volhynia was the part of the Russian Empire, as, in fact, the majority of the Ukrainian lands. After the end of the Great War, in the autumn of 1918, Volhynia appeared at the epicenter of a new conflict: the struggle of two peoples for the establishment of their own statehood at these territories. The newly established independent states of Ukraine and the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth waged a bloody war, the latter of which emerged victorious. Hence, Western Volhynia, as well as the territories of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and Western Belarus became the part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Strilchuk, 2018b, pp. 146–147).

The new Polish state set itself the task of establishing and strengthening control over the Ukrainian lands which were the part of it, hoping to transform the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a mono-national state by polonization and colonization, by attacking the Ukrainian national church, by destroying public and cultural organizations, and persecuting the leaders of the Ukrainian national idea (Komar, 2011, p. 119).

Therefore, it is logical that after the incorporation of new territories into Poland, on February 4, 1921, a new administrative unit was formed at the territory of Western Volhynia – Volhynia Voivodeship with its center in Lutsk. In fact, from that moment on, the Polish authorities faced the issue of unifying a political and cultural life at the newly annexed territories with the political and cultural life of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In fact, the establishment of the Polish rule in Volhynia coincided with the development of “Prosvita”. In contrast to Galicia, where the organization operated since 1868 in Volhynia, its first center appeared in 1916 in the town of Maciej, Kovel County, and was associated with the presence of the Ukrainian Sich riflemen there. During the years of 1917 – 1920, the “Prosvita” movement spread across the entire territory of Volhynia gradually, hence, at the time of the region’s entry into the revived the Polish state, although “Prosvita” had an extensive network of branches, but the majority of the “Prosvita” branches were rather weak, being at the stage of organization, and they operated with extreme caution, which distinguished Volhynia “Prosvita” from neighboring Galicia. Another feature of Volhynia “Prosvita” was that the majority of “Prosvita” branches had separate statutes, such as branches in Kremenets, Dubno, Rivne, Lutsk, Horokhiv, Volodymyr, Kovel (Kuchererepa, 2016, p. 28).

In order to characterize the relations between the Polish state administration and the nationally conscious leadership of “Prosvita”, let’s take a brief look at the socio-political situation in the region. Without doing a detailed analysis of the activities of “Prosvita” in Volhynia, we note that the organization gained a national popularity due to significant work in the cultural and educational spheres, and also as a national organization which supported the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Analysis of archival documents shows that in fact a third of “Prosvita” branches in Volhynia created their own choir, promoting the best examples of folk and professional music, and every second “Prosvita” in the region had its own reading rooms and libraries.

However, the Ukrainian schooling was the most important platform for “Prosvita” activities in Volhynia Voivodeship. For example, there were 442 Ukrainian schools in the region as of 1922. However, as early as in 1924, the Polish authorities adopted two laws aimed at restricting the Ukrainian language, in general, and the Ukrainian-language schooling, in particular. Thus, the first of the laws introduced restrictions on the Ukrainian language in the state institutions and judicial institutions (Filipovych, 2018). The second law concerned the field of education, introducing bilingual or ultraquid school education. Of course, the Polish language of instruction prevailed at such bilingual schools.

In fact, the above mentioned reform put an end to the Ukrainian schooling: the number of schools in which the Ukrainian language was the language of teaching declined rapidly, which is clearly illustrated by statistics: if as of 1925 there were still 500 Ukrainian schools in Volhynia Voivodeship (Kuchererepa, 2016, p. 32), in the 1927/28 academic year there were only 5 schools, in which teaching was conducted in the Ukrainian language (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9a, c. 1076).

At the beginning of the 20s of the XXth, in Volhynia, a mass movement aimed at the Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church unfolded. The “Prosvita” society was at the head of this movement. The movement aroused the concern of the Polish authorities and forced the latter to take more decisive measures to restrict Orthodoxy (Strilchuk, Petrovych, 2016,

pp. 78–79). Therefore, in parallel with the attack on the Ukrainian schooling system, the Polish authorities launched the attack on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Analysis of the documents suggests that the policy of the Polish government towards the Orthodox Church was formed and evolved during the interwar decades, but its general essence was reduced to the issue that all non-Polish nations, including the Ukrainians, had to be a complete subject to the political, cultural and religious domination of the Poles. In practice, this meant that the Orthodox Church, as such, did not fit into the doctrine of the religious policy of the Polish state.

The "Prosvita" activists, the Ukrainian church and public figures in Volhynia tried to implement the model in practice, which consisted in the fact that the church should be Ukrainian in its national character, and its structure – synodal. This state of affairs could guarantee the broad participation of the laity in the management and development of the church (Stokolos, 2005, p. 61). A. Richynskiy was the ideologue of this vision (Petrovych, Petrovych, Prytuliuk, 2016, p. 179). In particular, he believed that "since the Ukrainians make up the vast majority in Volhynia Voivodeship, they must have a decisive voice in the matters concerning the Orthodox Church, regardless of the state in which this church exists" (Richynskiy, 1927, pp. 3–4).

A significant event in the church and religious life of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the period under study was the decision of the Polish government at the end of 1924 to recognize officially the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church on September 17, 1925. However, the de-Russification of the Orthodox Church was difficult, in other words, the Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church in Volhynia began to slow down by the middle of the second decade of the XXth century. In such situation, the national and patriotic Ukrainian elite, gathered around the "Prosvita" society, tried, at least in part, to take on the role of a driving force in intensifying the movement to Ukrainize the Church. Thus, A. Richynskiy called for the organization of the Ukrainian Church Congress in Lutsk, which should have resolved all the features and problems of a religious and church life (Aloshyna, 2010, p. 28).

In general, the Polish officials were irritated at the Ukrainian national interests defense by "Prosvita" leading figures and the public organization activities, hence, "Prosvita" was subjected to various oppressions by the Polish authorities, which was traced, first of all, in the refusal to register the public organization's charter. As a result, Galician "Prosvita" supported Volhynia "Prosvita", in particular, numerous educators from Eastern Halychyna made proposals to change the charter of "Prosvita" or to adopt an updated version of it, which would emphasize that "...Prosvita" field of activity is the whole state of Poland" (Zuliak, 2005, p. 130), thus trying to solve the Polish authorities refusal issue to register the statutes of Volhynia "Prosvita". However, the Polish authorities did not allow Galician "Prosvita" activities to be extended not only to the Polish lands but also to Volhynian Voivodeship, where "Prosvita" did not have any centralized structure.

As there was not any "Prosvita" coordination center in Volhynia, there was the drastic need to establish "Volhynia Prosvita" center. Therefore, on the initiative of Lutsk "Prosvita" the first congress of Volhynia povit (county) societies was summoned, which took place on February 15, 1921. The delegates listened to a series of reports concerning the Ukrainian schooling state in Volhynia and the work organization of "Prosvita" and made a decision on organizational formation of the "Association of Cultural and Educational Organizations of Volhynia", approving the Charter of the Association. However, the voivodship authorities refused to register the above-mentioned Statute (Strilchuk, 2018a, p. 84).

The Second Congress of Volhynia “Prosvita” took place in the voivodship center in July of 1922 and it began with a statement, which condemned the anti-Ukrainian policy carried out by the Polish government. In addition, the government’s opposition to the Ukrainian schooling was highlighted, in connection with which the representatives of the povit “Prosvita” at the Congress expressed distrust in the school board (education authority) and school inspectors. At the same time, a decision was made to open the Ukrainian bookstores and “Prosvita” publishing organ (AAN, UWW, sygn. 978/63, p. 104). The Congress, which took place in July also adopted a resolution on Volhynia “Prosvita” center establishment, with the approval of its Statute.

It should be mentioned that the Voivodship Administration refused to register the Statute of Volhynia “Prosvita” as well as the previous time. In fact, the same refusal was confirmed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in May of 1925, after “Prosvita” appealed the decision of the Voivodship Administration.

Despite all the difficulties and opposition of the Polish authorities, by the end of the second decade of the XXth century, “Prosvita” gained popularity, and the number of “Prosvita” educational centers in Volhynian Voivodeship increased. In 1928, there were 640 “Prosvita” educational centers in Volhynia, uniting 16 700 people (Strilchuk, 2018a, p. 84).

I. Zuliak, the renowned researcher of “Prosvita” wrote the following words concerning the above-mentioned period: “The Society “Prosvita” was considered to be an informal Ministry for Education and Culture in Western Ukraine, forming the Ukrainians’ national consciousness, educating the Ukrainians in the national and state spirit. “Prosvita” became a symbol of a national unification, a center that united the creative forces of the nation, was the basis of faith in a better future. Its merits were significant, as the society performed a socially significant function” (Zuliak, 2005, pp. 115–116).

The Third Congress of Volhynia “Prosvita” was held in the city of Rivne at the end of September of 1926. It was attended by 270 “Prosvita” representatives from all over Volhynian Voivodeship, as well as Lviv and Chełm “Prosvita” movement representatives. Among the issues discussed at the Congress there was the issue concerning uniting the separate societies of Volhynia “Prosvita”. However, the overwhelming majority adopted a resolution which put an end to hopes for the establishment of a separate Volhynia “Prosvita”. The resolution contained an appeal to Lviv Main Council of “Prosvita” with a request to take care of and provide general guidance of Volhynia “Prosvita” (Kucherepa, 2016, p. 29).

In the autumn of 1927, the Fourth Congress of Povit “Prosvita” of Volhynia Voivodeship was planned to be held in the city of Rivne, but the ban of the authorities stood in the way of its summon – the Congress did not take place. There were still some “Prosvita” centers in the region that did not have any unifying center.

In parallel with the refusal to register the Statutes of “Prosvita” and bans on holding “Prosvita” Congresses, the Polish state administration in Volhynia Voivodeship closed “Prosvita” reading rooms, closed the Ukrainian schools, put pressure on the Orthodox priests, and banned the theatrical performances and performances by the Ukrainian art groups (Filipovych, 2016). During the year of 1927, under various pretexts, the activities of dozens of county “Prosvita” centers were banned. The most common reason for the closure of “Prosvita” in Volhynia was declared: “political unreliability”. However, the greatest peak of repressions against Volhynian “Prosvita” occurred when H. Yuzevsky, Volhynia voivode was at the head (Strilchuk, 2018a, p. 84).

Furthermore, a new Volhynia voivode saw his “Volhynia policy” in the political assimilation of the Ukrainian population of Volhynia, which would allow integrating Volhynia voivodeship into the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to H. Yuzevsky: “The Ukrainian National Movement in Volhynia, taking into consideration the state interests of Poland, had one

very dangerous feature – it was characterized by a strong Galician influence” (Yuzevskiy, 2017, pp. 152–184). Because of this, the main thing in “Volhynia Programme” of the new Volhynia voivode was the attempt to isolate Volhynia voivodeship from the “political and ideological influences of Eastern Galicia”. In order to complete the above-mentioned issue, in Volhynia it was necessary to liquidate all public, political and cultural educational organizations, the centers of which existed outside Volhynia Voivodeship.

H. Yuzevskiy considered “Prosvita” societies to be a kind of manifestation of the Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia, and therefore launched a ruthless attack on them. In 1928, 318 branches of the society in Volhynia were liquidated (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9-a, c. 1075, p. 30). In addition, “Prosvita” ceased its activities in Rivne, Dubno and Kovel povits (counties). In 1929, “Prosvita” in Volodymyrskiy povit was liquidated. By the middle of the third decade of the XXth century, the Polish administration, headed by H. Yuzevskiy, liquidated the majority of the educational centers in Volhynia Voivodeship.

In September of 1931, Voivode H. Yuzevskiy drafted a document, which was presented to the Polish Minister of the Interior Affairs and contained a number of proposals regarding the peculiarities of the progressive separation of Volhynia from Galicia. “The current political situation in Volhynia”, wrote the voivode, “in view of its proximity to Eastern Małopolska, obliges it to take certain steps that would, on the one hand, prevent the spread of terrorist acts and, on the other, emphasize Volhynia’s political separateness”. According to H. Yuzevskiy, Volhynia Voivodeship separation from Galician Voivodeships would guarantee the impossibility of any propaganda by Galician politicians and, at the same time, would lead to a complete rupture of organizational ties between the local Volhynia branches and the central authorities of Galicia (Filipovych, 2007, p. 54).

H. Yuzevskiy, in accordance with his “Volhynia Programme”, sought to destroy the historically established ties between the inhabitants of Western Ukraine, turning the Volynians into loyal citizens of the Polish state. In fact, the policy, which was pursued by Volhynia voivode, formed an artificial wall between Galicia and Volhynia (Kuchererepa, 2001, p. 23).

Meanwhile, the bans on performances by “Prosvita” choirs and theaters in Volhynia Voivodeship, the ban on the Ukrainian schools, and refusal to register “Prosvita” Charter made the society’s activities impossible. Finally, the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth decided to ban “Prosvita” activities in Volhynia Voivodeship. On June 16, 1934, on the basis of the order of the Povit Eldership, a meeting of Lutsk Povit “Prosvita” was summoned on July 1 the same year. In fact, the meeting was summoned to liquidate “Prosvita”.

In order to illustrate the circumstances under which this liquidation took place, we present the minutes of the Liquidation Meeting of Lutsk Povit “Prosvita” dated on July 1, 1934: “... 1) at 10 o’clock the meeting was declared open by the Chairman of the society, so due to lack of quorum, it was postponed until 11 o’clock the same day.

2) at 11. 20 o’clock the “Prosvita” Society Chairman declared the Second Meeting open, which was already lawful, the chairmanship of the meeting was held by the Council of the Society headed by its Chairman V. Ostrovskiy....

5) In the order of informing, the Chairman of the Meeting made the speech, proclaiming the main points of the motives for closing “Prosvita” and all the steps of protection, which during this time were carried out by the Council of “Prosvita” (until July 1, 1934).

6) The conclusion on the complaint to the Administrative Tribunal against the decision of the Ministry for Internal Affairs on closing “Prosvita” was announced....

8) According to § 33 of the Charter of the Society, approved by all votes, to transfer all movable and immovable property and cash to eliminate all debts to the “Prosvita” Society in Lviv.

9) To elect the Liquidation Commission consisting of the following persons: V. Otrovskiy, A. Halushchuk, O. Sokal, H. Dzyublykova, A. Salo, O. Proskurytsia, M. Tarasyuk, S. Hovdiy, M. Yasynskiy....

11) The meeting participants listened to the financial report presented by Mr. I. Bondaruk... I. Bondaruk made a remark that the financial report was submitted as of the end of 1932 and amounts to a total of PLN 16.087.57 with balances of assets in the amount of PLN 4269.01 and with debts in the amount of PLN 1960.00.

12) at 14.15 the meeting was closed. 166 people were present at the liquidation meeting...” (CSHAU, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3492, pp. 11–12).

According to similar scenarios, liquidation meetings of all povit (county) and rural branches of “Prosvita” in Volhynia Voivodeship took place during the first half of the 1930s. By refusing to register “Prosvita” Statutes, the Polish authorities outlawed them. Also, there were forced to cease their activities, the majority of “Prosvita” branches in Volhynia gave their property and money to the Galician Society “Prosvita” located in Lviv.

The next step of H. Yuzevskiy, after the liquidation of organizations with Galician origin, was the creation of new organizations loyal to the Polish state. According to M. Kucherepa, Volhynia historian, such organizations were “Ridna Khata” in Lutsk, “Osnova” in Kovel, “Svitlo” in Dubno (Kucherepa, 2001, p. 24), and the others. The Polish authorities kept an eye on the newly formed organizations.

The authors of the article agree with I. Zuliak, Ternopil historian’s judgements, who claimed that the Polish authorities persecution of “Prosvita”, in general, and in Volhynia, in particular, is due to the fact that the authorities of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not understand and therefore did not take into account the national needs of the Ukrainians and tried, at all costs, to divide them, even within one state. It was quite difficult to counteract the oppression and other manifestations of the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Despite all the oppression and bans, “Prosvita”, nevertheless, was able to have a significant impact on the formation of a national identity of Western Ukrainians (Zuliak, 2005, p. 116).

**The Conclusions.** Thus, concluding, we note that the colonization, anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish state towards the Ukrainians, in particular in Volhynia Voivodeship, had a negative impact on the situation of the indigenous population of Volhynia, as well as on the Ukrainian-Polish relations, in general. We believe that “Prosvita” liquidation in Volhynia Voivodeship was due to several reasons:

- firstly, the political situation of the Ukrainian lands that were the part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth;
- secondly, the assimilationist, the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish authorities towards the Ukrainians, in general, and Volhynia “Prosvita”, in particular;
- thirdly, complex interethnic and political Polish-Ukrainian relations during the period under analysis;
- fourthly, insufficient cohesion between national Ukrainian political forces and public organizations (sometimes contradictory positions, mutual mistrust and regional involvement led to a split in the Ukrainian national forces).

Ceasing of “Prosvita” activities in Volhynia Voivodeship during the first half of the 1930s had an extremely negative impact on the Ukrainian schooling and the national culture development in Volhynia.

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**PER ASPERA AD ASTRA: AN ORGANIZATION OF THE LABORATORY  
OF METHODS OF NATURAL SCIENCES AT THE INSTITUTE  
OF ARCHAEOLOGY AS OF THE UKRSSR IN THE 1960s**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to highlight the process of establishing of the laboratory of natural science methods at the Institute of archaeology AS of the UkrSSR in the 1960s basing on archival sources from the Scientific archive of the Institute of archaeology NAS of Ukraine. The Research Methodology.* Both general research methods and special methods of humanitarian and historical researches as the historiographic analysis, source critique and problem chronological method were applied by the author. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the fact that there are no publications on this topic and an initial period of the laboratory activity of natural science methods of the IA AS of the UkrSSR is unexplored. **The Conclusions.** In contrast to central archaeological research establishments of the USSR where forming of research infrastructure for applying methods of natural science in archaeology started in the 1950s, in Kyiv at the IA AS of UkrSSR this process began only in the middle of the 1960s despite an announce of the plans in 1956. Although the administrations of AS of the UkrSSR and the Institute supported the work in this field, but the laboratory of spectral analysis could not get things going for more than five years. The main technical equipment was bought by the IA AS of the UkrSSR as far back as in 1964 but because of the lack of free rooms, the need for qualified staff and bureaucratic delays of that period, which did not make it possible to solve problems rapidly, which appeared during the installation of new devices, researches did not start until the end of the decade. This situation changed only in the middle of the 1970s when the Institute of archaeology AS of the UkrSSR moved to a new building. But it was much better with applying geophysical methods in the survey of archaeological sites. Owing to V. P. Dudkin's activity, who tested new equipment in the second half of the 1960s, a magnetic survey of the Trypillian settlement Maidanetske was completed in the first half of the next decade. In some period of time, despite the initial delay, the IA AS of the UkrSSR made progress in the use of research methods of natural science in archaeology.

**Key words:** history of archaeology, the Soviet archaeology, methods of natural science in archaeology, laboratory of natural science methods, Institute of archaeology AS of the UkrSSR.



**PER ASPERA AD ASTRA: СТВОРЕННЯ ЛАБОРАТОРІЇ  
ПРИРОДНИЧОНАУКОВИХ МЕТОДІВ  
У ІНСТИТУТІ АРХЕОЛОГІЇ АН УРСР У 1960-і рр.**

**Анотація.** *Метою роботи є висвітлення історії створення лабораторії природничо-наукових методів у Інституті археології АН УРСР у 1960-і рр. на основі матеріалів з Наукового архіву ІА НАН України. **Методологія.** У дослідженні використано як загальнонаукові, так і спеціально-наукові – притаманні гуманітарним загалом та власне історичним дослідженням, зокрема, методи історіографічного аналізу, джерельної критики, проблемно-хронологічний. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що публікації, присвячені означеній темі, відсутні повністю, а початковий етап діяльності лабораторії природничо-наукових методів ІА АН УРСР залишається невивченим. **Висновки.** На відміну від центральних археологічних установ СРСР, де науково-дослідна інфраструктура зі застосування природничо-наукових методів в археології почала створюватися в 1950-і рр., у київському ІА АН УРСР цей процес розпочався тільки в середині 1960-х рр., хоча був внесений до плану розвитку Інституту ще у 1956 р. Хоч керівництво АН УРСР та НДІ підтримували застосування в археології методів природничих наук, однак налагодити нормальну роботу лабораторії спектрального аналізу не вдалося протягом більше ніж п'яти років. Так, основне обладнання було придбане ІА АН УРСР ще 1964 р., проте через брак робочих приміщень, дефіцит кваліфікованих кадрів, а згодом й інші бюрократичні зволікання, які не давали змоги оперативно розв'язувати проблеми, що виникали при налагодженні нових приладів, розпочати відповідні дослідження не вдалося майже до кінця десятиліття. Ситуація змінилася тільки в середині 1970-х рр., коли Інститут археології АН УРСР переїхав до нових приміщень. Краще йшли справи зі застосуванням методів геофізики при розвідці археологічних пам'яток. Завдяки зусиллям В. П. Дудкіна, який у другій половині 1960-х рр. випробував нове обладнання, у першій половині 1970-х рр. за його допомогою вдалося зробити магнітну зйомку трипільського поселення Майданецьке. А згодом – у другій половині 1970-х–1980-ті рр., незважаючи на первинну затримку, ІА АН УРСР вдалося досягти значних успіхів у сфері застосування методів природничих наук в археології.*

**Ключові слова:** історія археології, радянська археологія, природничонаукові методи в археології, лабораторія природничонаукових методів, Інститут археології АН УРСР, 1960-і рр.

**The Problem Statement.** A history of the Soviet archaeology of the 1950s – 1960s as well as the whole post-war period has not been studied enough. The same situation is observed in the Ukrainian archaeology history. But during this period maths methods and methods of natural sciences were introduced into archaeology as results of the scientific and technical revolution. When in Leningrad and Moscow a proper infrastructure was created in the 1950s, in Kyiv this process began only in the middle 1960s and lingered too much. At the same time this topic is practically unstudied and there are no publications devoted to the applying of methods of natural sciences at the Institute of Archaeology of AS of the UkrSSR. However, new methods and digital technologies are now introduced into archaeology, that's why, the analysis and summary of the previous experience may make this process more effective and to help avoid previous mistakes.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches.** There have been no special monographs on the Soviet and Ukrainian archaeology of the 1950s and 1960s yet. But this period is analyzed in general by Leo Klejn in his book 'The Phenomenon of the Soviet Archaeology'. There are only few pages dedicated to this time where applying the methods in archaeology is mentioned too (Klejn, 1993, pp. 24–27, 48–50). This book was updated by the author and translated into a few foreign languages including English but the section about the methods of natural sciences was not changed (Klejn, 2012, pp. 75–77). Nothing is written in the monograph about events in Kyiv because Leo Klejn was working in Leningrad at that time. It should be noted that this book is based on Leo Klejn and coauthors' article published

in English at the beginning of the 1980s where only few paragraphs are about this topic (Bulkin, Klejn, Lebedev, 1982, pp. 282–283).

Recently the books dedicated to the history of the main archaeological research establishments such as the Institute of Archaeology NAS of Ukraine, the Institute of Archaeology RAS and the Institute for the history of material culture RAS (former the LBIA AS USSR) have been published. There are chapters on the history of departments specializing in this field to which the Department of bio-archaeology (Potiekhina, 2015) in Kyiv, the Laboratory of natural science methods in Moscow (Kuzminykh, 2019), the Laboratory of archaeological technology and its radiocarbon group (Zaitseva, 2013) and the group of spectral analysis (Egor'kov, 2013) in Leningrad / St.-Petersburg belong. There are articles dealing with a history of similar laboratories at Moscow state university (Ryndina, 2006; Ryndina & all, 2015).

Concerning the chapter on the history of the Department of bio-archaeology of the IANAS of Ukraine, there is no information on the laboratory of natural science methods which was established at the Institute in the middle 1960s. Only the history of anthropological researches in Ukraine including an activity of the group of physical anthropologists is described there. Nothing is mentioned about the Institute laboratories in the chapter dedicated to the general history of the IA NAS of Ukraine in the 1950s – 1960s (Abashyna & Kolesnykova, 2015, pp. 42–52). The book dedicated to the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Institute contains brief information on the Sector of research methods of natural sciences, conservation and restoration of archaeological materials which operated there at the beginning of the 1990s and was organized on the base of the Laboratory of physical and chemical methods (60 rokiv, 1994, pp. 75–79). But the initial stage of the Laboratory history is not mentioned in this publication.

**The purpose of the article** is to cover the history of the Laboratory of methods of natural sciences foundation at the IAAS of the UkrSSR in the 1960s based on archival sources. Because there are no publications dedicated to the beginning of natural sciences methods application at the Institute and details about necessary infrastructure formation have not been revealed.

Documents on this topic are stored at the Scientific archive of the IA NAS of Ukraine (SA IA NASU). They include annual reports on the work of the Institute in the 1950s – the beginning of the 1970s (Fund 62, list (opis) 1 and 1-dod), reports on the work of the Laboratory staff in 1967 (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 648) and in 1969 (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/2) and the Minutes of the Academic council in 1961 (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1961/3). Information from these documents is enough to throw light on the establishing of a special unit for applying methods of natural sciences in archaeology.

**The Main Material Statement.** A necessity to apply widely math methods and methods of natural sciences such as X-ray radiography, pollen analysis, radiocarbon dating for studying artifacts and buildings was defined in editorials of the central Soviet archaeological journal “The Soviet Archaeology” in 1953 (Zadachi, 1953a, p. 21; Zadachi, 1953b, pp. 10–11). At the same time the second article described shortcomings in the field of methodic of office studies:

*“If a methodology of field archaeological researches satisfies all requirements of modern science development with some exceptions but it may not be said the same about the methods and techniques of the office studies. Even at large archaeological establishments such as the Institute for the history of material culture or the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR a laboratory study of materials is reduced to restoration, taking photos, drawings and description of findings. Chemical analysis of pottery and items from metal and other materials, sampling of micro-sections and studying of micro-structure*

*of ancient tools, radio-examination and other similar ways of archaeological materials analysis, which may give a lot for a study of ancient production, are not usually applied or if they are applied it happens rarely and at random. Pollen analysis and radiocarbon dating have not yet become widespread in archeological works. Archaeological plants and other organic remains from excavations are not examined enough” (Zadachi, 1953b, p. 10).*

On the opinion of the authors of the article, it was caused by the absence of necessary technical infrastructure for this kind of works at the archaeological establishments and researches were forced to ask special institutions, which were some times non-academic, for any analyses. It might be very difficult or even impossible. That’s why, *“an organization of technological laboratories, equipped by modern instruments, at the archaeological institutes, where archaeologists may make the main types of required laboratory tests, is an essential condition for the further development of archaeological science in the USSR and reaching the leading position in all directions of the world science” (Zadachi, 1953b, p. 11).*

Approximately at the same period – in the first half of the 1950s a practical realization of this task started and the central Soviet archaeological establishments were provided by the necessary research infrastructure. Leningrad branch of the Institute for the history of material culture AS of the USSR (Leningrad branch of the Institute of Archaeology AS of the USSR (LBIA AS USSR) after 1959) was the first one. There the Sector of archaeological technology was renewed in December of 1951. The next year it obtained the status of the laboratory. The organization of this unit, where researches on spectral, petrographic and dendro-chronological analyses started soon but with an intake of specialists from other institutes, was supported by the president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Alexander Nesmeyanov. He paid attention to wide opportunities which might be realized at the turn of the Humanities and the natural sciences (Zaitseva, 2013, pp. 261–262).

Moscow State University was the first establishment in the city where special-purpose archaeological laboratories were organized in 1953 (Ryndina & all, 2015, p. 293). In the beginning there were no rooms for new units but they appeared next year when the historical faculty received one more building (Ryndina, 2006, p. 5). Organization of similar specialized units started at the Institute of archaeology AS of the USSR a little bit later. A few work teams of natural sciences methods (dendrochronology, archaeomagnetism, metallography, spectroscopy and petrography) attached to the laboratory of the office processing were formed in 1958 but several similar groups had been working there since the end of previous decade. In 1967 all of them were merged into the Laboratory of natural science methods of the IA AS of the USSR on the decision of the Presidium of the AS of the USSR (Kolchin & Sher, 1969, pp. 84–85). But from the very outset the work of this type was supported by academician Boris Rybakov who was the director of the Institute (Kuzminykh, 2019, p. 99).

And what was the situation with the applying of natural sciences methods in Soviet Ukraine at that time? It should be noted that the Institute of archaeology suffered more than the above mentioned central archaeological institutions of the USSR both as a result of the political repressions of the 1930s and as a result of WW II. That’s why, it was necessary to recruit the staff and to renew material resources. But even in this difficult situation there was a desire to apply new research methods in Kyiv. Thus, in the Report on the scientific and research activity of the IA AS of the UkrSSR in 1956 it is written that the Institute submitted a petition to the Presidium of the AS of the UkrSSR for the organization of new structural units including the chemical laboratory during the 6<sup>th</sup> five-year plan and this idea was accepted (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1956/2, pp. 1–2). But realization of this was delayed.

This issue was resumed again at the IA AS of the UkrSSR only in five years. On March 24, 1961, when the Academic council was discussing the perspective plan of the archaeological science development in the UkrSSR in 1962 – 1965, L. Slavin and V. Dovzhenok spoke on the necessity to organize the Laboratory of archaeological technology at the Institute in the nearest future (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1961/3, pp. 3–4 of the Minute №6<sup>1</sup>). As a result in the Proposal to the project of the perspective plan of the archaeological science development in the UkrSSR in 1962 – 1965 it was written:

*“It is necessary to organize the laboratory of archaeological technology attached to the Institute for studying important issues of material production technology in the prehistoric epoch. Without this further successful development of archaeology is impossible on the modern stage of scientific knowledge”* (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1961/3, p. 6 of the Proposal).

This issue was risen again in the Report from 1962 where it is mentioned that the Institute was unable to apply new technical methods of field and laboratory researches actively because laboratory facilities were dispersed and a technical equipping level of archaeological works mechanization was very low. This situation demanded to reorganize an approach to archaeological works in the UkrSSR. A possible way of it was to enhance the Laboratory of archaeological technology attached to the Institute and to make easier providing analyses (chemical, dendrochronological spectroscopic and radiocarbon) at special labs of the republic and outside (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1962/2, p. 31).

Finally, in 1964 the situation began to move and the process of the Laboratory organization started at the IA AS of the UkrSSR. Special equipment such as spectrometer, generator, etc., was bought and its installation was scheduled at the beginning of the next year (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1964/1, p. 30). But it was realized very slowly.

The problem was that the equipment for the Laboratory of archaeological technology, which cost 7 000 rubles, was ordered in 1963 when the Institute had enough space for it. But after the move to the new building located in Kirova street, 4 in 1960 the working area was being reduced. At the moment of delivery of the technique there was no necessary space. And then the Administrative department of the Presidium of the AS of the UkrSSR did not give the working area which was essential to the Institute but the Presidium asserted a claim that the valuable equipment was not in use. Kyiv archaeologists were only able to write in the Report in 1965 that the IA AS of the UkrSSR obtained one of the last positions on the laboratory equipment among research establishments of the USSR. But it was decided to go on the organization of the Laboratory of archaeological technology which started in 1964. The plan was to buy equipment for geophysical survey next year (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 564, pp. 34–36).

In 1965 the Institute started to form the nonstructural department of archaeological technology but had a strong need in laboratory staff (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 564, p. 29). Only in 1966 the equipment was installed at the Laboratory of the office processing that resulted in the lack of working area there. That year the IA AS of the UkrSSR bought a device for magnetic survey and started its field tests. It should be noted that this situation was not only with the Laboratory of archaeological technology or the Laboratory of office processing, but also with the photo-laboratory of the Institute. Its condition was described in the Report in 1966:

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<sup>1</sup> The pages in this archival file have not been numbered. The author worked with photocopies of each single minute and has no access to the archive now because of the COVID-19. That's why, page numbers are given separately for each single minute.

*“The photo-laboratory of the Institute of archaeology is a half-homebrew enterprise with outdated equipment. Its space is not enough not only for a studio, but also for a processing lab. Only one employee works there who is not physically able to provide not only quality, but also quantitative execution of orders (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 564, p. 26).*

The problem with the staff for the Laboratory of archaeological technology had been partly solved in 1967 when two specialists in exact sciences methods in archaeology were invited to work at the Institute. V. P. Dudkin was a geophysicist and V. D. Malishevskiy was a specialist in spectrography (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 626, pp. 26–27). But experimental works in spectral analysis were not started that year because of absence of necessary equipment. However, the engineer of the Laboratory V. D. Malishevskiy did certain work in 1967. He reviewed works of spectrographists from the IA AS of the USSR (LBIA) and was studying a situation with a spectral analysis of artifacts in the IA and LBIA AS of the USSR during twenty days of a business trip. Also V. D. Malishevskiy performed a preventive maintenance of spectral equipment, adjusted and prepared it for a work. Another his activity was a review on methods and technologies of spectral analysis of ferrous and nonferrous metals (its archaeological aspect) and a field work in expedition which lasted for 90 days (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 648, p. 1).

A geophysicist, junior research fellow V. P. Dudkin wrote two articles, made office processing and prepared a report on archaeological survey in the South of Kyiv region in 1966. He took part in the expedition of the Institute of geophysics to collect samples for dating of archaeological sites and did geophysical surveys in different regions of Ukraine what is written below. His another work done that year was the repair and adjustment of electrical prospecting equipment after the end of the field season (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 648, p. 2).

Both experiments on search and development of iron analysis methods and series of spectral analyses had not been started in 1968 because the Institute received a spectroprojector, which was essential, only in December. New specialists came to the Lab that year. N. N. Pryschev was a specialist in spectroscopy. And a senior research fellow V. I. Bidzilia became a research supervisor (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 660, p. 25).

V. P. Dudkin worked on two topics: “Experimental works on study of physical features of archaeological objects” and “Development of electrical prospecting method under conditions of a complex structural site”. But again the absence of necessary equipment was an obstacle for experimental measurements on the first topic (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 660, pp. 12–13).

In 1969 experiments on spectral analysis of ferrous metals and slags were not made. This time it was caused by the absence of special generator and analytical balance. V. D. Malishevskiy described the situation in the annual report:

*“In the first quarter of this year it was planned to make experiments on search and debugging of spectral analysis methods of iron artifacts and to start analysis of mass series of that items. Because of absence of the special generator which was essential for these tasks and impossibility to construct it at the Lab I wrote a staff report to the administration on February, 12 of this year. There I asked to allot 100 rubles from a salary fund for non-staff personnel for construction of this generator elsewhere. There are no other ways to buy it because this device is non-serial. My request was rejected because of ‘absence of money for salary of non-staff members’. Thereby, the performance of task on the analysis of iron artifacts was impossible.*

*In the second and the next quarters I planned the work on spectral analysis of bronze items, iron and copper ores, ceramic material and clays. Preparing samples of mentioned*

*archaeological materials for work it is obligatory to make precision weighing and to apply other methods of samples preparation for analysis. But the laboratory has not have analytical scales of requisite class yet. I had been submitting applications to buy the scales routinely since 31.03.1967 but they were not realized and turned over to Academsnab. Only in December of this year, finally, it might be really bought.*

*Because of the above mentioned and hardships with funding (very poor) of necessary purchases for the needs of the Laboratory these planned topics have not been realized either”* (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/2, p. 3).

But despite of this V. D. Malishevskiy made a significant work in 1969. He inventoried monographs and periodicals of the Soviet and foreign authors on the topic of applying different methods of natural and technical sciences in archaeology. The specialist with N. N. Pryschev designed and constructed a semiconductor generator of d.c. arc that enables precise spectral analysis of copper and bronze alloys. V. D. Malishevskiy visited the Institute of history AS of the AzSSR in Baku and the Institute of metallurgy AS of the GSSR and other establishments in Tbilisi to buy special standards for spectral analysis of bronze. He made a series of qualitative analyses of samples on requests, took part in preparation of an exposition of the Archaeological museum and worked in several archaeological expeditions. Moreover, certain equipment and materials were bought for the Lab and at the end of the year a chemical and technological study of two series of pottery was made on the requests of V. O. Kruts and N. M. Shmahliy (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/2, pp. 1–2).

A geophysicist V. P. Dudkin did the planned work on applying geomagnetic and electrical survey in 1969 (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/1, p. 32). In particular, he developed the methodology of geomagnetic complex applying on archaeological settlements, formed, maintained and adjusted searching equipment, made geomagnetic survey on the seven expeditions of the Institute verifying experimentally developed methods and completed the article “Certain Issues of Methods of Geophysical Survey in Archaeology” in volume of 3,5 quires (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/2, p. 4).

It should be noted that the work of the Laboratory staff on the application of methods of exact and natural sciences in archaeology (this title is mentioned in the Report) was realized in frames of the topic ‘Methodological and methodical issues of archaeological science’ along with Yu. N. Zakharuk’s theoretical research. In all 4 workers including 1 research fellow, Ph.D. Yu. N. Zakharuk, 3 junior research fellows and a laboratory assistant (the Lab staff) worked on this issue (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/1, p. 44).

The delay in the beginning of works of the Laboratory of spectral analysis was pointed as one of shortcoming of the Institute work in the Report on the control of the Institute plan of research work execution in 1969. There it was recommended to improve the situation and to start this type of study on the base of laboratories of other research institutes of the AS of the UkrSSR (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 678, p. 3). Furthermore, the issue on the current situation and perspectives in the work of the Laboratory of spectral analysis were discussed at the meeting of the Institute administration (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/1, p. 31).

The issue on the laboratory facilities of the Institute of archaeology was also discussed at the meeting of the Presidium of the AS of the UkrSSR. In particular, B. Ye. Paton stated that it was scheduled to the next five-year plan (1972) to construct a new building of the Institute which would last for 2 – 3 years, in other words it would be completed not earlier then in 4 years. But all this time it was necessary to develop laboratory researches at the Institute which had no laboratory facilities. That’s why, the existed laboratory facilities of the AS of the UkrSSR

had to be used as yet. It ought to write down a resolution what particular laboratories of what institutes would be reserved for the IA AS of the UkrSSR and would execute required works (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1-dod, d. 1969/1, p. 4). This did not happen fast either.

In the reports on the work of the IA AS of the UkrSSR in 1970 and 1971 a poor condition of the laboratory facilities was mentioned among other shortcomings. There were no qualified staff and no working area. And also it was written that opportunities to apply methods of exact and natural sciences in archaeology were not realized on the base of laboratory facilities of institutes of the AS of the UkrSSR (SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 704, pp. 37–38; SA IA NASU, f. 62, op. 1, d. 733, pp. 47–48).

The situation on the laboratory changed at the IA AS of the UkrSSR only in the middle 1970s after removal to new buildings at the territory of former Vydubychi Monastery in Kyiv. In 1974 the Laboratory of natural sciences methods was a part of the Sector of natural sciences methods and office processing of material (Abashyna & Kolesnykova, 2015, p. 53). That time the Institute provided researches in the field of history of ancient ferrous metallurgy, paleobotanic, paleozoology, dendrochronology, the dating of archaeological materials was made jointly with the Institute of geochemistry AS of the UkrSSR using radiocarbon method and with the Institute of geophysics using paleomagnetic method (Artemenko, 1978, p. 18).

The geophysical group of the Institute had great achievements in the second half of the 1960s – the beginning of the 1970s. Thus, in the summer of 1966 its staff tested a differential magnetometer MND-3 of Groshev's system on different archeological sites to find limits of usage and finding power of this type equipment. They worked on the settlement of the Cherniakhiv culture near Zavadovka village of Korsun-Shevchenkivskiyi district, Cherkassy region, on the late Trypillia culture settlement near Maiaky village of Biliaivka district, on the ancient Greek city Tira in Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiyi and on the settlement of Humelnytsa culture near Nahorne village of Izmail district.

Final works of that season took place in Kyiv region. In particular, a magnetic survey of a part of the late Trypillia culture settlement was made near Pidhirtsi village and a new dwelling which had been unknown before was detected at the territory of the settlement. Using the magnetometer a new Trypillia culture settlement was discovered on the plateau near the Ancient Rus' settlement next to Stari Bezradychi village. Another survey was made on a spur of plateau by Dereviane village of Kaharlyk district (Dudkin, 1970, pp. 272–274).

In 1967 V. P. Dudkin's group tested electrical dipole axial profiling method on different archaeological sites. At the first stage works were made on the settlement of Usatovo culture near Maiaky village of Odesa region, on the Roman age settlement by Furmanivka village of Kiliia district at the second stage they took place on the necropolis of the ancient Greek city Olbia (Dudkin, 1971).

Also in 1967 a magnetic survey was made by proton magnetometer M-20 on the multilayer site by Chapaevka village, over a Trypillia dwelling next to Stari Bezradychi (Kyiv region) and over a pottery furnace by Liubymivka village (Dnipropetrovsk region) (Zagniy & all, 1971, p. 203).

To check a structure and sizes of the Trypillia giant settlements discovered by K. V. Shyshkin on aerial photographs V. P. Dudkin made a magnetic survey at the territory of the expected settlement Maidanetske in 1971 – 1974. Optical mechanical magnetometers of types M-23 and M-27 were used in the area of 180 ha (Koshelev, 2005, p. 251)

**The Conclusions.** Thereby, the beginning of the establishment of research infrastructure for applying methods of natural sciences in archaeology started in Kyiv only in the middle

of the 1960s whereas in Moscow and Leningrad the same processes took place in the 1950s. But an idea to organize a relevant laboratory at the IA AS of the UkrSSR was made public as far back as in 1956. At the same time in general the leadership of the AS of the USSR and the AS of the UkrSSR and administrations of archaeological research institutes supported the application of natural sciences methods in archaeology. But despite of this, even after buying equipment for the laboratory of spectral analysis its normal work was not being organized at the IA AS of the UkrSSR during more than 5 years. It was caused by a lack of working area, absence of qualified staff and other bureaucratic impediments which made impossible rapid solving of problems with adjustment of the new equipment. This situation changed only in the middle of the 1970s when the Institute of archaeology moved to a new building.

It was much better with applying geophysical methods in the survey of archaeological sites. The research fellow of the IA AS of the UkrSSR V. P. Dudkin tested new equipment in field in the second half of the 1960s. In the first half of the next decade the magnetic survey of the Trypillia settlement Maidanetske was completed by him and a hypothesis about a large size of the site was finally confirmed.

It might be stated that, despite the initial delay, the IA AS of the UkrSSR made progress in applying of natural science research methods in archaeology in the second half of the 1970s – 1980s. But nowadays these laboratory facilities have been completely lost and researches are done only in the field of anthropology while all necessary technological analyses are done by representatives of other establishments or by foreign colleagues.

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**ZENOVIIY FLINTA: A FIGURE IN THE CONTEXT  
OF THE 60–80s OF THE XXth CENTURY**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research* is to carry out a comprehensive study of the biography of Zenoviy Flinta on the basis of archival materials from the State Archives of Lviv region, the Archives of the Lviv National Academy of Arts, the Archives of I. Trush Lviv State College of Decorative and Applied Arts and the Archives of the Z. Flinta's Family in the context of the 1960-ies – 1980-ies, which **in further perspective** will allow to form Z. Flinta's life and work holistic picture on the background of the era and rethink his activities' importance in the context of the 60-ies-80-ies of the XXth century. **The Research Methodology.** The study applied the principles of science, historicism, objectivity, systematicity, as well as general scientific methods (induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis) and special historical methods (historical systemic, methods of historiographical, source, critical analysis). **The Scientific Novelty.** For the first time the generalized scientific research has been conducted on Zenoviy Flinta's (1935 – 1988) biography, based on archival materials in scientific publications has been covered, as before there were only certain aspects, which have been and such a comprehensive study acquires important scientific and theoretical significance. **The Conclusions.** For the first time we managed to cover multifarious information in our study on the basis of archival materials not recorded in scientific publications, in particular; Z. Flinta's childhood and adolescence and the influence of family on the artist's worldview formation (1935 – 1953); his studies at I. Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts (1953 – 1959) and at the same time studying at K. Zvirynskiy's "Pidpilna Schkola" ("The Underground School") of (1953 – 1965); Z. Flinta's acquaintance with his future wife and Zenoviy's marriage with

*Anna Pazdryi (1959); Z. Flint's studies at the Department of Art Ceramics of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts (1959 – 1965); Z. Flint's pedagogical activity as a teacher of the basics of composition at the Department of Art Ceramics of the LSIADA (1965 – 1976); the importance of his scientific and methodological development of the "basics of composition", introduced by him in teaching in 1966 for the development of quality art education in LSIADA (now LNAA); Z. Flinta's public and exhibition work as the Chairman of the section of Decorative and Applied Art of Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the USSR (1972 – 1988).*

**Key words:** Zenoviy Flinta, biography, era of the 1960 – 1980s.

## **ЗЕНОВІЙ ФЛІНТА: ПОСТАТЬ У КОНТЕКСТІ 60–80-х рр. ХХ ст.**

**Анотація.** Метою дослідження є реконструкція біографії Зеновія Флінти на базі архівних матеріалів з Державного архіву Львівської області, Архіву Львівської національної академії мистецтв, Архіву Львівського державного коледжу декоративного і ужиткового мистецтва ім. І. Труша та Архіву Родини З. Флінти у контексті 1960 – 1980-х рр., яка у перспективі дасть змогу сформувати цілісну картину життя і діяльності З. Флінти на тлі епохи і переосмислити значення його діяльності в контексті окресленого періоду. **Методологія дослідження.** У дослідженні застосовано принципи науковості, історизму, об'єктивності, системності, а також використано загальнонаукові методи (індукції та дедукції, аналізу і синтезу) та спеціально-історичні методи (історико-системний, методи історіографічного, джерелознавчого, критичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна.** Станом на сьогодні не проводилося узагальненого наукового дослідження та не було висвітлено біографію Зеновія Флінти (1935 – 1988) на основі архівних матеріалів у наукових публікаціях, а розглядалися лише окремі аспекти, і таке комплексне дослідження набуває важливого науково-теоретичного значення. **Висновки.** У нашому дослідженні вперше висвітлено на основі архівних матеріалів не зафіксовані в наукових публікаціях: дитячі і юнацькі роки З. Флінти і вплив родинного кола на формування світогляду митця (1935 – 1953); його навчання у Львівському державному училищі прикладного мистецтва ім. І. Труша (1953 – 1959) та паралельно у "Підпільній школі" К. Звіринського (1953 – 1965); знайомство з майбутньою дружиною та одруження Зеновія і Анни Паздрій (1959); навчання на кафедрі художньої кераміки Львівського державного інституту прикладного і декоративного мистецтва (1959 – 1965); педагогічну діяльність викладачем основ композиції на кафедрі художньої кераміки ЛДІПДМ (1965 – 1976); значення науково-методичної розробки З. Флінти з "основ композиції", впроваджені у викладання в 1966 р. для розвитку якісної мистецької освіти в ЛДІПДМ (нині – ЛНАМ); громадську і виставкову роботу як Голови секції декоративно-прикладного мистецтва Львівської обласної організації Спілки художників УРСР (1972 – 1988).

**Ключові слова:** Зеновій Флінта, біографія, епоха 1960 – 1980-х рр.

**The Problem Statement.** Zenoviy Flinta was a nonconformist artist, who came from Lviv and in the 1960s and 1980s realized his informal creative pursuits and embodied in allegories the philosophical images of his own universe in painting, graphics and ceramics despite the prohibitions and ideological pressure of the communist totalitarian system. His work is a unique phenomenon in the fine arts of Lviv in the 1960s and 1980s, which did not receive a proper assessment in the history of Ukrainian art. However, there was no generalized scientific research conducted and Zenoviy Flinta's biography (1935 – 1988) based on archival materials in scientific publications was not covered, but only certain aspects were considered and such a comprehensive study acquires important scientific and theoretical significance.

**The purpose of the research** is a comprehensive study of the biography of Zenoviy Flinta on the basis of archival materials from the State Archives of Lviv region, the Archives of the Lviv National Academy of Arts, the Archives of I. Trush Lviv State College of Decorative and Applied Arts and the Archives of the Z. Flinta's Family in the context of the 1960s – 1980-s, which *in further perspective* will allow to form Z. Flinta's life and work holistic

picture on the background of the era and rethink his activities' importance in the context of the 60s – 80s of the XXth century. It should be mentioned, in this aspect, the unification of our scientific publications is also relevant – the research, in which we cover for the first time different areas of Z. Flinta's biography and activities: "Life and career of Z. Flinta: analysis of sources" (Matkovska, 2018, pp. 224–240); "The influence of the worldview and artistic principles of R. Selskyi and K. Zvirynskyi on the formation of the creative personality of Z. Flinta" (Matkovska, 2017, pp. 284–294.); "Allegorical works of Z. Flinta and their interpretation" (Matkovska, 2019, pp. 1684–1691); "Formal searches and experiments in Z. Flinta's painting of the 1960s under the influence of European and Ukrainian modernism of the 1910-ies and 1930-ies: the systematization of trends" (Matkovska, 2020, pp. 1144–1157); "Archival materials: Z. Flinta – a student and prominent teacher of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts: archival materials" (Matkovska, 2021).

**The Source Base of Research.** The source base of the study is based on archival materials from the State Archives of Lviv region, the Archives of Lviv National Academy of Arts, the Archives of I. Trusha Lviv State College of Decorative and Applied Arts and the Archives of Z. Flinta's Family, which made it possible to establish the facts from the artist's biography. Namely, to study the childhood and adolescence of Z. Flinta and the influence of the family circle on the formation of the artist's worldview (1935 – 1953); his studies at I. Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts (1953 – 1959) and at the same time studying at K. Zvirynskyi's "The Underground School" ("Pidpilna Schkola") of (1953 – 1965); Z. Flinta's acquaintance with his future wife and Zenoviy's marriage with Anna Pazdriy (1959); Z. Flinta's studies at the Department of Art Ceramics of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts (1959 – 1965); Z. Flinta's pedagogical activity as a teacher of the basics of composition at the Department of Art Ceramics of the LSIADA (1965 – 1976); the importance of his scientific and methodological development of the "basics of composition", introduced by him in teaching in 1966 for the development of quality art education in LSIADA (now LNAA); Z. Flinta's public and exhibition work as the Chairman of the section of Decorative and Applied Art of Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the USSR (1972 – 1988).

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** There was no generalized scientific study on Zenoviy Flinta's biography. Numerous researchers studied certain areas or aspects of Z. Flinta's biography and work, in particular, H. Ostrovskyi, V. Ovsyichuk, O. Ripko, O. Pelenska, E. Shymchuk, I. Danyliv-Flinta, N. Maik, and N. Kosmolinska, R. Yatsiv, O. Holubets and the others. In addition, the Soviet publications, magazines, and newspapers in Lviv, Kyiv, and Moscow covered Z. Flinta's creative and exhibition work briefly in the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, in the official Soviet art publication, which was called the "History of Ukrainian Art" in 6 volumes (1968, Kyiv) Zenoviy Flinta's work was considered in volume 6 in an article on ceramics (written by I. Sakovych) in the context of his work as an artist in Lviv ceramics workshop factory and a teacher at Lviv Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts. Furthermore, a piece of brief biographical information about Z. Flinta, the names of works in various techniques and museums where the artist's works were stored could be found in the information and reference publications, which were called the "Dictionary of Artists of Ukraine" (1973, Kyiv), "The Ukrainian Soviet Artists" (1972, Kyiv) and "The Directory of Members of the Union of Artists of the USSR" (The Directory, 1973). In the publication "Fine Arts of Lviv. Painting. Sculpture. Graphics" (1978) Z. Flinta's work appeared in the context of Lviv Artist's life analysis. In addition, V. Ovsyichuk described Z. Flinta's paintings in the popular science essay "The Art of the Renewed Land" (1979)

briefly. The researcher believed that Z. Flinta's paintings became a significant achievement in Lviv painting. It should be mentioned that we came across Z. Flinta's ceramic decorative layers, as a result of experiments with a high culture of plasticity and color, which were not confined to tradition, in "Essays on the History of Ukrainian Decorative and Applied Art" (1969) and the album "Lviv Ceramics" (1970, Lviv) in the introductory articles, written by Yu. Lashchuk.

Furthermore, Z. Flinta's international exhibition activity was covered in L. Romanova's publications "International Ceramics Competition in Faenza (Italy)" in the book "Decorative and Applied Art 1973–1974", (1975, Moscow), articles written by V. Maksymenko "The Traditions and Innovation in Contemporary Lviv Ceramics" in the collection the "Civic Vocation of the Artist" (1977) the information on ceramics by Z. Flinta at the II<sup>nd</sup> International Symposium of Art Ceramics in Vilnius and the All-Union Exhibition "Ceramics of the USSR – 75" and the others. It should be highlighted that diverse publications by Yu. Lashchuk, H. Kum, L. Romanova, T. Prydatko, O. Pelenska, H. Ostrovskiy covered Z. Flinta's work briefly in the context of Soviet Ukraine's cultural and artistic activities, in particular, Lviv, that could be found in the All-Union magazines "Art" and "Decorative Art of the USSR" 60–80s of the XXth century. In the magazine "Fine Arts" Z. Flinta's creative and exhibition activity was briefly considered in the articles written by V. Ovsyichuk, O. Ripko, E. Safonova, A. Moroz, T. Prydatko, Yu. Lashchuk, A. Melnyk, O. Pelenska.

Hryhoriy Ostrovskiy, the art critic dedicated several significant publications to Zenoviy Flinta's work, in particular, the "Sealing Time" in the magazine "October" (1980), the "Involvement of the Spectator" in the magazine "Ukraine" (1982), introductory articles to the Catalogs of the exhibition "L. Medvid, O. Minko, Z. Flinta" in Lviv Art Gallery (1982), in Vilnius (1982), Moscow (1986). In addition, H. Ostrovskiy was the first one, who stressed out the intelligence of Z. Flinta's works, highlighting in his paintings complex associative connections with the world around him and numerous details, which were connected into a holistic picture, compared ceramics and painting of the artist, considered the stages of formation, themes' and genres' works briefly. The catalog of works of the first personal exhibition commemorated to the 50th anniversary of the artist "Zenoviy Flinta. Painting. Graphics. Ceramics" (1985), which was exhibited in Lviv Art Gallery, contained an introductory article by O. Pelenska, devoted to Z. Flinta's work in the spirit of the requirements of the time. Consequently, the survey provided a list of works at the exhibition, a piece of biographical information about the artist, an overview of genres and characteristic cycles of works, highlighted the main elements of the artist's painting style. Owing to the work, written by O. Holubets, "Lviv Ceramics" (1991) we had a golden opportunity to accrue a lot about Zenoviy Flinta's work in the field of ceramics. This is because the author managed to analyze the creative techniques and Z. Flinta's techniques, focused on the leading role of color in the ceramic works done by Z. Flinta, the original composition of decorative layers, enriched with textural effects, names the brightest cycles of works. Moreover, O. Zhyrko-Kozynkevych, the author and compiler, wrote the article about Z. Flinta's creativity and gave short biographical data and the description of several works in the album "L. Medvid, O. Minko, Z. Flinta" (1992). One more author and compiler of the album "Zenoviy Flinta" (1995), E. Shymchuk, represented more diversely the artist's biography and work, told about the Flinta family, the village of Toky, the artist's impressions of Lviv and communication with teachers – K. Zvirynskiy and R. Rural, briefly considered Z. Flinta's work, highlighted the passion for still life, landscape, the architecture of Lviv. Hence, the album "Zenoviy Flinta. 1935 – 1988" (2005), published by I. Danyliv-Flint and N. Maik covered the little-known works of the artist. N. Maik, the author of the introductory article, put emphasis on the drastic need to ponder over the artist's heritage, to discover new facets

of his talent. The co-author-compiler of the publication, I. Danyliv-Flint represented the little-known facts from the artist's life, credo, his love for life, and the memoirs of comrade A. Bokotei "Time, Environment, Friends" and numerous Z. Flinta's photos and his works from the family archive and reveal different areas of the artist's life. Taking into consideration the fact that in the album "Zenoviy Flinta" (2010), which was edited by I. Danyliv-Flint in the introductory article by N. Kosmolinskaya "The Unexpected Flinta: the search for a new reality" the author emphasized that the volume of the formal array in the creative heritage of Z. Flinta 1960s still remained out of the attention of art historians "and that Z. Flinta managed to find a nationally expressive language that significantly influenced the further formation of the modern art school of western Ukraine and Ukraine as a whole". In the article "Zenoviy Flinta and the Western Ukrainian art school of the 60–80s of the XXth century" L. Medvid published his memoirs and reflections concerning the artist's work, outlined the features of Lviv at the middle of the XXth century In the album-monograph "Hermetic Circle of Karl Zvirynskiy" in 2019, researcher B. Mysyuha examined K. Zvirynskiy's work and in parallel presented the works of students of his "Underground School", among them several works by Z. Flinta. The publication of memoirs, interviews, reflections, articles by Karl Zvirynskiy "All my painting is a prayer" (2017), edited by H. Zvirynska - Shepherd, gave us the opportunity to learn a lot about Zenoviy Flinta's studies in the school and K. Zvirynskiy's "Underground School" from records his teacher and friend. As a result, the book became the vital source for the study on Zenoviy Flinta's work in the context of Lviv art of the 60s and 80s of the XXth century, rethinking the importance of many facts and factors of influence in his life and work. In the context of research of Lviv art of the 60–80s of the XXth century, where Z. Flinta's works were considered in fragments, in particular, it should be mentioned the research of O. Ripko, R. Yatsiv and O. Holubets. O. Ripko in his publication "In Search of the Executed Past: A Retrospective of Lviv Art Culture of the XXth Century" (1996) managed to characterize the generation of artists to which Z. Flinta belonged, believed that among "semydysiatnyky" he was the closest to teachers, and his synthetic language of a painter and ceramist – reflected the appeal to the world in the "spiritual reflection". The scientist R. Yatsiv in the collection of articles "The Ukrainian Art of the XXth Century: Ideas, Phenomena, Personalities" (2006) called Z. Flinta among students "network of free art education" in the context of informal meetings K. Zvirynskiy with students and in the article "Fine Arts of Lviv in 1960s – 1970s: in Search of the Key to Understanding" (2008) – among a bunch of "newer sprouts of the living art bush of R. and M. Selskyi". In the monograph "The Art of the XXth Century: the Ukrainian Way" (2012) and the article "The Artistic Environment of Lviv in the Second Half of the XXth – at the Beginning of the XXIst Century: Factors of Uniqueness" (2008), written by O. Holubets, Z. Flinta appeared as one of the pupils of the "evening school" K. Zvirynskiy and a painter, who realized the creative experiments in ceramics in the 1970s and 80s. Taking into consideration the analysis of all the above studies, we make bold to say that they concerned Z. Flinta's biography and work on only certain aspects, which were fragmentary or culturological in nature. Hence, there was not scientific article published with the artist's biography based on archival materials. To our mind, in order to form a holistic vision of the figure and a proper assessment of the activities of Zenoviy Flinta, it is necessary to study the artist's biography of on the basis of archival materials.

**The Main Material Statement.** To begin with, Z. Flinta lived and realized his creative pursuits (1960 – 1980) during the time in which was extremely difficult: in the totalitarian society of the USSR, the Communist Party bodies controlled the activities of each artist, who, according to ideologists, were supposed to show "political consciousness" and "to educate society" – to glorify the socialist reality of works in the style of the "socialist realism". The

debunking of Stalin's cult in 1956 after Khrushchev's Report on "The Cult of the Person and its Consequences" at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR marked the beginning of a policy of "de-Stalinization", "Khrushchev's thaw", and the victims' rehabilitation of 1936 – 1938, the national revival wave in Kyiv and the "neo-Ukrainization" of the 1960s. However, in Western Ukraine, the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR could not accept the national underground and the fact that despite the arrests and exile of artists, the destruction of culture, the multifaceted art was still present in Lviv, traditions of which Lviv artists learned in European art academies and developed in 1920 – 1930-ies (Yaciv, 2006, p. 104). That is why, mass shootings of members of underground organizations and intensified control of "thaw" processes were carried out in Galicia (Halychyna) (Golubec, 2001, p. 72). The branch of the Union of Artists of the USSR, which introduced the "leading line of the party" and "social realism", waged an "irreconcilable struggle" against "formalism" and "nationalism", all of which were not "social realism". Thus, the works of O. Arkhopenko, M. Boichuk, O. Novakivskyi, P. Kholodnyi, S. Hordynskyi, O. Kurylas, M. Moroz, H. Narbut, and others were destroyed in the National Museum in Lviv (Golubec, 2001, p. 104). Z. Flinta's teacher, artist K. Zvirynskyi, wrote: "Whoever remembers these times, knows... Almost every conscious Ukrainian was in the ground, or in prison, or in Siberian camps, and those who remained were either the traitors, janissaries, or stereotyped. The place of all honest people was either in the grave or in prison" (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, p. 144). The collective monograph "The Politics of Memory in Ukraine Concerning the Soviet Repression in the Western Regions (1939 – 1953)" revealed the problems of the influence of the totalitarian communist regime in Galicia (Halychyna) in many ways (Ilnytsky, 2021). In particular, the article, written by by L. Khahula and V. Ilnytsky "Repression – Trauma – Memory: Representations of the Totalitarian Experience in Museums of Ukraine and Poland" covered the repression issue in the post-Soviet museums in Ukraine and Poland (Khakhula & Ilnytsky, 2021, pp. 225–246). In addition, the publication "The main directions and forms of interaction between the authorities and art critics of Lviv in the second half of the XXth century", written by M. Nestaiko and R. Mykhats, laid out the cooperation of intellectuals with the authorities on the basis of Resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On Political Work among the Population of Lviv Region" – communist ideology propaganda and socialist reality through exhibitions, tours and lectures, and museum leaders, including B. Voznytskyi, search for ways to save the Ukrainian art from destruction, creation of the "Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)" in 1965, and the others (Nestayko & Mykhats, 2021, pp. 246–311).

Due to the efforts of conscious museum workers, the artists and cultural figures in Lviv in the Soviet times, who managed to save the architectural monument, archives, old prints, and part of the museum collections from destruction. And the diversity's traditions of Lviv art of 20s and 30s was alive and developed in the dominance of the Soviet "socialist realism" owing to the teaching work of older artists – the students of European art schools O. Kulchytska, S. Albinovska, Y. Kratokhvyly-Vidymyska, L. Levytskyi, V. Manastyrskyi, J. Music, I. Severa, R. and M. Selskyi, H. Smolskyi, R. Turin, M. Fediuk, O. Shatkivskyi in Lviv educational institutions – institute and school of applied art, printing institute, children's art school (Ripko, 1996, p. 224). The above-mentioned meters of Lviv art in their workshops, the so-called "*islands of culture*", brought up the original artists, who created their own creative style, which was based on knowledge of "forbidden" in the USSR modernism on the basis of freedom of creative search and national consciousness of the generation of 1960 – 1980s.

Hence, Z. Flinta lived and worked in the dictates of the totalitarian system of the USSR and the bifurcation of artistic Lviv, in which artists, avoiding repression, performed the “socialist realist” works on the “ideological themes” for the official exhibitions, and in the workshops undertook creative research and educated new generations of the artists.

*Zenoviy Flinta was born* on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September in 1935 in the village of Toky of Pidvolochyskyi district of Ternopil region (AZFF. Zenoviy Flinta’s birth certificate). His father, Petro Pavlovych Flinta, was a tailor and worked in a tailoring guild in the village of Toky, mother Anna Teodorivna Flinta helped her father (ALNAA. Zenoviy Flinta’s Autobiography). Zenoviy Flinta’s family and his parents’ home were the first and most important environment that formed the boy’s outlook. The world that surrounded him since childhood, contributed to the harmonious development of his personality, creative inclinations, understanding and sense of art and beauty, and determined the path to knowledge and future creation of his own image of the universe. Furthermore, since an early age, Z. Flinta was involved in the process of creation, in particular, he watched his father make sketches, drawings and patterns when sewing clothes, and often ran to inspect the picturesque ruins of Tokyv Castle. The House and the Castle were the boy’s favorite places in his native village, which in the future became one of the main images of Z. Flinta’s Universe and were reflected in his work in numerous sketches, landscapes and allegorical works (Matkovska, 2019, pp. 1684–1691; Matkovska, 2020, pp. 1144–1157).

Zenoviy went to primary school at Tokyv seven-year school in 1941, but as the war broke out and the village was occupied by the German troops, the lessons were not conducted. In 1944, after the liberation of the village by the Soviet Army, Zenoviy continued his studies and in 1950 graduated from the 7th grade of High School of the village Toky. After graduation from school, Zenoviy was forced to work on a collective farm in 1950 – 1951 (ALNAA. Zenoviy Flinta’s Autobiography).

As time passed, Zenoviy Flinta decided to enter an art university in Lviv. Among the people, who had influenced on Zenoviy’s choice of life and profession, was Antin Malyutsa – a native of the same village of Toky – a famous artist, graphic artist, art critic (1908, Toki – 1970, New York) (AZFF. Memoirs of Z. Flinta’s wife Anna Flinta). The successful artist, a participant in Lviv exhibitions, teacher of the Art and Industrial School in Lviv (1942 – 1944), in the past a student of the Art School Oleksa Novakivskyi (1926 – 1930), a co-founder of the art group “RUB” (1933 – 1939), became an example for the young artist and pushed him to the path of creativity (as Z. Flinta told his wife). A. Malyutsa painted a chapel in his native village of Toki together with St. Lutsyk, another graduate of O. Novakivskyi’s Art School (Voloshyn, 1998, p. 43). As a young man, Zenoviy Flinta could see how those artists from Lviv worked in the chapel, and perhaps then the image of an artist, who could create his own universe with paints began to form in his mind. He also had the opportunity to meet with A. Malyutsa when the artist came to visit his family in the village of Toky and Nove Selo.

Zenoviy Flinta entered Lviv State School of Applied Arts in the department of decorative painting in August 1951 (AITLSDAA. Order № 120 of 16. 08.1951). The young artist studied drawing, painting, composition, workshop work, perspective, sketchy geometry, plastic anatomy, materials science and production technology, history of fine and applied arts, the graphic study of styles, history, the Ukrainian and Russian language and literature – almost all of these subjects he passed on perfectly (AZFF. Extract from semester and examination information to the Diploma of Z. Flinta). Even then, Z. Flinta proved himself as a gifted painter and draftsman, he was a participant in all student exhibitions, he took an active part in the social and cultural life of the school, he served as head of the course as a regular student



(ALNAA. Characteristics-recommendation of Z. Flinta – graduate of Ivan Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts dated 21.06.1959).

In 1954, Z. Flinta was mobilized into the ranks of the Soviet Army, so after graduating from the 3rd year of school he was forced to interrupt his studies. He served in the army in 1954 – 1957 in Unit 23618, in the Anti-aircraft warfare, in Baku (AZFF. Military ticket of Z. Flinta). In 1957, Zenoviy Flinta was demobilized and when came to the village of Toky to visit his parents, he met Anna-Cornelia Pazdriy, a girl he knew since childhood, and fell in love (AZFF. Memoirs of Z. Flinta's wife Anna Flinta). Anna also came home on vacation because she studied at Stanislavivskiy (Ivano-Frankivsk) Music School (AZFF. Anna Flinta's diploma). In 1958, during summer holidays Zenoviy Flinta painted the church in the village of Toky together with Teofil Maksysko and Petro Kravchenko secretly. Then he had a splendid opportunity to see Anna often and their communication grew into a mutual feeling. After graduating from the university on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April in 1959, Zenoviy and Anna married in Ivano-Frankivsk and moved to Lviv (AZFF. Marriage certificate of Z. Flinta and A. Pazdriy).

Since the 1<sup>st</sup> of September in 1957, Zenoviy Flinta carried on his studies at I. Trush Lviv School of Applied Arts at the 4th year of the Decorative Painting Department (AITLSDAA. Order No. 100 from 31.08. 1957 at Ivan Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts). ***Among his teachers at the school stood out Karl Zvirynskiy***, a teacher of painting and composition, a graduate of LSIADA, Roman Selskyj pupil and student – Selsky was an iconic figure in the art of Lviv in the XXth century: Krakow Academy of Arts graduate and Fernand Leger's student, and a teacher of painting at the LSIADA (1947 – 1970), in whose house – the “islands of culture”, artists of the older generation talked about modernism in front of the creative youth (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, pp. 154–156). ***Karl Zvirynskiy's personality had an impact on Zenoviy Flinta's formation as an artist – the search for and formation of his creative style, took place in the 1950s – 1960s*** (Matkovska, 2017, pp. 284–294), according to the memoirs, we found out that at Ivan Trush Lviv State College of Decorative and Applied Arts “deception and terror reigned at every step”, students “were taught the bad, not what is necessary. If they went that way, their talent would be lost, and they would be lost as citizens” (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, pp. 143–144). As a result, Z. Flinta's communication with K. Zvirynskiy went beyond the official educational process – the tasks of socialist realist art and gradually from casual conversations with a teacher about painting grew into the study of art from ancient times to modern trends in the world at Karl Zvirynskiy's “Underground School” (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, pp. 143–148). Owing to conversations with Z. Flinta, K. Zvirynskiy was instigated to the idea of educating the younger generation. Hence, in 1950-ies, following the example of the artistic microenvironment in Selskyi's House, he gathered young people around him and in the framework of informal communication taught his students the history of culture and art, history of Ukraine, literature, music, religion, passed on knowledge of European art of the beginning of the XXth century. These meetings were later called the “Underground School of Karl Zvirynskiy”, one of the first students of which in the 1950s was Zenoviy Flinta, who made friends with K. Zvirynskiy. In 1959, K. Zvirynskiy moved to teach at the Institute (LSIADA) and in 1959 – 1965 was the most active period of educational work and informal exhibition activities of the “Underground School”, whose students were the following: Z. Flinta, A. Bokotei, I. Marchuk, O. Minko, B. Soyka, P. Markovych, R. Petruk, B. Halytskyi, L. Tsehelska, I. Karpynets. In addition, the above-mentioned students studied at different branches of LSIADA simultaneously (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, pp. 143–150).

Owing to the influence of the study of European and Ukrainian modernism at the beginning of the XXth century in K. Zvirynskiy's “Underground school”, Z. Flinta created dozens of

informal works of art (Matkovska, 2020, pp. 1144–1157) in the 1960-ies, because the teacher himself, in the conditions of the ban on informal art in the USSR, constantly experimented with space and form, and, showing the results of his work to students, encouraged them to their own formal search. “The possibility of expression through the form itself – the comparison of tone, color, silhouette, rhythm, proportions, which, like musical harmony or contrasts, create an emotional system and, ultimately, the spiritual structure of the work” with the study of compositional, color and technical principles, were the main directions teaching and creative work of students of the “Underground School” (Pecheniuk & Zvirynska-Chaban, 2002, p. 31).

Due to the contemporary art and periodicals, which K. Zvirynskiy received from Poland since 1957 constantly (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, p. 145), gave young people the opportunity to learn about and trace what happened in the Polish art and modern trends in European art, which in a meaningful and transformed form was reflected in the practical tasks of each student. Z. Flinta’s interest in literature on Art, Philosophy, Aesthetics, Fiction and Music, active study of world classics under the influence of K. Zvirynskiy contributed to the expansion of his worldview, the formation of new approaches to creativity. *Karl Zvirynskiy devoted a separate article to the figure of Zenoviy Flinta, his friend and artist.* Furthermore, K. Zvirynskiy was firmly convinced that that high moral values and organization in work and creativity distinguished Z. Flinta from the others, whose meaning of life was creativity, authorities and examples in art was the post-impressionist Paul Cézanne, close to Flinta, “discovering form through the color” and the Renaissance artists, who were a model of the “Perfection in detail”. Zenoviy Flinta said the following: “color in the painting is a great force, without it the painter will not be able to express himself to the end”, and his “drawing was always precise, he was much respected” (Zvirynska-Chaban, 2017, pp. 150–152).

In 1959, Zenoviy Flinta completed a diploma project on “The project of painting the collective farm club in the village of Toky” under K. Zvirynskiy’s supervision on the 27th June in 1959 he received a Diploma with honors from Lviv School of Applied Arts and the qualification of an Artist-performer of Decorative Painting. (AZFF. Z. Flinta’s diploma with honors about graduation from Ivan Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts in 1959).

The school management recommended Z. Flinta to study at Higher Art School and gave him a description recommendation for admission to Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts signed by the school director V. Tarasov and the head of the diploma K. Zvirynskiy (ALNAA. Characteristics-recommendation of Z. Flinta – graduate of Ivan Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts dated 21.06.1959). Zenoviy Flinta wanted to enter the Department of Monumental Painting of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts, but since the above-mentioned department was closed just before the admission campaign, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June in 1959 he applied for admission to the LSIADA Faculty of Art Ceramics (ALNAA. Z. Flintas application for admission to the exams for admission to the Faculty of Art Ceramics of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts of 16.06.1959). On the 28<sup>th</sup> of July in 1959, according to the results of Z. Flinta’s examinations, he was enrolled as a first-year student of the Department of Art Ceramics of the LSIADA on the basis of the decision of the Admissions Committee (ALNAA. Order № 117 of 28.07.1959 on enrollment of Z. Flinta, I. Marchuk, A. Bokotei, L. Medvid, B. Halytskyi, P. Markovych as first-year students of the Department of Art Ceramics of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). Z. Flinta’s groupmates at the institute were Andriy Bokotey, Bohdan Halytskyi, Ivan Marchuk, Petro Markovych, and Lyubomyr Medvid (ALNAA. Order № 117 of 28.07.1959).

According to Z. Flinta’s test book from LSIADA, we found out the list of subjects he studied and the teachers, who conducted those lessons. Painting as a subject in his group was taught by

D. Dovboshynskiy, K. Zvirynskiy and R. Selskyi; Drawing – M. Tkachenko, I. Hutorov and V. Manastyrskiy; Sculpture – A. Overchuk, V. Telishov, I. Yakunin and D. Krvavych; Ceramics Technology – V. Avsyukevych and N. Maksymenko; work in the Material Practice – V. Havrilov; Sketch Geometry and Perspective – D. Zhmut; Composition – M. Bilyaev; Basics of Architecture and Perspective – E. Tsyulko; Plastic Anatomy – S. Mysnyk; General History of Art, the Russian and Soviet Art – O. Chernovskiy and P. Tsebenko; history of the Ukrainian art – J. Zapasko, History of Applied Art – Yu. Lashchuk. (ALNAA. Test book of Z. Flinta – student of the Faculty of Art Ceramics of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). It should be mentioned that Z. Flinta passed with flying colors the exams on all the above-mentioned subjects. In addition, he also finished industrial training at Lviv Ceramics and Sculpture Factory as a model of plaster forms (1959 – 1960) (ALNAA. Supplement to the diploma and excerpt from the record of Z. Flinta – a student of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). The group was sent for training practice to Mukachevo, Moscow, Konakovskiy faience factory, Krasnodar, Novyi Rozdil (ALNAA. Order No. 79 of 01.07.1960, Order No. 89 of 8.07. 1961, Order No. 75 of 29.05.1962, Order No 97 of 29.06.1963, Order No. 171 of 16.11.1963). In 1965, Z. Flinta received an excellent mark for his diploma project on the “Ceramic decoration of the courtyard of the cafe “Under the Lion” in Lviv” – the projects of the iron gate “Rooster”, lattice and mirror pool and made two pools in the yard LAG (LNAG named after B. G. Voznitsky) (AZFF. Volodymyr Ovsyichuk’s review of the diploma work of Z. Flinta – graduate of the Faculty of Art Ceramics of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). It should be highlighted that R. Selskyi was the official consultant of the diploma (ALNAA. Order No. 7 of 20.01.1965). On the 27<sup>th</sup> of June in 1965 Z. Flint received the Diploma with honors on graduation from LSIADA and a qualification of the Artist of Decorative – Applied Art (AZFF. Diploma with honors of Z. Flinta on graduation from the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts in 1965).

**Z. Flinta’s Pedagogical activity.** In 1964 Z. Flinta worked part-time as a master of the Department of Art Ceramics LSIADA when he was still a fifth-year student (ALNAA. Order № 27 of 10.04.1964). After graduating from the institute, Z. Flinta received a referral to work in LSIADA from the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR (from 3.07.1965 Order № 540). Since the 1<sup>st</sup> of September in 1965 Z. Flinta worked as a lecturer at the Department of Art Ceramics of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts and taught the subject “The Fundamentals of Composition” (ALNAA. Order № 113 of 2.09.1965). As a teacher, while working, Z. Flinta was eager to make his students all-rounders. In particular, in 1967 he “conducted lessons for the first-year students on international events, discussed Prokofyev’s article on Picasso’s work (“Ohonek” magazine), and planned tours to Lviv’s museums, which were followed by a discussion of what he saw. The exhibition dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the institute and the exhibition of the Department of Ceramics “From Trypillia to the Present” were especially discussed vigorously. The significant benefits were brought, owing to the Ceramic Factory’s visits in Lviv and acquaintance with the creative life of Lviv ceramics artists” (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 619. Report on the research work of the department of Art Ceramic in the 1967 year of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts).

The scientific work. In 1966 Zenoviy Flinta wrote a methodological work, which was called: “The Fundamentals of Composition in the First Year of the Institute”, on the basis of which in 1966 – 1967 he changed the principle of teaching the above-mentioned subject in LSIADA (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 578. Report on the research work of the department of Art Ceramics for 1966 of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). “The paramount problem in the Department’s methodical work was the restructuring of teaching “basics of composition”,

carried out by teacher Z. Flinta, who, based on advanced aesthetic thought, achievements of the Soviet and foreign pedagogical thought, the institute's experience, built this course to maximize the creative individuality of each student" (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 618. Report on the work of the department of Art Ceramic in the 1966 – 1967 academic year of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). In order to expand Z. Flinta's issue, we should mention that "he is working on the development of methodological notes "The Fundamentals of Three-dimensional Composition" and the others (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 617. Plan of research, methodological and creative work of department of Art Ceramic for 1967 of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). The manuscript of his methodical work on the basics of composition on 14 pages written by Z. Flinta was submitted at the meeting of the Department and it was published in the "Scientific Notes" of LSIADA the VIIIth Scientific Conference, Lviv, 1967, p. 28 (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 621, pp. 14v–18. Protocol of meeting of the department of artistic ceramics for 1967 year of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts).

Furthermore, Z. Flinta's report in May of 1967 at the scientific inter-republican conference "The Ukrainian Ceramics", organized by the Department of Ceramics LSIADA on its scientific and methodological development of teaching "basics of composition" in LSIADA – "Before the study of three-dimensional composition" was published in the Scientific Notes of the VIIIth scientific conference of LDIPDM. Lviv, 1967, P. 28 (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 619. Report on the research work of the department of Art Ceramic in the 1967 year of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts). As a result, the leading USSR Art Universities were highly interested in Z. Flinta's methodological work results at the conferences. In 1967 Z. Flinta was invited to represent the report on "The Methods of Teaching the Basics of Composition at the Institute" at universities in Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. (SALR, f. R-1653, d. 1, c. 617. Plan of scientific trips of employees of ceramics department in 1967 of the Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts; Archive of Lviv National Academy of Art. Order № 155 of 22.11.1967). After his business trip, the main purpose of which was the advanced training, to Poland from the 17<sup>th</sup> of April to the 17<sup>th</sup> of May in 1968 (Archive of Lviv National Academy of Art. Order № 41 of April 15.04.1968). Z. Flinta published a long article "On the methods of teaching special and specialized disciplines in art universities of Poland" in the Proceedings of the Xth Scientific Conference LSIADA (Flinta, 1969, pp. 63–66). Hence, Z. Flinta was enrolled in the position of associate professor of the Department of Art Ceramics on the 27<sup>th</sup> of January in 1973 on the basis of a competition to fill vacant positions of the teaching staff of the institute (Archive of Lviv National Academy of Art. Order № 9 of 26.01.1973). On the 26<sup>th</sup> of August in 1976, Zenoviy Flinta decided to resign from the position of associate professor of the Department of Art Ceramics at LSIADA at his own request (Archive of Lviv National Academy of Art. Order № 83 of 1.07. 1976) and picked up more creative work, in particular, he worked in Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the USSR.

In 1970, Z. Flinta was accepted as a member of the Union of Artists of the USSR (AZFF. Reference of the Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the Ukrainian SSR dated 25.05.2011) (Directory, 1973. p. 466). Hence, a new direction in Z. Flinta's activity evolved – his active work in the Union of Artists under the leadership of Emmanuel Mysk, a Chairman of the Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the USSR. Since 1972, Zenoviy Flinta was the Chairman of the Decorative and Applied Arts Section of Lviv Regional Organization of the Union of Artists of the USSR (1972 – 1988), a member of the Presidium of the Board, the All-Union and Republican Commissions for Decorative and

Applied Arts, and a member of Lviv Branch Qualification Commission (AZFF. Reference of the Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the Ukrainian SSR dated 25.05.2011). The ongoing work on organizing exhibitions in Lviv, Kyiv, Moscow, business trips and participation in meetings of the Republican and All-union Commissions of the Union of Artists, organization of delegations of Lviv artists to participate in the International Symposia and Exhibitions, as well as creative work of Zenoviy Flinta and his participation in the exhibition process were extremely intense. In addition, Zenoviy Flinta worked extensively on her own paintings and ceramics in 1970s and 1980s, that's why, during the above-mentioned period, his most powerful allegorical paintings, graphics, and ceramics appeared (Matkovska, 2019, pp. 1684–1691). Due to his work in the Union of Artists, Z. Flinta was able to support young artists and artists of the older generation, as he organized and worked in the Jury of Exhibitions of Decorative and Applied Arts at various levels. It should be stressed out that Lviv artists' delegations participation organized by Z. Flint in the International exhibitions in Moscow, Vilnius, Gdansk, Faience, Valoris, where Lviv residents' works were in the limelight, and as a result, gave an opportunity to talk about the development of Lviv School of Ceramics. Numerous researchers and art critics brought out their publications in which the information about Z. Flinta's work and Lviv artists' works at the international symposia was noted, in particular, L. Romanova mentioned the "International Ceramics Competition in Faience (Italy)" in the book "Decorative – Applied Art 1973 – 1974" (Romanova, 1975, p. 120), articles written by B. Maksymenko "Traditions and Innovation in Contemporary Lviv Ceramics" in the collection "The Civic Vocation of the Artist" (1977) on the participation of the delegation of Lviv artists led by Z. Flinta in the IInd International Symposium of Art Ceramics in Vilnius and the All-Union Exhibition "Ceramics of the USSR – 75" (Maksymenko, 1977, p. 37) and the others. Moreover, Z. Flinta's organizational exhibition and creative work in the Union of Artists of the USSR, in particular, was covered in the All-Union publications "Decorative Art of the USSR" in the publications "In Lviv ceramists" (Kum, 1967, p. 15), "The Decorative handwriting of Zenoviy Flinta" (Prydatko, 1978, p. 8), in All-Union magazine "The Art" in the article "The Painters from Lviv" (Ostrovsky, 1987, p. 27), in magazine "Fine Arts" in the publications "The Decorative Art at the anniversary exhibition" (Prydatko, 1975, p. 10), "The Ukrainian section of the exhibition "Ceramics of the USSR-2" (Lashchuk, 1976, p. 20), "Trends in the development of Decorative and Applied Arts" (Shcherbak, 1977, p. 16). An extraordinary event in the life of Zenoviy Flinta's and the creative space of Lviv, Kyiv, Moscow and Vilnius in 1982 – 1986 were the paintings' exhibitions by L. Medvid, O. Minko and Z. Flinta, in the introductory article to the catalog of which H. Ostrovskiy put emphasis on the intelligence of the above-mentioned artists (Ostrovskiy, 1981; Ostrovskiy, 1982; Ostrovskiy, 1986).

**The Conclusions.** For the first time we conducted a comprehensive study on Zenoviy Flinta's biography on the basis of archival materials from the archives of DALO, LNAA, the Archives of the Z. Flinta's Family and the Archives of I. Trush Lviv State College of Decorative and Applied Arts in the context of the 1960 – 1980s, worked a holistic picture on the background of the era and rethink his activities' importance in the context of the 60-ies–80s of the XXth century.

For the first time we managed to cover multifarious information in our study on the basis of archival materials not recorded in scientific publications, in particular, Z. Flinta's childhood and adolescence and the influence of family on the artist's worldview formation (1935 – 1953); his studies at I. Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts (1953 – 1959) and at

the same time studying at K. Zvirynskiy's "Pidpilna Schkola" ("The Underground School") of (1953 – 1965); Z. Flinta's acquaintance with his future wife and Zenoviy's marriage with Anna Pazdriy (1959); Z. Flinta's studies at the Department of Art Ceramics of Lviv State Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts (1959 – 1965); Z. Flinta's pedagogical activity as a teacher of the basics of composition at the Department of Art Ceramics of the LSIADA (1965 – 1976); the importance of his scientific and methodological development of the "basics of composition", introduced by him in teaching in 1966 for the development of quality art education in LSIADA (now LNAA); public and exhibition work of Z. Flinta as the Chairman of the section of Decorative and Applied Art of Lviv regional organization of the Union of Artists of the USSR (1972 – 1988).

As a result of this scientific research, we came across and processed hundreds of archival documents, which made it possible to reproduce the events of the artist's biography step by step on the basis of the documents. Owing to Z. Flinta's autobiography from the LNAA Archive and the documents from the Artist's Family Archive (Birth Certificate, etc.) information about childhood and adolescence was obtained. According to the Orders of the Educational part of the Archive of I. Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts and Z. Flint's Diploma from the Family Archive, the facts about Z. Flinta's studies at I. Trush Lviv State School of Applied Arts in 1953 – 1959 with gap years in order to serve in the army in 1954 – 1957 (military ticket from the archives of the Family). Due to Anna Flinta's memoirs, the artist's wife, materials about the acquaintance with the future husband and Zenoviy's marriage with Anna Pazdriy in 1959, the marriage certificate was gained from the Family Archive.

The facts about Z. Flinta's studies at the Department of Art Ceramics of the LSIADA in 1959 – 1965 were established from the orders of the LSIADA, the record book and personal documents of Z. Flinta from the LNAA Archive and the Z. Flinta's Family Archive: the list of the subjects the artist studied in each course and names of lecturers, his classmates, interests. V. Ovsyichuk's review of Z. Flinta's diploma provided information about the diploma project and its implementation in the material.

An important scientific discovery was that we established documents on Z. Flinta's pedagogical work at the Department of Art Ceramics LSIADA from 1965 to 1976 on the basis of orders on LSIADA (from the Archive of LNAA), as well as reports on the work of the Department of Art Ceramics (from the State Archives of Lviv region), because the personal file on the teaching work of Z. Flinta in LSIADA (now LNAA) is lost. Also, as a result of this study, important information and documents on scientific and methodological developments of Z. Flinta in teaching the subject "basics of composition" in the Reports on research work of LSIADA departments (since 1966), Minutes of meetings of the Department of Ceramics were found in the State Archives of Lviv region LSIADA and the others.

On the basis of a set of processed archival documents, we made the conclusion on Zenoviy Flinta's pedagogical activity at the Department of Art Ceramics LSIADA (1965 – 1976) and his scientific and methodological developments in teaching the subject "The Fundamentals of Composition", introduced by him in 1966 – 1967 in the educational process at LSIADA, radically changed the approach not only to teaching this subject from the standpoint of advanced European achievements and their assimilation by students in practice, but also influenced the formation of professional and quality art education in LSIADA and education of future generations of original and independent Ukrainian artists.

Owing to the documents of Lviv regional organization of the National Union of Artists of Ukraine, we received the information about Z. Flinta's work in 1972 – 1988 as the Chairman of

the Section of Decorative and Applied Arts the USSR Art Gallery, a member of the Presidium of the Board, All-Union and Republican Commission on Decorative and Applied Arts, a member of the Qualification Commission of Lviv Branch of the Ukrainian SSR, and on the basis of publications in the Soviet art publications materials about Z. Flinta's work on the organization of exhibitions and delegations of Lviv artists to participate in international symposiums of decorative and applied arts in Moscow, Vilnius, Gdansk, Faience, Valoris, which marked the works of Lviv, which allowed to talk about the development of Lviv School of Ceramics.

In the future, the author plans to continue researching the biography and legacy of Zenoviy Flinta in order to study all areas of his work in detail, and thus, form a holistic picture of the life and work of Z. Flinta.

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**In future perspective,** the author plans to carry on researching Zenoviy Flinta's biography and legacy in order to study in detail all areas of his work, and, hence, form a holistic picture of the life and work of Z. Flinta.

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**SOUTHERN BRANCH OF THE VASHNIL (1969 – 1990)  
AS A MODEL OF ORGANIZATION OF AGRARIAN SCIENCE  
IN THE UKRAINIAN AND MOLDAVIAN SSR**

**Abstract.** *The aim of the research is to elucidate the main scientific and field cooperation areas of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSR agrarian scientists under the auspices of the Southern Branch of V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (Southern Branch of the VASHNIL), its*

activities and contribution to the development of agrarian science. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, system-formation, scientific character, the author's objectivity, and the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical systemic, historical typological, etc.) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time on the basis of previously unknown archival documents there have been highlighted the results of scientific and methodological activities of the Southern Branch of the VASHNIL, which aimed at organizing research in various scientific areas, taking into account zonal characteristics, specialization and concentration of agrarian production. **The Conclusions.** The cooperation of the Ukrainian and Moldavian scientists ensured the development of highly efficient technologies in farming and plant cultivation, plant selection and seed production, land reclamation and animal husbandry, mechanization and electrification, economics and organization of agrarian production. Systematic exchange of scientific information accelerated and increased the efficiency of practical implementation of research results in production. The results of research work of the Ukrainian and Moldavian scientists gained international recognition among scientists of the Soviet Union Republics and the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Their significant achievements provided an increase in international prestige and confirmation that domestic science occupied an honorable place abroad.

**Key words:** the Southern Branch of the VASHNIL, scientific cooperation, research institutions, high-performance technologies, practical implementation, agrarian production.

## ПІВДЕННЕ ВІДДІЛЕННЯ ВАСГНІЛ (1969 – 1990) ЯК МОДЕЛЬ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ АГРАРНОЇ НАУКИ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ТА МОЛДАВСЬКІЙ РСР

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – розкрити основні науково-галузеві напрями співпраці вчених-аграріїв Української та Молдавської РСР під егідою Південного відділення Всесоюзної академії сільськогосподарських наук імені В. І. Леніна (Південне відділення ВАСГНІЛ), його діяльність та внесок у розвиток аграрної науки. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-системний, історико-типологічний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі невідомих раніше архівних документів висвітлено результати науково-методичної діяльності Південного відділення ВАСГНІЛ, яка спрямовувалась на організацію досліджень за різними науково-галузевими напрямками з урахуванням зональних особливостей, спеціалізації та концентрації аграрного виробництва. **Висновки.** Співпраця українських та молдавських вчених забезпечувала опрацювання високоєфективних технологій у землеробстві і рослинництві, селекції та насінництві, мелорації і тваринництві, механізації та електрифікації, економіці і організації сільськогосподарського виробництва. Систематичний обмін науковою інформацією прискорював та підвищував ефективність практичного впровадження результатів досліджень у виробництво. Результати науково-дослідницької роботи українських та молдавських вчених набули міжнародного визнання серед науковців союзних республік і країн Ради Економічної Взаємодопомоги. Їх вагомі здобутки забезпечили зростання міжнародного авторитету та підтвердження, що вітчизняна наука займала почесне місце за кордоном.

**Ключові слова:** Південне відділення ВАСГНІЛ, наукова співпраця, науково-дослідні установи, високоефективні технології, практичне впровадження, аграрне виробництво.

**The Problem Statement.** The Southern Branch of V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (the Southern Branch of VASHNIL) functioned during 1969 – 1990, as a scientific methodical and coordination center with a strong material and technical base and a qualified scientific team. Owing to its effective management, technical progress in agriculture was ensured, methods of scientific research were improved, achievements of science and the best practices were generalized. Cooperation with the Academies of Sciences of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs, ministries and departments of the countries was strengthened in the direction of conducting joint research, organizing scientific and technical

relations with foreign academies, research institutions and institutions of higher education. Taking into account the research scale, in the context of European integration, there has been updated the direction of results coverage of scientists cooperation during the activities of the Southern Branch of VASHNIL, as a scientific methodical and coordination center, which united research institutions and institutions of higher education according to the main scientific and branch areas in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** V. Verhunov analyzed the peculiarities of the system development of branch scientific researches in Ukraine, determined the formation stages of knowledge about these processes (Verhunov, 2012). During the period of activity of the Southern branch of VASHNIL V. Orekhivskiy analyzed the features of agrarian science development in the context of working out of organic agriculture scientific technologies (Orekhivskiy, 2018), S. M. Basil and V. M. Kryzhanivsky analyzed the cooperation results of scientists of the All-Union Research Institute of Bast Cultures and scientists of the Hungarian People's Republic (Basil & Kryzhanivskyi, 2019). S. Nyzhnyk clarified the organizational role in the institution formation of V. F. Peresytkin, its founder, a corresponding member of VASHNIL (Nyzhnyk, 2014). O. O. Chernysh elucidated the institution organizational structure and certain areas of activity (Chernysh, 2012). However, the researchers did not do a comprehensive analysis of the agricultural science development under the auspices of the Southern Branch of VASHNIL, they did not analyze the cooperation results between the Ukrainian and Moldavian agricultural scientists in scientific and branch areas coordinated by sections of the institution.

**The Purpose of Publication** is the coverage of the main scientific and branch areas of agricultural scientists cooperation of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs under the auspices of the Southern Branch of V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, its activities and contribution to the development of agricultural science.

**The Main Material Statement.** At the end of the 1960s, for the progress in agriculture in the USSR, a considerable attention was paid to the development of agricultural science and its effective management. To coordinate the activities of research institutions, regional branches of V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences were established (Central State Archives of the Public Associations of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 127, p. 24). In accordance with the resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of January 12, 1969, No. 943 and the Council of Ministers of the USSR of January 5, 1970, No. 1 its Southern branch began to operate (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 85, p. 53).

The newly established scientific methodical and coordination center under the leadership of V. F. Peresytkin, the corresponding member of VASHNIL, united research institutions and institutions of higher education in agriculture, water, forestry, economy, processing industry of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs. (Central State Archives of the Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, f. P-2, d. 13, c. 4255, p. 93). Under the leadership of the Southern Branch there were 19 research institutes with research stations and seed farms of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR (Nyzhnyk, 2014, p. 179). There were 7 research institutes of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Moldavian SSR, on the basis of which research and production associations were established. There were also 8 All-Union research institutes in the region, 5 of which were directly subordinated to VASHNIL, 3 – to the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR. There were 5 research institutes and 37 research stations of other departments. In the region significant research work was conducted at the departments of 19 branch institutions of higher education (Kuzmenko, 1973b, p. 130). Thus,

the cooperation of the Ukrainian and Moldavian agricultural scientists took place on a strong scientific and technical base, which included research institutions, research and production associations, experimental farms and higher education institutions located in different soil and climatic conditions. Although some differences in their subordination somewhat complicated the organization and coordination of researches.

Elected in 1972, the first staff of the Presidium of the Southern Branch of VASHNIL numbered 17 people, 13 of whom represented science and production of the Ukrainian SSR, 4 – the Moldavian SSR. On the Ukrainian side, scientific and methodological guidance was provided by academicians and corresponding members of VASHNIL: H. O. Bohdanov, P. O. Vlasiuk, L. H. Hrom-Maznichevsky, Y. A. Danylenko, H. V. Zvereva, M. V. Kuzmenko, V. M. Remeslo. Among the Moldavian scientists there worked the following ones: M. F. Lupashko, a director of the Moldavian Institute of Breeding, Seed Production and Agricultural Engineering of Field Crops; A. S. Subotovych, Vice-Rector of the Chisinau Agricultural Institute; K. V. Moraru, a director of the Institute of Plant Physiology and Biochemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the Moldavian SSR (Composition of the Presidium of the Southern Branch of the VASHNIL, 1972, p. 113).

Doing the research work was coordinated by sections and problem coordination-methodical commissions of the Southern branch. There were the following scientific and branch sections: agriculture and crop production; forestry, hydraulic engineering and land reclamation; animal husbandry and veterinary medicine; mechanization and electrification; economy and organization of agriculture. There was also a section for planning and coordination of research (Bazhan, (Ed.), 1982, p. 325). In total, there were 39 problem coordination and methodological commissions in various scientific and branch areas. In particular, agronomic – 21; animal husbandry and veterinary medicine – 6; mechanization and electrification – 6; economy and organization of agriculture – 6 (Chernysh, 2012). The coordination and methodological commissions included leading agricultural scientists, as well as specialists from the agricultural authorities of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 5176, d. 1, c. 55, p. 1).

Thus, the research guidance consisted in the successful cooperation of agricultural specialists. The knowledge and technology exchange contributed to the development of technical progress in agriculture (Lykholat, 2017, p. 157). The methods of scientific research were improved, achievements of science and the best practices in the leading scientific and branch areas were generalized (Basył & Kryzhanivskiy, 2019, p. 174). Cooperation with the Academies of Sciences, Ministries and Departments of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs was strengthened in the direction of organizing joint scientific research, scientific and technical relations with foreign academies, research institutions and institutions of higher education (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 85, p. 51).

At the sections there were analyzed the annual research plans, annual reports of research institutions, proposals for the agricultural production implementation of the results (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 5176, d. 1, c. 964, p. 4). The directions of coordination and methodical commissions' activity efficiency were analyzed (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 127, p. 25). The research was planned in different scientific and branch directions taking into account zonal features, specialization and concentration of agricultural production in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 513, p. 77).

The Ukrainian and Moldavian scientists introduced new high-yielding sorts and hybrids of agricultural crops into agricultural production. For example, in the Ukrainian Institute of

Crop Production, Selection and Genetics, A. D. Humeniuk, O. M. Riabota submitted to the state probation a sort of sunflower, which exceeded the standard sort in oil significantly. At All-Union Selection and Genetic Institute P. F. Harkavy, F. H. Kyrychenko, O. O. Sozinov selected drought-resistant sorts of winter wheat, rye and spring barley, which were grown in Odesa region of the Ukrainian SSR and arid regions of the Moldavian SSR. Analogs of maize hybrids with high lysine content were selected (Peresyppkin, 1972, pp. 94–95). Under the leadership of V. M. Remeslo, scientists of Myronivka Institute of Wheat Selection and Seed Production submitted 4 high-quality sorts of winter wheat to the state probation. At All-Union Institute of Sugar Beets M. A. Hrekov, M. O. Nehovsky selected hybrids of sugar beets on a sterile basis (Ozeranskyi, 1976, pp. 109–110). At All-Union Institute of Maize I. S. Hodulian, B. P. Sokolov elaborated industrial technology for growing corn at farms in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSR. N. S. Kalashnyk selected a hybrid of sorghum with a high level of drought resistance and relatively low soil requirements to be grown in steppe areas (Kuzmenko, 1973a, p. 146).

The selection work of the Moldavian scientists was aimed at creating new forms of legumes, which combined precocity, high yield and quality. In particular, scientists of the Moldavian Institute of Selection, Seed Production and Agricultural Engineering of Field Crops submitted to the state probation sorts of peas, which in terms of grain yield exceeded the zoned ones significantly. A promising soybean sort with 43% protein in the grain was selected. At the end of the 1970s, plant breeders of the Moldavian SSR submitted 24 sorts and hybrids of agricultural crops, 9 sorts of fruit berries and 9 sorts of grapes for sort probation (Peresyppkin, 1972, p. 94).

Thus, the international cooperation facilitated the achievements of the Ukrainian and Moldavian plant breeders in selecting high-yielding sorts of cereals, legumes, industrial and vegetable crops. Systematic exchange of seed material was carried out among research institutions, which accelerated the selection process and increased its efficiency.

Research work on the formation of intensive farming systems in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs proved to be successful. The following people worked on this issue: V. O. Pastushenko from the Ukrainian Institute of Agriculture, P. T. Kibasov from the Moldavian Institute of Selection, Seed Production and Agricultural Engineering of Field Crops, Ya. S. Konstantynov from the Moldavian Institute of Irrigated Agriculture and Vegetable Growing (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 5176, d. 1, c. 55, p. 13). Scientists elaborated farming systems and a set of agronomic measures to get rid of drought. The complex included the introduction of scientifically reasonable crop rotations, basic and pre-sowing cultivation, organo-mineral fertilizers, new high-yielding sorts and hybrids (Kuzmenko, 1973a, p. 144). In order to provide better moisture for winter wheat, corn, sunflower and sugar beet crops in the southern zone of the Moldavian SSR, it was recommended to keep to agricultural techniques and optimal sowing dates of certain sorts (Cibasov & Bondarenco, 1976, p. 230). Scientists determined the feasibility of using fields in the central and northern territorial zones of the Moldavian SSR. They determined a better sowing of corn after cereals, sugar beets, sunflowers. Due to the fact that sunflower dries the soil too much to a great depth, it was recommended to sow corn after it. Corn better absorbs moisture from the upper layers of the soil (Cibasov & Bondarenco, 1990, p. 138). The Moldavian colleagues determined the best plants after which winter wheat was sown. In the south of the Moldavian SSR those were fields with a mixture of oatmeal, corn for green fodder with soybeans, peas with oats (Cibasov et al., 1982). The peculiarities of the main and pre-sowing tillage in the southern zone of the Moldavian SSR were found out. The expediency of complex application of organic and mineral fertilizers was determined, which provided a significant increase in winter wheat

grain (Cibasov at al., 1977). More than 150 research institutions of the Belarusian, Armenian, Georgian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Ukrainian SSRs and RSFSR cooperated in the study of sugar beet growing efficiency (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. P-27, d. 20, c. 183, p. 12).

The programme and research methodology elaborated by the Ukrainian and Moldavian scientists on the objective “To develop scientific bases and practical recommendations of intensive specialized crop rotations for the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs” became fundamental (Pastushenko at al., 1979). The method of doing research in crop rotations based on determining soil fertility was recommended (Pastushenko at al., 1979, p. 22). According to the results of research, advanced technologies of growing grain, technical, fodder and vegetable crops were introduced into production.

M. F. Lupashka, a director of the Moldavian Research Institute of Selection, Seed Production and Agricultural Engineering of Field Crops, updated establishing of specialized research and production associations on the basis of research institutes. Such associations “Selection”, “Hybrid”, “Dniester” were one of the forms of science and production integration. They included farms that carried out production processes on a scientific basis. Instead, research institutes solved problems that arose at farms (Ozeranskyi, 1976, p. 108). In the mid-1980s, the experimental farms that were the part of associations became significant. They widely introduced industrial tillage technologies into production, distributed zoned sorts and hybrids (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 5176, d. 1, c. 1390, p. 97).

Peculiarities of irrigated agriculture and use of irrigation regimes under arid conditions of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs were studied by the following scientists: I. O. Babenko, V. I. Ostapov from the Ukrainian Institute of Irrigated Agriculture, Ya. S. Konstantynov from the Moldavian Institute of Irrigated Agriculture and Vegetable Growing (Kovalenko, 2014, p. 189). They recommended effective irrigation regimes for farms in the southern regions (Kuzmenko, 1973b, p. 131). By the method of individual selection the Moldavian colleagues selected sorts of haricot beans, which under irrigation exceeded the ordinary sorts in yield, chemical and technological properties (Peresytkin, 1972, p. 95).

Researches from other fields of science were significant. For example, the role of protective afforestation in the fight against drought and soil erosion was determined by V. I. Koptev from the Ukrainian Institute of Forestry and Agroforestry Reclamation. He elaborated and implemented a system of protective forest plantations, which included field protective forest strips and anti-erosion plantations (Kuzmenko, 1973a, p. 147). At the Ukrainian Institute of Soil Science and Agrochemistry, B. S. Nosko worked out measures to preserve and further increase soil fertility on the basis of a rational use of fertilizers. At the Ukrainian Institute of Plant Protection, V. P. Vasyliiev elaborated an integrated system of crop protection, which was based on a combination of agronomic, chemical and biological measures to control pests, diseases and weeds (Ozeranskyi, 1976, p. 109).

A significant amount of joint research was done in the direction of mechanization and electrification of agriculture. For example, at the Ukrainian Institute of Mechanization and Electrification, E. I. Khrapach elaborated the technology for the current harvesting of cereals and legumes with simultaneous grinding and shredding of straw. Scientists elaborated an organizational scheme for the development of the repair base of agriculture in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs, created new models of tractor equipment, dispatching tools, technical diagnostics of machines and repair of parts. Machine for engraftment grapes passed the state testing and was recommended for mass production. This machine was designed at the Moldavian Institute of Horticulture, Viticulture and Enology. The machine provided twice as many engraftments compared to manual labour (Peresytkin, 1972, p. 96).

Particularly difficult tasks were solved in animal husbandry. Along with the technologies of livestock production, intra-industry specialization was elaborated. For example, together with scientists from the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance – the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic there were elaborated technologies for the construction of pig farms and fattening pigs farms. The construction was carried out in the Moldavian SSR (Kuzmenko, 1973b, p. 132). At the Institute of Animal Husbandry of the Forest-Steppe and Polissia of the Ukrainian SSR, H. O. Bohdanov, the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry of the Western Regions of the Ukrainian SSR, V. D. Horb, V. G. Lapchuk, F. Yu. Palfiy bred highly productive domestic breeds of cattle and pigs for meat. At the Ukrainian Institute of Feed, I. P. Proskura developed zonal systems of feed production, taking into account the specialization of animal husbandry. The problem of protein deficiency in feed was solved by the rational use of plant resources, mycological and chemical synthesis (Ozeranskyi, 1976, p. 109).

The Ukrainian and Moldavian colleagues created a significant gene pool of different lines and breeds of egg and meat chickens, turkeys, ducks, geese. A system for collecting, accumulating and genetic mathematical analysis of poultry breeding data at state breeding poultry farms was developed and implemented. At the Ukrainian Institute of Poultry there were bred highly productive egg hens and meat turkeys. A new synthetic line of high-yielding meat and egg chickens and musk ducks was bred in the branch of the Moldovan Institute of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine. A set of measures for diagnosis, prevention and control of diseases was developed (Meeting of the Presidium of the Southern Branch of the VASHNIL, 1983, p. 88). Thus, the Ukrainian and Moldavian breeders-geneticists carried out a systematic exchange of research results with scientists from other countries. Their international cooperation contributed to the growth of livestock productivity, improving the epizootic situation.

The economic direction of research was developed significantly. For example, at the Ukrainian Institute of Economics and Organization I. I. Lukinov, O. O. Storozhuk worked out a system of rational management in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs. The system operated on the basis of integration, specialization and concentration of production, taking into account the economic evaluation of soil, provision of production assets and labour resources (Ozeranskyi, 1976, p. 109). On the basis of advanced technological processes, recommendations for the improvement of production types of branch enterprises operating in different soil and climatic zones of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs were developed (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 5176, d. 1, c. 55, pp. 3–4).

During the years of scientific and methodological leadership of the Southern branch of VASGNIL the material and technical base grew, scientific technologies and experience of agrarian scientists were developed (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 5176, d. 1, c. 55, p. 5). Despite the achievements of agricultural science, much of the theoretical and methodological developments were not widely used in the practical production of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs. (Verhunov, 2012, p. 220). In 1990, in connection with the need to develop basic research on the basis of the Southern Branch of VASHNIL there was established the Ukrainian Academy of Agrarian Sciences (nowadays – the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine) (Orekhivskyi, 2018, p. 332). It continued to function as a higher scientific methodical and coordination center for the development of agricultural science in Ukraine.

**The Conclusions.** The cooperation of the Ukrainian and Moldavian agricultural scientists under the leadership of the Southern Branch of VASHNIL took place on a strong material



and technical base, which included research institutions, higher education institutions, specialized research and production associations and experimental farms. Due to the effective coordination of research work by sections and problem coordination and methodological commissions, research was carried out in the relevant scientific and sectoral areas, taking into account the zonal characteristics, specialization and concentration of agricultural production in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs. Successful cooperation of scientists ensured the implementation of research based on the systematic exchange of information, which accelerated the process and increased the efficiency of research under different soil and climatic conditions. It contributed to the development of highly efficient technologies in agriculture and crop production, breeding and seed production, land reclamation and agroforestry, animal husbandry and veterinary medicine, mechanization and electrification, economy and organization of agricultural production. Under the leadership of the Southern Branch of VASHNIL, the results of research work of the Ukrainian and Moldavian scientists gained international recognition among scientists of the Belarusian, Armenian, Georgian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian SSR and RSFSRs. Animal husbandry production technologies were widely used in the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance – the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. This contributed to the growth of the efficiency of domestic scientific research, which was not inferior to foreign research in terms of its achievements. Owing to significant achievements, the Ukrainian agricultural scientists increased their international prestige and confirmed that domestic science occupied an honorable place abroad.

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## XIX ALL-UNION PARTY CONFERENCE AS A FACTOR OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE CPSU-KPU IN THE WESTERN REGIONS OF THE UkrSSR

**Abstract. The Purpose of the Research.** In the year of celebrating the 30th anniversary of Ukraine's independence restoration, the research focuses on the reconstruction issues of the reception of the CPSU-CPU decisions of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference by the nomenclature of the Western Ukrainian regional committees in 1988. The chief focus is on the context of the conference destructive influence on the communist elite, which resulted in the collapse of local party bodies in the western regions of the UkrSSR and not the least caused the collapse of the USSR and the Ukrainian state-building renaissance. **The Methodology of the Research.** There has been done the scientific analysis of the Communist Party western regions of the UkrSSR elites' reception of the decisions of the XIXth All-Union Conference on a rational stage with observance of the principle of a historical objectivity. In the course of the research the methods of critical and structural analysis and classification, systematization and verification of unpublished archival sources were used. The conclusions are based on the documents of one republican and seven regional archives, as well as the columns of periodicals and the results of field research. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the fact that for the first time in the Ukrainian and world historical science there has been done a comprehensive analysis of the party nomenclature disintegration as the highest social stratum in the western regions of the UkrSSR at the end of the 80s of the XXth century, which occurred as a result of its natural inability to a democratic innovation. Such a comprehensive analysis was possible on the basis of the introduction

of a new archival documentary database and interviews with participants and contemporaries of the events. **The Conclusions.** The main results of the scientific article are revealed on the basis of the a priori impossibility of the synthesis of autocratic and democratic methods of the state building, which was used by the initiators of “perestroika” in order to preserve the monopoly right to power. Therefore, the political reform in the USSR, proclaimed at the XIXth All-Union Party Conference in 1988 in the direction of “Sovietization” of the country, not only was unable to strengthen the position of the CPSU, but also naturally led to the rapid corrosion of the highest bodies of local party structures, which in turn caused a total reduction in the number of communist bodies and not the least enabled the collapse of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of Ukraine as an independent state.

**Key words:** XIX All-Union Party Conference, CPSU-CPU, Western Ukrainian regional committees, political reform, disintegration, collapse.

## XIX ВСЕСОЮЗНА ПАРТІЙНА КОНФЕРЕНЦІЯ ЯК ЧИННИК РОЗПАДУ КПРС-КПУ У ЗАХІДНИХ ОБЛАСТЯХ УРСР

**Анотація. Мета дослідження.** У рік відзначення тридцятилітнього ювілею відновлення незалежності України, наукова розвідка розв'язує завдання реконструкції сприйняття номенклатурою західноукраїнських обкомів КПРС-КПУ рішень XIX Всесоюзної партійної конференції 1988 р. Особливо у контексті її деструктивного впливу на комуністичну еліту, що мав наслідком розпад локальних партійних осередків у західних областях УРСР і не в останню чергу спричинив крах СРСР та український державотворчий ренесанс. **Методологія дослідження.** Науковий аналіз сприйняття компартійним елітами західних областей УРСР рішень XIX всесоюзної конференції відбувався на раціональному щаблі із дотриманням принципу історичної об'єктивності. У ході дослідження було застосовано методи критичного й структурного аналізу й класифікації, систематизації і верифікації неопублікованих архівних джерел. Висновки базуються на документах одного республіканського й семи обласних архівів, а також на публікаціях у періодичних виданнях і результатах польових досліджень. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській та світовій історичній науці здійснено комплексний аналіз дезінтеграції партійної номенклатури як найвищого суспільного прошарку у західних областях УРСР наприкінці 80-х рр. XX ст., що відбувся внаслідок її природної неспромоги до демократичних новацій. Такий розгляд був можливим на основі введення до наукового обігу нової архівної документальної бази та інтерв'ю із учасниками й сучасниками подій. **Висновки.** Основні результати наукової статті розкриваються на основі апріорної неможливості синтезу автократичних й демократичних методів державної побудови, що був використаний ініціаторами “перебудови” з метою збереження монопольного права на владу. Тому політична реформа у СРСР, проголошена на XIX всесоюзній партійній конференції (1988) у бік “радянської” країни, не тільки не могла зміцнити становище КПРС, а й закономірно спричинила стрімку корозію вищих органів місцевих партійних структур, що, зі свого боку, призвело до тотального скорочення чисельності комуністичних осередків і не в останню чергу уможливило розпад Радянського Союзу та проголошення України самостійною державою.

**Ключові слова:** XIX всесоюзна партійна конференція, КПРС-КПУ, західноукраїнські обкоми, політична реформа, дезінтеграція, розпад.

**The Problem Statement.** More than a third of the century has passed since the undeservedly forgotten a very important event by the Ukrainian and world historical science against the background of the natural collapse of the Soviet Union, which spread in the USSR in the second half of the 80s – the beginning of the 90s of the XXth century. This important event acquires an exceptional topicality in the year of celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the state independence restoration of Ukraine in 1991, which was the result of a national liberation movement for centuries of the Ukrainian people struggling for independence.

The XIXth All-Union Party Conference in 1988 is meant, which launched a political reform in the country towards the formal transfer of the state power from the CPSU into the

hands of the Soviet institutions. According to the Soviet Union leadership, such a step should have strengthened the party's social foundations and emphasized the role of the ruling party as the only effective reformer in the country. However, unexpectedly for the Soviet Union party apparatus, the conference doubted the "infallible sacredness" of a communist doctrine, doubted the rightness of the Soviet Union initiatives, shook the monolithic nature of the party ranks, and initiated the disintegration of their local branches, which in turn led to the disintegration and collapse of the state. The conference accelerated the collapse of the CPSU as one-party core of the Soviet Union significantly, and thus its Ukrainian unit, – the CPU.

Having proclaimed the policy of "perestroika" at the XXVIIth Congress of the CPSU in 1986, the Communist Party leadership of the USSR tried to maintain the monopoly on political power in the country, the foundations of which were shaken due to a permanently poor financial situation of the country's citizens. There were signs of stagnation in the economy, growing scientific and technological backwardness, failures in the social sphere, the merging of the party-state nomenclature with the dealers of the shadow economy, and the most important – problems in the national and religious spheres. This state of affairs could have fatal consequences for the ruling party. The first step towards the use of innovations was the "acceleration" of the existing economic mechanism, which immediately failed, as the country's production complex was always extensive, and therefore worked at the limit.

Thus, in 1988, it became clear that a political reform was inevitable. However, it was not an issue of changing the state-owned production bases to the private ones, but an issue of changing of an autocratic political system to a democratic one. The ideological communist orientations of the Soviet society and atheism were not doubted either. In economy, it was only about the need to apply certain elements of a market economy based on the effective use of NPT achievements, activation of the "human factor" and change of the planning order in the context of expanding the autonomy of industrial enterprises. The political vector was about turning to Lenin's norms of the state creation and resuscitation of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!". To proclaim these objectives, it became necessary to convene all-Union party forum, which would be legitimate during the inter-congress period. Thus, the need arose "to resurrect" the forgotten party conferences at the Soviet Union level.

It should be noted that such meetings had not been held since 1941. Their key goal was announced in 1905 at the IIIrd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. In the resolution "On Periodic Conferences of Representatives of Various Party Organizations" the necessity was singled out to convene conferences systematically in order to clarify the problems of social democracy in the presence of representatives of various party branches. The first conference was held in Tammerfors, Finland in 1905.

However, in 1934 at the XVIIth Congress of the RCP (b), on the initiative of J. Stalin, the provisions on the conference were removed from the party statute. The last union party conference took place in 1941, finally "burying" democratic intra-party principles (SALR, f. P-3, d. 62, c. 229, pp. 4-6.). In October of 1952, the XIXth Congress of the CPSU once again agreed with Stalin's opinion that the issues of the party formation could be considered at congresses and plenums of the Central Committee, and therefore there was no need to convene All-Union party conferences. During Khrushchev's "thaw" this issue was not raised. It was only during Brezhnev's "stagnation" that in March of 1966 the XXIIIrd Congress of the CPSU renewed a section in the party's charter that allowed these forums to be held, but that was the only renewal. Almost half a century later, in order to proclaim political reform in the USSR, on June 26, 1987, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU there was

the resolution proclaimed “On Convening the XIXth All-Union Party Conference” in 1988. One delegate among 3 780 members of the CPSU was elected. Thus, 5 000 communists were delegated to the conference, and 4 991 party members took part in it.

**The Purpose of the Research.** Taking into consideration the fact that modern Ukrainian historical science has not yet paid enough attention to the corrosion phenomena of the ruling CPSU-CPU against the Western Ukrainian background on the eve of the restoration of Ukraine’s state independence, the attempt will be made to trace the destructive influence of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference on the administrative party development of the regional level and the political consequences of “perestroika” reforms within the party, especially among the party nomenclature. After all, it was the internal party destructive phenomena in such a patriotic region of the UkrSSR as its western regions that initiated the national liberation renaissance, which became the key to the resuscitation of the state-building process at all territory of Ukraine.

**The source base of the research** is the unpublished archival materials, pages of periodicals of that time and materials of field researches. The factual sequence of reconstruction of the historical events is formed on the basis of historical and cultural regions of the Western Ukrainian lands: Halychyna, Volyn, Zakarpattia and Bukovyna, which according to a modern administrative dimension are the following regions: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Volyn, Rivne, Transcarpathian and Chernivtsi regions.

**The Analysis of Researches and Publications.** The following scientists focused on this issue fragmentary: Volyn professor V. Baran (Baran, 2003), Kyiv professor S. Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 2001) and Lviv scientist O. Muravsky (Muravskyi, 2011). However, their works mostly concerned the main directions of the national democratic movement in Ukraine on the eve of the restoration of its state independence. This issue has already been the subject of attention of one of the authors, but it concerned its Lviv format only. However, revelation of new facts and expansion of the geographical framework of a scientific research caused the need for the unification of the author’s efforts and the research extension of this theme (Chura, 2010).

**The Main Material Statement.** In the context of perestroika transformations, in 1985 – 1987 the new General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. Gorbachov came to understand the urgent need to deepen innovations and prepared the citizens of the Soviet Union to reformatting of the CPSU into a European-style party. But disguised by the slogan of returning to Lenin’s postulates of the elected institutions primacy, this “Sovietization” was aimed at prolonging the monopoly right of the CPSU to power in the USSR. Therefore, on June 28, 1988, the XIXth All-Union Party Conference began its work in Moscow. The main orientations of a political reform in the USSR and the internal reformatting of the CPSU were proclaimed by the main party leader – M. Gorbachov. According to the speaker, the progress of economic innovations was slowed down, the well-being of the country’s citizens did not improve. Only the policy of publicity brought noticeable results, which softened the intolerance of the Communist Party to alternative points of view, revived the inert environment of ordinary communists, and began to overcome certain segments of an atrophied communist dogma, and most importantly, the policy of publicity was a key factor in the democratization of the stagnant Soviet society and the party bodies. Taking into consideration the fact that the general public found out numerous Communist atrocities of the past, the party denied them in every way, blaming everything on Stalin’s totalitarianism, Khrushchev’s voluntarism and Brezhnev’s disorder (Materyaly, 1988, pp. 7–13).

Simultaneously, the result of reflections on the failures of the previous years was the belief in the low efficiency of the command-administrative system of the country party leadership, the

bureaucratic foundations of which were formed during the first half of the XXth century. It turned out that the party itself made it difficult to implement the innovations initiated by it. Therefore, the inevitability of renewing the status of the party in the state structure was formed as a mature regularity. However, this task brought a main problem: how should the Central Committee transfer power to the hands of the Soviet authorities, and remaining the “main player”?

After defeating the backstage struggle against the Bolshevik-style orthodox, the modern wing of the Communist Party envisioned the following programme of action. Using administrative resources and the help of party committees of all enterprises in the country, the Communists intended to head the newly elected councils at all levels, and thus to continue the leadership of the Soviet bodies of the USSR. Therefore, the Soviet Union party documents emphasized the need for their qualitative and quantitative renewal, the introduction of constitutional amendments and the separation of powers of the party and Soviet institutions (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 11, c. 1850, p. 6). As a result, the conference adopted five key resolutions: “On the Democratization of the Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System,” “On Combating Bureaucracy,” “On International Relations,” “On Publicity,” and “On Legal Reform” (XIX Vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia, 1988, p. 21). In the first resolution the most important thing was the return of a political significance to the highest legislative body – the Congress of People’s Deputies of the USSR by holding alternative elections at all levels.

The citizens of the USSR were convinced that under the party control there was a full delegation of the state power from the CPSU to the elected institutions of the country, since the convening of the Congress of Soviets was the main decision of the forum. However, due to the fact that the political reform was introduced only by the Communist Party, the tools of its implementation remained completely under its control. M. Gorbachov’s promise that the party will never give up the role of the political vanguard turned out to be true (Pravda, 1988, p. 3). On April 23, 1985, M. Gorbachov became the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on October 1, 1988 – the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and on March 15, 1990 – the first and last President of the USSR.

The conceptual principles of “intra-party democratization” in Lviv region were stated by its newly appointed leader Ya. Pohrebniak at the XXII regional party conference, which took place on December 9, 1988. In his detailed report it was stated that the regional committee would continue to be the body of a political leadership, and that its activities should be restructured simultaneously with the transition from authoritarian methods to persuasion, discussion, and purposeful ideological work. “Instead of back flexibility – flexibility of mind!” – he proclaimed the slogan of the Communist Party renewal. According to the speaker, unfulfilled promises, unreasonable planning, command and control levers, excessive administration, adoption of intimidating decisions and violations of current legislation should have remained in the past. Their place had to be taken by a common sense, concreteness, independence of the primary party organizations, the dominant pluralism of opinions and collegiality of decisions aimed at increasing the lost significance of the party membership card. He called for the elimination of the party apparatus’s isolation from the lower party environment and non-party members of labour collectives. It was especially emphasized that “structural perestroika is not for the sake of reduction, but in order to renew the role of the party in the Soviet society” (SALR, f. 3, d. 62, c. 220, pp. 15–17).

Using the permission from Moscow, Ya. Pohrebniak proposed to stop the pursuit of an artificial increase in the number of members of the CPSU, being guided by Lenin’s slogan “Less is better!”. It was necessary to get rid of substitution of both economic and Soviet

institutions activities by the party apparatus. In the first case, the party apparatus must perform the function of an ideological orientation of workers, stopping interference in the solution of industrial matters. In the second, – the Communist Party bodies undertook to abolish joint decisions with elected institutions and, by breaking the stereotype of the kind “the council has the right within its competence,” to endow the Soviet institutions with a full state power. To increase political influence, the regional party leader advised to act by means of a large number of communists in the collectives of workers, pursuing the key goal of a political reform: the first secretary of the regional committee is the future chairman of the council of people’s deputies (SALR, f. 3, d. 62, c. 220, p. 18).

In fact, in Lviv “party democratization” led to a reduction in the number of responsible employees of the regional Communist party network from 188 to 84 people, or 30%. More than 60% of secretaries, bureau members and party committee leaders changed. The nomenclature of the party’s regional committee was renewed by 44% and all its employees by 50% (SALR, f. 3, d. 62, c. 220, pp. 40–49). On an alternative basis, 1 754 party leaders were elected, and 438 by a secret ballot. A total of 1 051 secretaries of the party committee of enterprises and institutions of the region were elected (SALR, f. 3, d. 62, c. 313, p. 4). As a result, hundreds of experienced leaders, who lost benefits, who were the “backbone” of the party and its direct support, found themselves “not on board”. They were replaced by young “perestroika” nominees, who saw the CPSU as a means of achieving a certain social status. “There were few convinced communists among the new party leadership,” – A. Sokolova, a chairman of the enterprise “Konveyer” (Conveyor) strike committee, said in her interview. They became the party members and were guided, for the most part, by mercantile interests. Only a membership card paved the way for getting higher in a social status, and thus provided a high level of welfare. “Thus, members of the CPSU considered the party membership as a tool for a further career advancement” (Interviu A. Sokolova, 2009).

The core directions of the innovations implementation against the regional background of Ivano-Frankivsk region were covered by the first secretary of the local regional committee I. Postoronko at the XXII d conference traditionally, which took place on December 9, 1988. The reform of the state and party system took place in two directions: the restoration of the powers of the councils and the delimitation of the functions of the party and the Soviet bodies. In this context, the staff of the regional committee was reduced by 20% and its branch departments were partially liquidated. 25% of the regional party composition of the first echelon was elected on an alternative basis. 75% of the leaders of the primary party branches, 80% of the heads of the Soviet, the trade union and Komsomol institutions were elected. The 4 largest party organizations, 4 city and district executive committees, and 58 enterprises changed their leadership. 360 members of the board of directors, 14 000 workshops heads, foremen and workmen, and 2 000 agricultural workers were elected. 10 heads of collective farms left their posts (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5336, pp. 8–14). “The party and the people are confidently pursuing a course of truthfulness, openness and democracy!” – the above-mentioned regional head summarized success of a public renewal (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5336, p. 7).

However, these reform actions provoked a strong criticism from those whom they had deprived of elite status. For 91% of secretaries of the party organizations and 82% of the party groups in Ivano-Frankivsk the alternative election was not in their favour. Members of the bureaus of city and district committees conceded the posts to nominees from the lower party environment (SAIFR, f. 2, d. 1, c. 1217, p. 9). At the March plenum of the regional committee, which considered the state of publicity in the party ranks of Halych



district committee, the party nomenclature expressed growing dissatisfaction with the policy of an internal party reconstruction and a strong reluctance to share power. During this report, the city party leader Yu. Krykhovetsky was concerned that the heads of village councils were reluctant to adopt the party experience and did not feel the demands of the time. The speaker was supported by the first secretary of Rozhniativ district committee M. Yakivchuk, noting that the district committee instructors were well aware of the situation in the area, and therefore the practice of removing them from main issues did not require a rapid deployment (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5342, p. 30).

I. Yatsola, the leader of the Communists of Kosiv region, shared the same point of view. According to him, weak, unsuccessful collective farms could not catch up with the others without the party support (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5342, p. 35). The most painful result of the “renewal” of local bodies of the CPSU-CPU was announced on November 12, 1988 at the XVIth Conference of Sniatyn District Committee. The First Secretary I. Ilyik emphasized that 5 candidates in the CPSU refused to join the party ranks voluntarily (SAIFR, f. 32, d. 1, c. 8873, p. 10). The natural consequence of the Communist Party’s innovations was expressed in an interview by I. Pylypiv, a direct participant of the events, Vice-Rector of the University of Marxism-Leninism. He recalled that the fired party leaders regretted only the lost positions, and therefore their preferences. No one thought about the current state of the ideology of the CPSU. “From this state of affairs I concluded that the party ceased to be a union of ideological colleagues, and thus the communist doctrine died, which led to the degradation of the party leadership” (Interviu I. Pylypiva, 2010).

Taking into consideration the fact that in Ternopil region the key tool for advertising the “victorious achievements of perestroika” were the media, the world saw more than 800 positive articles covering the achievements of the party reforms (SATR, f. 1, d. 36, c. 15, p. 48). A vivid is the publication in the regional newspaper “Vilne Zhyttia” (Free Life), in which the secretary of Zbarazh DC M. Saienko praised the results of the return to Lenin’s norms for resolving the personnel issue (Saienko, 1988, p. 2). On December 9, 1988 similar thoughts were expressed in the speech of the first secretary of the regional committee V. Ostrozhytsky from the tribune of the XXII regional party conference. The main embodiment of innovations, the speaker said, was “The Law on Amendments to the Constitution of the USSR” and “The Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”, which launched a large-scale programme of reforms of the political system and a further democratization of the society (SATR, f. 1, d. 36, c. 2, p. 10).

The regional leader considered the election of three thousand lower party leaders as a proof. As a result, 564 party group leaders, 272 secretaries of work-shops and 476 secretaries of primary party organizations lost their positions. Directors of 164 enterprises, heads of 80 collective-farms changed, 2 thousand heads of work-shops, masters and foremen lost their positions (SATR, f. 1, d. 36, c. 2, p. 46). A. Shvedova, the head of the protocol record keeping sector of the regional committee, announced a reduction in the state and economic leadership segment. According to her, the staff of regional departments decreased by 34%, city and district – by 15%, executive committees – by 22%, trade organizations – by 17%, industrial organizations – by 19%. Salary funds were cut in the economic sector by 13%, public sector – by 22% (SATR, f. 1, d. 36, c. 15, pp. 153–154). However, the general party staff reduction did not prevent the regional party leader from emphasizing the fact that the majority of the dismissed party staff were sent to work in the Soviet and economic institutions (SATR, f. 1, d. 36, c. 2, pp. 44–47). It seemed that the “return to the norms of Lenin’s personnel policy” provided an opportunity for the party nomenclature to find job by promotion of the Soviet leaders.

A real attitude of the party leadership to the reforms was well covered in an interview by V. Kolynets, a contemporary of the events, a lecturer at Ternopil Pedagogical Institute, the future deputy chairman of the NRU regional council and a member of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. According to him, the party apparatus only imitated the renewal of the party policy, especially in the field of interethnic relations. In fact, even after the proclamation of a political reform, it remained a key tool for the Russification of the Ukrainians. In support of this fact, the interlocutor cited the example of a confidential order of the regional committee on relations between the members of the CPSU and the heads of the national unions of Ternopil region. Despite the declared favorable attitude to multipartyism and pluralism of opinions, the party leadership forbade ordinary communists to join the ranks of the national associations. According to this principle, the Communists M. Hyrych and H. Petruk-Popyk were expelled from the Communist Party, which ultimately facilitated the formation of the latter as leaders of the national liberation movement of the region (Interviu V. Kolintsia, 2010).

The democratization development of the party environment of Volyn region was best illustrated by the secret seminar transcript of the party staff committees of the region of September 7, 1988. Highlighting the objectives of the Communists to implement the decisions of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference, L. Pavlenko, the first secretary of the regional committee emphasized that the essence of the renewal was the rejection of the party apparatus from a sectoral structuring, and the key task of innovation was to be free from administrative and economic functions and to focus on political methods of work. On this purpose, the July plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU allowed the republican central committees to make a new structure of local party bodies independently, but within the framework of the salary fund approved in Moscow. The dismissed party staff was sent to the state, economic and public positions. "At the expense of this category of employees", the speaker stated, "the apparatus of councils of people's deputies of all levels will be strengthened, taking into account their new role in the reformed political system of the USSR" (SAVR, f. 1, d. 17, c. 963, pp. 3–5).

Analysis of L. Pavlenko's speech, the first secretary of the regional committee, showed that the CPSU, seeking to acquire a modern look, imitated the expansion of the democratic range, intending to "change clothes" in the robes of elected bodies. However, the main feature of this falsification was not so much intra-party reform as a total reduction in the structure of the party apparatus. From now on, the party leader had to obtain the recommendation of the primary party bodies, which were given the right to fire the unsuccessful party leader. The lower party organizations were given broad electoral rights, and their secretaries were elected on an alternative basis. The command-and-control methods of governing and "flattering" the real state of party affairs were the subject to a public condemnation. But these "good deeds" did not prevent the speaker from making an authoritative statement at the end of his speech: "It should be remembered that the development of democratic initiatives is not a spontaneous but a strictly party-controlled process" (SAVR, f. 1, d. 17, c. 963, p. 30). As a result, "renewing the party vertical", the regional leaders launched such a tumultuous activity that 174 new leaders were elected among 190 first leaders of Volyn region. 84% of the party groups leaders, 86% of secretaries of work-shops, 69% of leaders of primary party organizations left the positions. This percentage was the highest in the western regions of the UkrSSR (SAVR, f. 32, d. 30, c. 1, pp. 82–84).

Under such conditions, it became more difficult to carry out the plan of admission to the party. To get out of the predicament of the Communist Party had to attract candidates by means of various benefits. There were frequent cases of persuasion and pressure on future

members, which led the latter to various falsifications of the reasons for refusal. This fact was testified in an interview by M. Solovianchyk, the head of the party control commission of Kamin-Kashyrsky district committee. According to him, the party leaders continued to monitor the quotas implementation for admission to the party thoroughly. Their constant pressure to increase the number of workers, peasants and women led to an artificial increase in the number of the latter and a decrease in the number of candidates for the party membership among the civil clerks and intelligentsia. This approach forced secretaries to admit to the party accidental people who did not express by themselves a desire to become of the CPSU members (Interviu M. Solovianchyka, 2009).

In Rivne region the conception of reforms was announced by T. Panasenko, the first secretary of the regional committee. On December 9, 1988, he stated that, being guided by the key decision of the XIXth Party Conference “On the Democratization of the Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System”, the region approved a strategy for managing the national economy, which provides a real opportunity to differentiate the functions of the party, the Soviet and economic bodies and to overcome duplication in their activities. On this purpose, a new body was created that would endow the Soviet institutions with full state powers – the Main Planning and Economic Department of the Regional Executive Committee. According to the speaker, the positive results were not long in coming: the number of economic resolutions adopted by the regional committee decreased by 50%, the number of joint decisions with the regional executive committee decreased by 6 times, the number of the party documents directed towards the activities of elected bodies decreased by 40% (SARR, f. 400, d. 136, c. 3, p. 41).

As a result, newspaper columns were covered with countless publications demonstrating the “triumph” of a political reform. “Where there is a party, there is success and victory,” said V. Avdymyrets, the secretary of the “Rivnesilmash” party committee, on the pages of Rivne district committee’s newspaper “Slovo Pravdy” (Avdymyrets, 1988, p. 1). But the real results of these “achievements” illustrated the speeches of the nomenclature during the election of the regional party leader on December 10, 1988. Using the presence of the spokesman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Yu. Yelchenko, the first secretary of Dubrovysky district committee V. Hulko complained, that so many problems accumulated in the region over the years of perestroika that to solve them one-day visit of the republican leader V. Shcherbytsky to Rivne was not enough. He was supported by V. Lutsenko, the second secretary of the regional committee, who stated that many communist leaders doubted the correctness of the political reforms vector initiated by Moscow and supported by Kyiv. The Chairman of Rivne City Executive Committee summarized the complaints of the local Communist Party concerning the destructive deployment of innovations as follows: “It turns out that nowadays we need to put everything aside and get on a new platform. It seems to me that a fashionable phrase will be followed by difficult consequences” (SARR, f. 400, d. 136, c. 24, pp. 4–9). There was so much criticism that the forum ended with the election of Rivne region’s new party leader. T. Panasenko headed the region for 16 years (SARR, f. 400, d. 136, c. 24, p. 15).

An interview with V. Chervoniy, the leader of the national societies in Rivne region, an engineer of the “Azot”, and later the People’s Deputy of Ukraine, sheds light on the process of “the party democratization” in the plane of the national societies formation in Rivne region. He noted: “In 1988, the unions beyond the control of the CPU began to emerge at the enterprises and institutions of the region: NRU, TUM, “Prosvita”, “Memorial”, and youth discussion clubs. As long as they were engaged in cultural and educational work, the party

system tolerated their activities, constantly presenting it as a sign of publicity in the society and the party. However, when the process took on a political colour, the unions automatically became the enemy No. 1” (Interviu V. Chervoniia, 2009). This was confirmed by the speech of M. Yermin, the Chief of Rivne Regional Executive Committee, from the tribune of the XXII Regional Party Conference on December 9, 1988. He warned that pluralism did not justify criticism of the communist system, that publicity was not permissiveness, and perestroika was not anti-Soviet (SARR, f. 400, d. 136, c. 5, p. 7).

On December 9, 1988, analyzing the political reform in the country, H. Bandrovsky, the first secretary of Transcarpathian regional committee from the tribune of the XXI regional party conference emphasized, that only the initiator of “perestroika” – the Communist Party was carrying out a radical change in the political, social and economic components of the life of the Soviet people. According to the speaker, the society unanimously supported the reformist innovations of the CPSU. Publicity and democracy, collegiality and exactingness became the norm. They were caused by the reports of the party members leaders, which restored the connection between the party apparatus and the ordinary communists. Thus, excessive organization, administrative pressure, duplication and remoteness from the “lower” party bodies were left behind. Indisputable proof of renewal, the speaker saw in the election of more than 470 secretaries of the party organization, 312 chairmen of the trade unions, 231 komsomol leaders (SAZR, f. 1, d. 30, c. 1, pp. 11–23).

200 directors, 5 000 work-shop supervisors, foremen lost their positions (SAZR, f. 1, d. 30, c. 1, pp. 11–23). The nomenclature of the regional committee was reduced by a third. The first 7 leaders of Zakarpattia at the regional level and 88 at the district level were fired. There were the following leaders among them: a chairman of the regional trade union council, a deputy chairman of the executive committee, a chairman of the agricultural and industrial complex, the first secretaries of Svaliava and Mukachevo district committees, the heads of Mizhhirya, Mukachevo, Tiachiv district executive committees and 25 chairmen of village councils. 45% of those fired were sent to work in the production and Soviet sectors. But ironically, these changes cost the position of the regional head himself. He was fired (SAZR, f. 1, d. 30, c. 22, pp. 28–31).

During the report and election campaign, the secretaries of city and district committees of Transcarpathian region expressed the ideas concerning about 340 remarks, which testified to the lack of understanding of the center’s reform initiatives by the regional branches of the party (SAZR, f. 1, d. 30, c. 92, p. 3). I. Mashkov, the head of Uzhhorod City Committee, believed that the reforms destroyed the system of a political education, and his colleague from Vynohradiv district, P. Levchuk, hinted at the loss of the perestroika dynamics due to the amplitude narrowing of the party influence. I. Habor, the head of Rakhiv district committee, complained about the increase in the office work volume, and P. Ivanov, the Komsomol leader, stated about a decrease in the number of candidates for members of the CPSU. V. Yaroshovets, the second secretary of the regional committee warned: “It is alarming that the staff of Volovets, Svaliava, Tiachiv district committees was changed almost completely” (SAZR, f. 1, d. 30, c. 19, pp. 8–10). The resistance of Transcarpathian party apparatus reached the point that on December 28 the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent a written remark about the reluctance of the regional party leaders to dismantle the outdated propaganda such as “Glory to the CPSU!”, “Our Goal is Communism!”, “The plans of the party are the plans of the people!” (SAZR, f. 1, d. 30, c. 94, p. 5).

The process of “reform” in Chernivtsi region was illustrated on December 23, 1988 by M. Nivalov, the regional communist leader. From the tribune of the XXII Party Conference, he

assured that the party was advancing on the course of a revolutionary change confidently. The speaker considered the examples of intra-party democratization in the reduction of scheduled meetings by 25% and the reduction of party-economic decisions by 50%. The speaker reported that 5 departments were liquidated in the regional committee, the staff was reduced by 13 people, or 21%. He considered the election of a third of the secretaries of primary and work-shop organizations and a quarter of the party groups as a guarantee of the innovations irreversibility. Cancelling of 60% of the local party bodies decisions by the regional committee, M. Nivalov interpreted as a deepening of perestroika. As a result, 212 communists were expelled from the CPSU, who got admonition at first (SACHR, f. 1, d. 60, c. 1, pp. 9–15).

The most vivid example of the deforming influence of a political reform in the Communist Party environment of Transcarpathia was the discussion that broke out between M. Nivalov, the first secretary of the regional committee, and V. Panasiuk, the first secretary of Kelmenets district committee, at the plenum of the regional committee on October 15, 1988. At the end of the controversy, the latter said that workers “cannot constantly live during reforms” (SACHR, f. 1, d. 60, c. 5, pp. 22–28). The hidden dissatisfaction of the party apparatus was illustrated by the minutes of the XXVIIth report and election conference of Khotyn district committee of November 18, 1988. K. Luchkov, the leader of the local communists, did not understand how to increase the influence in the collectives of workers, on condition of liquidation of the general, agrarian and organizational departments of the district committee and changes in the staff (SACHR, f. 6, d. 29, c. 1, pp. 11–13). V. Potseluyko’s point of view, the district prosecutor, was that the reduction of the party influence on economic bodies resulted in an increase in production problems (SACHR, f. 10, d. 29, c. 1, pp. 44–46). The analysis of the minutes of the XXIst Conference of Hlybotsky District of November 19, 1988, showed that the basis for the dissatisfaction of the party leadership was the lack of logic of the Soviet Union reforms, which led to the destruction of the party monopoly. It turned out that the party lost the positions it had won on the instructions of Moscow center. Little was believed in the declared increase in the Communist influence in the Soviet institutions. N. Semotiuk, the first secretary of the district committee, the members of the bureau T. Dyka, K. Dabula, V. Bodnarash warned about this fact in their speeches. They demanded a clear explanation: who exactly, according to the decision of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference, retains the leading function – the party or the Soviet bodies. If the first ones, then why there is the question of the delimitation of the party-economic functions and how to deal with Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR on the leading and guiding role of the CPSU. If the latter, the party may find itself on the sidelines of political processes in the country and eventually lose pro-government status due to the reduction of its number and the state significance (SACHR, f. 11, d. 29, c. 1, pp. 9–33).

Such warnings were fair. The fact is that in 1985 the regional party organization of Lviv region united 125 111 communists, Ivano-Frankivsk – 53 837, Ternopil – 47 221, Volyn – 51 037, Rivne – 57 521, Transcarpathian – 45 841, Chernivtsi – 42 120 communists. In 1988, 41 communists left the ranks of the Communist Party voluntarily in Lviv region, 40 – in Ivano-Frankivsk, 9 – in Ternopil, 6 – in Volyn, 9 – in Rivne, 0 – in Zakarpattia, and 52 – in Chernivtsi.

In 1989, in Lviv region, 253 communists returned party-membership cards, Ivano-Frankivsk – 91, Ternopil – 51, Volyn – 185, Rivne – 111, Transcarpathian – 76, Chernivtsi – 310 communists. In 1990, 38 232 communists ceased to be members of the CPSU-CPU in Lviv region, 8 904 – in Ivano-Frankivsk region, 5 742 – in Ternopil region, 4 773 – in Volyn region, 5 796 – in Rivne region, 4 031 – in Transcarpathian region, and

3 338 communists – in Chernivtsi region. In 1991, 48 822 communists left the ranks of the party in Lviv region, 10 718 – in Ivano-Frankivsk region, 5 251 – in Ternopil region, 2 170 – in Volyn region, 12 991 – in Rivne region, 4 127 – in Zakarpattia region, and 2 990 communists – in Chernivtsi region. The rest of the party members stopped paying membership fees and duties, leaving themselves outside the party.

Thus, in 1988, as a result of the artificial incorporation of democratic principles into the autocratic party and the state background, the country's key political core – the CPSU, embarked on a rapid fiasco. In 1989, the political reform led to the collapse of the Communist Party's monopoly on all-Union power as a result of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and in 1990 local and Verkhovna Rada elections ended it at the republican and local levels.

**The Conclusions.** Thus, after the proclamation at the XIXth All-Union Party Conference in 1988 of the “Sovietization” of the USSR and the “renewal” of the CPSU, the Communist Party nomenclature of the Western Ukrainian regional committees fell within the deprivation scope of its powers, which was considered as a key indicator of democratization of the Soviet society. This process weakened local party foundations significantly, as it deprived the party of a reliable support it had formed for recent decades. As a result of the total reduction of the party structures, thousands of experienced communists at both party-economic and Soviet levels lost their preferences, which facilitated the intra-party tensions, eroded the party monolithicity and generated a distorting misunderstanding of the expediency of the reform aimed at narrowing the pro-government position of the party itself.

Therefore, the regional party elite was forced to stage fulfilling the tasks of the conference, not wanting to share the state powers with the Soviet institutions of the region even partially. But the imitation of the decisions implementation of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference caused dissatisfaction among ordinary communists and the patriotic non-party public, who sought a social democratization and improvement of their own financial situation. Consequently, full-fledged democratization innovations were a priori incompatible with an autocratic communist rule, and therefore encountered opposition from the local ruling party bodies, because it meant the rejection of the pro-government monopoly. Therefore, a political reform repeated the fate of economic reform – in an authoritarian society, it did not strengthen, but shook the power principles of the key bearer of authoritarianism – the CPSU and its Ukrainian representative – the CPU. As a result, three years later the party ranks were completely reduced, and the party itself was outlawed.

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## SOVIET RELIGIOUS POLICY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to analyze the Soviet religious policy and the problem of overcoming its consequences in the independent Ukrainian state. The **research methodology** is based on the comprehensive application of general scientific and specific historical methods, which allowed tracing the evolution of the state religious policy in the USSR at various stages of its existence. The **scientific novelty** of the article consists in identifying the essence and trends in the development of the Soviet religious policy and determining the ways of overcoming its consequences in the independent Ukrainian state. **The Conclusions.** Being part of the USSR, Ukraine could not form and implement its own religious policy. It was either guided by the documents adopted by the Union-wide party and state bodies or developed similar ones. The Communist Party documents outlined the uncompromising struggle against religion. This anti-religious struggle was waged using various means, forms and methods. The principles of freedom of conscience and the separation of church and state declared in the Soviet regulations were never implemented fully. The state pressure on the church intensified and weakened, but never completely disappeared. The Soviet totalitarian system caused enormous damage to the church, religious organizations, clergy, and believers. The consequence of the Soviet religious*



policy was the restriction of freedom of conscience, the expropriation of church property, repression of the clergy and believers, the closure of religious buildings and the destruction of the religious network. However, the Soviet authorities did not succeed in overcoming religion, which was revived at the slightest opportunity. After gaining independence, Ukraine began to develop its own model of state-church relations, and to form and implement its own state religious policy. Having received a heavy Soviet legacy in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere, the country is overcoming its negative consequences gradually. Their final elimination will contribute to further development of partner state-church relations and promote full support of freedom of conscience and religion.

**Key words:** religion, church, state-church relations, the Soviet religious policy, the Soviet legislation on religious cults.

## РАДЯНСЬКА РЕЛІГІЙНА ПОЛІТИКА ТА ЇЇ НАСЛІДКИ В НЕЗАЛЕЖНІЙ УКРАЇНІ

**Анотація.** Метою статті є аналіз радянської релігійної політики та проблем подолання її наслідків у незалежній українській державі. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на комплексному використанні загальнонаукових та спеціальних історичних методів, застосування яких дало можливість прослідувати еволюцію державної релігійної політики в СРСР в різні періоди його існування. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у виявленні сутності та визначенні тенденцій радянської релігійної політики, а також визначенні шляхів подолання її наслідків у незалежній українській державі. **Висновки.** Перебуваючи у складі СРСР, Україна не мала можливості формувати і здійснювати власну релігійну політику. Вона керувалася документами, що приймалися союзними партійними і державними органами, або розробляла аналогічні їм свої. На непримиренну боротьбу з релігією найбільшою мірою націлювали компартійні документи. Боротьба з релігією велася з використанням різноманітних засобів, форм і методів. Задекларовані у радянських нормативно-правових актах принципи свободи совісті та відокремлення церкви від держави повною мірою у життя ніколи не втілювалися. Тиск держави на церкву то посилювався, то послаблювався, проте ніколи повністю не зникав. Радянська тоталітарна система завдала церкві, релігійним організаціям, служителям культу та віруючим величезної шкоди. Наслідком радянської релігійної політики стало суттєве обмеження свободи совісті і віросповідання, експропріація церковної власності, репресії духовенства та віруючих, закриття культових будівель, руйнування релігійної мережі. Проте радянській владі так і не вдалося здолати релігію, за наявності найменших можливостей вона відроджувалася. Україна, здобувши незалежність, почала самостійно визначати модель державно-церковних відносин, формувати і реалізовувати власну державну релігійну політику. Отримавши від СРСР тяжку спадщину у релігійно-церковній сфері, вона поступово долає негативні її наслідки. Їх остаточне усунення сприятиме подальшому розвитку партнерських державно-церковних відносин, повноцінному забезпеченню свободи совісті і віросповідання.

**Ключові слова:** релігія, церква, державно-церковні відносини, радянська релігійна політика, радянське законодавство про релігійні культу.

**The Problem Statement.** The collapse of the USSR and the independence of Ukraine led to dramatic changes in different spheres of public life. One of these areas was religion and church, which during the years of the Soviet totalitarian regime accumulated a lot of problems later inherited by the independent Ukrainian state. With the formation of a democratic model of state-church relations and the implementation of a new religious policy, independent Ukraine was able to resolve some of them. However, the remnants of the Soviet policy in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere are still indicative and continue to have a negative impact on religious and ecclesiastical life in Ukraine.

**Analysis of Recent Research and publications.** Considering that the Soviet religious policy was implemented throughout the USSR, scholars of the former Soviet republics frequently refer to its study. Attempts to comprehend its various aspects were made by the

Russian scholars, including V. Alekseev, Y. Zuev, M. Odintsov, G. Pankov, K. Polozova, D. Pospelovskiyi, D. Furman, I. Shafarevich, M. Shkarovskiyi, and the others. They studied the Soviet model of state-church relations, the position of religion and church in the USSR at different stages of its history, the forms and methods of the Soviet authorities' struggle with religion and the church, and showed the anti-religious orientation of the Soviet policy in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere.

The peculiarities of the Soviet model of state-church relations in Ukraine and the specifics of the struggle against religion in Ukrainian territories were investigated by the Ukrainian scholars I. Andrukhiv, L. Babenko, V. Voinalovych, V. Yelenskyi, O. Ihnatusha, S. Zhyliuk, A. Kyrydon, O. Lysenko, V. Pashchenko and the others. However, the legacy of the independent Ukrainian state in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere, the ways and problems of overcoming the consequences of the religious policy of the Soviet political regime need further study.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze the Soviet religious policy and the problem of overcoming its consequences in the independent Ukrainian state.

**The Main Material Statement.** In tsarist Russia, of which Ukraine had been a part for almost three centuries, the position of religious organizations was unequal: the Russian Orthodox Church had the status of a state religion, while other religions were tolerated or even banned.

Seizing power in 1917, the Bolsheviks declared religion an "opium for the people", the church an ally of the autocracy, the church hierarchy a counter-revolutionary force, and led a decisive attack on them.

After the creation of the USSR, approaches to religion and church developed by the Russian Bolsheviks began to be implemented in other Soviet republics, including Ukraine. At the same time, Ukraine itself was deprived of the opportunity to determine the principles, strategy, directions and mechanisms of policy implementation in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere independently. The legislation it adopted concerning religion and church was similar in content and purpose to those published in Moscow. According to B. Botsiurkiv, "since the formation of the USSR the religious policy in Ukraine was largely Russia's policy copy" (Botsiurkiv, 1994, p. 132).

The basic regulation that formed the Soviet model of state-church relations and determined the Soviet policy in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere was the Decree "On separation of church from state and school from church" of January 23, 1918. According to this decree, the church was separated from the state, which meant the termination of its government and local funding, and the removal of data on religious affiliation of citizens from the state documents. Religious organizations were deprived of their legal personality, their property was subject to expropriation and became state property. Only certain religious buildings and property, at the discretion of local authorities, could be made available to religious communities for free. The decree proclaimed the separation of the school from the church, and therefore prohibited teaching of religious subjects in educational institutions, allowing only private teaching of religion (Zakonodavstvo, 1973, pp. 67–68).

One of the basic legal acts of the Soviet period was also the Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR "On Religious Associations" dated April 8, 1929. It determined the procedure of formation, registration and activity of religious organizations, as well as the use of religious buildings and property. According to this document, religious organizations, clergymen and leaders of religious associations were the subject to mandatory registration. Religious

buildings and property made available to religious organizations for use had to be properly maintained and preserved. The functions of control and supervision of religious organizations and their accounting relied on local authorities, who carried out their registration (Sobranje Uzakonyi, 1929, p. 353).

Established by the Decree “On Separation of Church from State and School from Church” and the Decree “On Religious Associations”, the procedure for registration of religious organizations and clergy, the provision of religious buildings and property was in practice excessively bureaucratic. This procedure greatly complicated the practice of the use and gave the possibility to officials, especially in the regions, to arbitrarily interpret the provisions of these regulations and resolve religious issues on their own.

Among the first victims of the Soviet religious policy in Ukraine was the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which in 1930 was accused of anti-Soviet activity and forced to “self-destruct”. As a result, almost all the bishops and about 2 000 priests were arrested (Borotba za proholoshennia, 2020).

Following the reunification of Western Ukrainian lands with Soviet Ukraine in September of 1939, religious organizations and believers in the region also became the object of, and subsequently, victims of, the Soviet religious policy.

During World War II religious and church life began to recover in the occupied territories of Ukraine where the Soviet authorities lost control of social and political processes and the pressure on the church stopped.

During the war the Russian Orthodox Church took patriotic position. Metropolitan and later Patriarch Sergius addressed the flock with patriotic appeals more than 23 times over the war (Alekseev, 1991, p. 334). Hierarchs, clergymen and believers of this church prayed for the victory of the Soviet army over fascism and provided material and financial assistance to the front.

The patriotic position of the church and the clergy during the war, as well the need to unite the efforts of believers and non-believers in the fight against the German invaders were the main causes of changes in religious policy. This process was initiated in September of 1943 at the meeting of Stalin with senior hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church. In addition, the review of relations between the state and the church was dictated by the need to create a positive image of the USSR in the eyes of the population of Western states, especially the anti-Hitler coalition allies.

The consequence of the correction of the state religious policy during the war was the restoration of patriarchy and election of Metropolitan Sergius as Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, granting to religious organizations the status of a legal entity, the return of religious buildings and property, restoration of monasteries and spiritual institutions, the cessation of outrageous anti-religious propaganda, and the release of many of the repressed worshippers from prison. Only from September of 1943 to October of 1944, more than 200 churches were opened in the USSR (Odintsov, 1989, p. 61).

The newly created Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (1943) and the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR (1944) were responsible for the registration of the religious-church network after the end of the war. Particular attention was paid to the communities that operated at the occupied territories and to the priests ordained during the occupation. The Russian Orthodox Church accused its hierarchs who had been at the occupied territory, of cooperating with the German occupiers and expelled them from the episcopate. Among the excommunicated were the representatives of the Ukrainian church structures Archbishop Alexei and Bishop Polycarp (Odintsov, 1989, p. 37).

The analysis of the Russian Orthodox Church network revealed that it numbered 14 329 parishes served by 70 bishops and 13,104 worshipers of cult. There were 2 theological academies and 8 theological seminaries that enrolled 562 persons. There were 85 monasteries and nunneries with 4632 monks and nuns (Shkarovskiy, 2000, pp. 341–342).

After the war, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which was accused of cooperating with the fascists and the OUN-UPA, was subjected to special harassment and persecution. At the Lviv Church Council of 1946, according to the scenario of the Soviet authorities, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was also “self-destructed”. 11 bishops, 50 Metropolitan archpriests, all abbots of monasteries and nunneries, about 1 550 priests, many monks, nuns and believers were sent to prisons and concentration camps (Litopys holhofy, 1994, pp. 128–130). The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was outlawed, and its supporters pushed by the authorities either to convert to Orthodoxy or to break completely with religion.

N. Khrushchev’s coming to power in 1953 was accompanied by a new offensive on religion. If in 1958, 64 churches were closed in Ukraine, in 1969 this number was more than 12 times higher and made 747. 1 144 communities were removed from registration in 1960, 526 in 1963, and 257 in 1963. At the beginning of 1961, the religious network in Ukraine numbered 7192 religious organizations, while in 1965 these were only 4540 (*Istoriia relihii v Ukraini*, 2003, pp. 6–17).

Documents adopted at the XXII CPSU Congress (1961) were also aimed at strengthening the struggle against religion. The CPSU Program, in particular, set the task to “regularly conduct extensive scientific atheistic propaganda, patiently explaining the failure of religious belief” (Prohrama, 1961, p. 107). The CPSU Statute approved by the Congress also obliged the Communists to “fight decisively against ... religious prejudices and other remnants of the past” (Statut, 1961, p. 4).

Scientific and atheistic propaganda became one of the important directions of ideological work of the CPSU. The Party, the Komsomol, the trade unions, mass media, scholars, cultural figures, former worshipers of a cult who had departed from religion were widely involved in its conduct. The mass editions of atheistic literature continued: in 1961 – 1962 alone, 667 atheist books and pamphlets were published by the USSR publishers, with a total circulation of 11 million copies (*Khrushchiovskaiia antyrelhyoznaia kampaniia*, 2020).

The document that aimed at strengthening the fight against religion was the “Instruction on the Application of the Laws on Cults” (March 16, 1961). It outlined the rights and responsibilities of believers and religious organizations, requirements for church activities, specified the procedure for registration of religious associations, opening and closing of places of worship, and the use of church property. The instruction forbade the registration of congregations of Jehovah’s Witnesses, Pentecostals, True Orthodox Christians, True Orthodox Church, Adventist Reformists (*Instruktsiia*, 1961). As it turned out later, the ban on registering communities of these religious movements was one of the strategic mistakes of the authorities, since it led to the formation of a religious underground, which in the mid-1960s alone numbered 1 269 religious communities in Ukraine (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 6, c. 3, p. 6).

The Russian Orthodox Church also suffered considerable destruction in the first half of the 1960s. During the period from 1961 till 1966, the number of Orthodox communities in the USSR generally decreased from 11742 to 7523 (*Nauka i relihii*, 1987, p. 23). At the beginning of 1961 alone, 850 Orthodox churches were closed in Ukraine (Yelenskiy, 1991, p. 21). At this time, as V. Pashchenko notes, “the situation was largely reminiscent of the 1930s” (Pashchenko, 1997, p. 337).

Religious and ecclesiastical life in the USSR was regulated in such detail by relevant legal acts that it was difficult for religious organizations, clergy and believers to comply with all the requirements contained therein. Violators of religious cults legislation faced administrative and criminal liability. Thus, during the period from 1961 till 1964, over 700 believers were prosecuted in Ukraine. Only in Odesa region about 46 persons were sentenced to different terms for the same period (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 4, c. 373, p. 103).

With L. Brezhnev coming to power in 1964, religious policy underwent significant adjustments, resulting in a weakening of the state's pressure on the church and a decrease of tension in their relations. The Prosecutor General's Office of the USSR and the Supreme Court of the USSR were instructed to restore legality in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere, to review court cases and sentences against convicts for religious beliefs, to annul decisions on unjustified withdrawal from registration of religious communities and worshipers of cult. Local authorities pledged not to interfere with the registration of religious associations and to return the illegally expropriated religious buildings to worshipers. The provision which contained a list of prohibited religious movements was withdrawn from the "Instruction on the application of legislation on cults".

However, the propaganda of atheism remained an important component of the ideological work of the party. At this time, the former gross anti-religious propaganda began to transform into scientific and atheistic education, the purpose of which was not only to overcome religion, but also to form a scientific materialistic, and atheistic worldview.

To increase the effectiveness of atheistic education, it was supplied a scientific basis, also atheist lecturers were trained, sociological studies of religiosity were conducted and attempts were made to differentiate approach to different categories and groups of believers. The Institute of Scientific Atheism was established at the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee; its Inter-Republican branch, the Republican House of Scientific Atheism, was opened in Kyiv. Scientific atheism was taught in higher educational establishments as a compulsory discipline, and lectures were conducted as scientific-atheist propaganda.

An important role in the implementation of the government's religious policy belonged to the Council for Religions of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Council for Religions of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and their authorized representatives in the regions. Under the authority of the party organs, they became instruments of controlling the activities of religious organizations and the clergy, artificially curbing the growth of the religious network. Even in times when the state religious policy weakened, the number of religious organizations did not decrease without their participation. In 1966 there were 7481 Orthodox communities in the USSR, in 1976 – 6983, while in 1985 – 6806 (Yelenskyi, 2010a).

New Soviet traditions, holidays and ceremonies were developed and implemented to displace religious rituals from family and domestic life. However, believers, willingly joining the Soviet rites, continued to participate in religious activities.

Although the principles of state religious policy were formed in Moscow, its direct implementation was carried out in the Soviet republics. The peculiarity of its implementation in Ukraine was the more rigid attitude of the republican party apparatus to religion and the church, than required by the relevant all-party and government legislation. Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko), who was an eyewitness to what was happening at that time in the sphere of state-church relations, noted that in Ukraine the pressure of the party apparatus on the church "was much stronger than in Moscow where only separate cathedrals were closed. Kyiv believers were deprived of both the Sophia Cathedral and the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra"

(Mytropolyt Filaret, 1992). This was confirmed by the activities of the Council for Religions of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine, which did not register any Orthodox churches during the last 40 years before independence (Yelenskyi, 2010b).

Thus, during the years of the Soviet regime, an “anti-church” model of state-church relations was formed and implemented in the place of the destroyed classical model of state-church relations that existed in tsarist Russia. According to O. Sagan, “such a model... theoretically guaranteed freedom of conscience, but in reality believers were perceived and discriminated against as political enemies. Public policy “atheization” led to significant human rights abuses” (Sagan, 2001, p. 67).

The state religious policy underwent fundamental changes during the Perestroika, initiated by the then Secretary-General of the CPSU Central Committee, M. Gorbachev. The beginning of a new stage of state-church relations was marked by his meeting (April 29, 1988) with the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen and members of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church on the eve of the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Russia. Celebrating this date not only at the church but also at the state level testified to the authorities’ choice of a course towards normalization of the state-church relations.

Due to democratic transformations in the USSR, the revival of religious and church life began, which was reflected in the growth of the network of religious organizations, the denominational diversity of the religious environment, the increase in the number of believers, the deployment of social services and charitable activity, and expanding relationships with co-religionists abroad. Religious revival was accompanied by the revision of political evaluations of religion, the elimination of administrative influence on religion and the church, the elimination of disrespectful attitudes to believers, the search for ways for dialogue and cooperation of believers and atheists in the realization of socially important tasks, and the loss of relevance of scientific atheistic propaganda. Religion has once again confirmed its incredible ability to survive. Whereas in 1988 there were 5.5 thousand religious organizations in Ukraine (Liubchuk, 2001, p. 53), in 1991 there were 12 962 (Navchalni materialy). Orthodoxy revived, Protestant movements intensified, numbers of the Jewish and Muslim communities increased, and new religions emerged.

Ukraine, which embarked on the path of democratization and then gained independence, faced the problem of developing its own model of state-church relations, as well as forming and implementing its own government religious policy. The successful solution of these problems required the removal of the Soviet legacy from the religious and ecclesiastical sphere. In the Law of Ukraine “On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations”, adopted shortly before the proclamation of independence, one of its tasks was defined as “overcoming the negative consequences of state policy on religion and the church” (Zakon Ukrainy “Pro svobodu sovisti...”, 1991, Article 283).

Among the first legislative acts aimed at overcoming the negative consequences of the Soviet religious policy was the Law of Ukraine “On the rehabilitation of victims of repression by the communist totalitarian regime of 1917 – 1991”, according to which persons subjected to repression for religious reasons were subject to rehabilitation (Zakon Ukrainy “Pro reabilitatsiiu...”, 1991, Article 262).

During the first years of independence, the special Law of Ukraine “On alternative (non-military) service” normalized the procedure of substitution of military service with alternative service, if the performance of military duty contradicted the religious beliefs of the person (Zakon Ukrainy “Pro alternatyvnu...”, 1992, Art.188).

In order to solve the problem of church property, raised during the Soviet period, the authorities of independent Ukraine adopted normative legal acts aimed at returning religious buildings and property to religious organizations, among them the Decree and Executive Order of the President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk (Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy "Pro zakhody...", 1992; Rozporiadzhennia Prezydenta Ukrainy "Pro povernennia...", 1994).

The necessity of overcoming the Soviet legacy in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere and normalization of state-church relations was discussed in the Statement of President of Ukraine L. Kuchma on moral and political rehabilitation of the church (Uriadovyi kurier, 1999), as well as in his Decree "On Urgent Measures to Ultimately Overcome the Negative Consequences of the Former Soviet Union's Totalitarian Policy on Religion and Restore the Violated Rights of Churches and Religious Organizations" (Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy "Pro nevidkladni zakhody...", 2002).

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, by amending a number of legislative acts, normalized the issue of the activities of clergymen (chaplains) in penitentiary institutions (Zakon Ukrainy "Pro vnesennia zmin...", 2015).

The legislative and executive bodies of Ukraine made efforts to harmonize the relations between the school and the church, which were strictly separated in the USSR. In particular, the Law of Ukraine "On Education" gives religious organizations the right to act as founders of educational institutions and determine the religious orientation of their educational activities (Zakon Ukrainy "Pro osvitu", 2019). In addition, the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine included Theology in the List of specialties which are taught at higher educational institutions on specialist and master degree programs, as well as the decision on state recognition of certificates of higher spiritual education, scientific degrees and titles issued by higher educational institutions (Postanova Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy "Pro derzhavne vyznannia...", 2015).

However, some of the problems raised by the totalitarian regime in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere were not completely resolved by the Ukrainian authorities. Thus, despite Ukraine's commitment to the EU to draft a law on church property restitution, this issue remains legally unresolved.

The current issue of military chaplaincy, which should be regulated at the level of law, is regulated only at the secondary level nowadays. Although the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has come very close to adopting a special law, this problem has not been resolved so far, which hinders the full-fledged activity of this institution in the Ukrainian army.

The final overcoming of the Soviet legacy in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere in Ukraine is hampered by a number of factors, including the complexity of the economic situation, confrontation of different political forces, and the lack of political will in the leadership of the state.

The Conclusions. According to the analysis, the Soviet totalitarian system has done great harm to the church, religious organizations, priests and believers. The consequences of the Soviet religious policy were restrictions on freedom of conscience and religion, expropriation of church property, closure and destruction of cult buildings and property, antagonistic relations between the state and the church, conflict in the religious environment, decline in the religiosity of the population and religious rituals, decrease in the number of worshipers of the cult, destruction of the religious-church network, deprivation religion of its social importance, and restriction of its scope by individual consciousness and domestic life.

The provisions on freedom of conscience, separation of the church from the state, although proclaimed by the Soviet Constitutions, were never implemented fully.

The result of the Soviet religious policy was antagonistic relations between the state and the church, significant restrictions on freedom of conscience and religion, expropriation of church property, destruction of religious and church networks, closure and destruction of religious buildings and property, conflict in the religious environment, decline of the level of religiosity and religious rites, reduction of the number of clergymen, deprivation of the social significance of religion, limiting it to individual consciousness and the domestic sphere. Consequently, the church was always more or less dependent on the state.

Among the determining factors of the orientation of the Soviet religious policy was the personal attitude of senior leaders of the state to religion and the church, as well as the political situation inside the country and in the international arena. Despite the easing of the state religious policy during certain periods, it was never fully conducive to fully guaranteeing the right to freedom of conscience and religion. Depending on who was in power, the state pressure on the church increased, then weakened, but never completely disappeared. Only the tactics of the struggle against religion changed, but the strategy, its final combating, remained unchanged.

Despite the use of various means, forms and methods of combating religion, the Soviet authorities never managed to overcome it. Religion demonstrated its vitality and was revived at the slightest opportunity.

Having received a heavy legacy from the USSR in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere, Ukraine is gradually overcoming its negative consequences. Their final elimination will promote further development of state-church relations, as well as full guarantee of freedom of conscience and religion. The study of this problem will remain relevant until the final removal of the remnants of the Soviet religious policy from the religious and ecclesiastical life of modern Ukraine, which will contribute to full freedom of conscience and religion and further development of state-church partnerships.

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**RELIGIOUS PROCESSES IN WESTERN EUROPE  
AT THE END OF THE XXth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXIst CENTURIES**

**Abstract.** *The purpose* of the article is a conceptual identification of religiosity tendencies in Western Europe at the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries. **The methodological**

*bases of the study were socio-philosophical analysis of the religiosity phenomenon, as well as historical systemic and analytical synthetic methods. **The Scientific Novelty.** In Western Europe new religious processes go beyond the classical contours of modernity. The dynamics of change in the field of religion takes place under conditions of uncertainty, nonlinearity, ephemerality of social processes, as well as the continuing aggravation of relations between secular culture and religion. It is necessary to be critically aware of the fact that the institutional and socio-cultural return of religion (post-secularity) causes vulgarization, the creation of various distorted forms of religiosity. Our point of view is that the decline of a traditional religiosity continues in Western Europe, which is not a localized tendency and a civilizational integration project, a transnational paradigm are being actively promoted. **The Conclusions.** Western societies remain a relatively secular part of the global world and differ in the level of a religious diversity and the dynamics of a religious change among their population. From the point of view of the confessional identification, Western European countries can be attributed to one Christian culture (unfortunately, practically lost). According to the criterion of religiosity level, "high religion" is characteristic of countries with the maximum number of Orthodox and Catholics. In Western Europe, there is a situation where religion is often engaged with "vicariously". In Western Europe, an important tendency in religiosity is the subjectivation of faith and practice, which complicates the preservation and transmission of religious traditions. As a result, religiosity is of a situational character.*

***Key words:** faith, Western Europe, post-secularity, religion, religiosity, religious tradition, secularization.*

## РЕЛІГІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ В КРАЇНАХ ЗАХІДНОЇ ЄВРОПИ НА РУБЕЖІ ХХ – ХХІ ст.

***Анотація.** Метою статті є концептуальне виявлення тенденцій релігійності в країнах Західної Європи на рубежі ХХ – ХХІ ст. **Методологічними** засадами дослідження стали соціально-філософський аналіз феномену релігійності, а також, історико-системний і аналітико-синтетичний методи. **Наукова новизна.** Нові релігійні процеси в Західній Європі, виходять за межі класичних контурів сучасності. Динаміка змін у сфері релігії відбувається в умовах невизначеності, нелінійності, швидкоплинності соціальних процесів, а також характеризується продовженням загострення відносин між секулярною культурою і релігією. Необхідно критично усвідомлювати, що за інституційним і соціокультурним поверненням релігії (постсекулярність) відбувається вульгаризація, створення різноманітних спотворених форм релігійності. Ми вважаємо, що в Західній Європі продовжується занепад традиційної релігійності, який не є локалізованою тенденцією і активно пропагується цивілізаційний інтеграційний проєкт і транснаціональна парадигма. **Висновки.** Західні суспільства залишаються відносно світською частиною глобального світу та розрізняються за рівнем релігійного розмаїття і динамікою релігійних змін серед їх населення. З точки зору конфесійної ідентифікації країни Західної Європи можна віднести до єдиної християнської культури (на жаль, практично втраченої). За критерієм рівня релігійності "високе віросповідання" характерне для країн з максимальною кількістю православних і католиків. У Західній Європі склалася ситуація, коли religion is often engaged with "vicariously". Важливою тенденцією релігійності в країнах Західної Європи є суб'єктивація віри і практики, яка ускладнює збереження та передачу релігійних традицій. Як наслідок, релігійність має ситуативний характер.*

***Ключові слова:** віра, Західна Європа, постсекулярність, релігія, релігійність, релігійна традиція, секуляризація.*

**The Problem Statement.** According to many researchers, one of the main topics of our time is the problems associated with the real state of religiosity, the emergence of its new varieties, the attempts to correlate the level of civilization and a cultural development and the degree of society religiosity. These issues are caused by the place and role of a religious factor in social processes and international political events: the spread of the post-secular paradigm, the impact of a global migration on the religiosity change in European space, the search of ways of a cultural dialogue between Western society and representatives of

other cultures, extremism and terrorism, the transformation of modern practices of traditional religious institutions, the formation and spread of new religious organizations and the others. Thus, the problems of post-secularization, religious galvanization, neo-fundamentalism, traditionalism and pseudo-traditionalism are the hallmarks of a modern spiritual life around the world, primarily the West, the most desacralized in comparison with its postcolonial periphery. However, sometimes the analysis of these phenomena, in which a well-established descriptive scale is used in academic religious studies, remains unsuccessful. This kind of analysis only records these phenomena (Tovbin, 2013, p. 86).

In the article the actualization of the problematic issue is caused by the European development vector of Ukraine. Undoubtedly, these and other tendencies are reflected – complex and nonlinear – in Ukraine as well. Moreover, the problematic issue is extremely specific and worthy of the most in-depth and comprehensive research. In Europe and Ukraine harsh debates revolve around the values and identities based on religious beliefs and feelings.

Also, the study of religiosity, “Christian biography” of a historical figure through the external manifestations of “soul work”, according to a historian, Professor Dmytro Volodykhin (2020), can and must become the goal of a historian’s professional activity. The method of “personal history” is meant – a direction that is becoming one of the most promising in historical science at the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries.

In fact, the true object of analysis for personal history is the abyss of a human soul, the soul that struggles with temptation, the sinful soul that seeks to overcome sinfulness, the soul that is under pressure by external circumstances, the soul that ascends to God (Volodihin, 2020).

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** The actualization of the need for an integrated approach in the study of religiosity in the article by O. Breskaja “The Study of Religiosity: the Need for an Integrated Approach” was important for our research (2011). According to the author, this is due to the history of the religiosity conceptualization in the XXth century and a special dual nature of this phenomenon – individual and group, aimed at understanding the transcendent (Breskaja, 2011).

Grace Davie emphasizes the need for new conceptual tools to understand the modern world and the place of religion in it better:

The conceptual tools that emerge from the European case may not be appropriate elsewhere. Instead we need to search for new approaches and new understandings in order to understand the nature of religion in the modern world fully – both within and outside Europe (Davie, 2004, p. 83).

In the article “Religion in Europe in the 21st Century: The Factors to Take into Account” (2006) Grace Davie also focuses on six factors that shape a religious life of modern Europe. “These are, – the British researcher writes – the Judaeo-Christian heritage, the continuing influence of the historic churches, the changing patterns of church-going, new arrivals from outside, secular reactions and the growing significance of religion in the modern world order” (Davie, 2006, p. 271). The author is convinced, that “any assessment of the future of religion in Europe must take all of these into account, not least their mutual and necessarily complex interactions” (Davie, 2006, p. 271). Noteworthy is Grace Davie’s conception of “vicarious religion”, which was elaborated to understand the nature of European religion. I. Kargina (2012) focuses on modern researches in the field of civic religion and civic religiosity, which are close to Grace Davie’s conception of “vicarious religion”. In this context, it is necessary to mention the concept “believing without belonging”, which is used in Western sociology in the analysis of religiosity nowadays actively.

The new situation of modernity – post-secularity, which became a tendency in modern Western societies – one of the main problems of a scientific research of Jurgen Habermas. In his opinion, “Post-secular society” can really be applied to public consciousness in Europe nowadays in the sense that this society at this time does not deny the fact of the continued existence of religious communities in a secularized environment and adapts to it” (Habermas, 2008, p. 2).

But in Western sociological thought there are supporters of the theory of secularization, who emphasize that “the decline in power, popularity, and prestige of religion across the modern world is not a short-term or localized trend nor is it an accident” (Bruce, 2011). Steve Bruce’s main idea consists in the fact that the social significance of religion in Europe is diminishing and this ultimately means a complete decline of faith. Gert Pickel, reflecting on the question: Secularization as a European Fate?, writes:

“...Establishing a “contextualized *secularization theory*” as a frame of reference for empirical analyses has a lot to commend it. We can only advance the empirical interpretation of religious developments if we combine path dependencies with additional general socio-cultural explanatory models. This implies that we need to incorporate the general conditions of religion broadly ... Insisting on alternative standpoints and rejecting the secularization theory prematurely seems to obscure the perception of reality instead” (Pickel, 2006, pp. 118–119).

José Pereira Coutinho focuses on the analysis of religiosity in European countries in the study “Religiosity in Europe: an Index, Factors, and Clusters of Religiosity” (2016), in which the Portuguese researcher pays attention to the interest of modern researchers in the problem of religion and religiosity in Europe. “Modern Europe’s varied cultural and religious landscape has given rise to numerous sociological studies, which either focus on one or few countries, its Eastern part, its Western part or Europe as a whole” (Coutinho, 2016, p. 164).

Victor Yelensky’s scientific works are devoted to the tendencies of a religious life, their analysis and forecasts at the turn of the new millennium. In particular, in the lecture “Global Tendencies in Religious Development at the Beginning of the XXIst century” (2009) at the Ukrainian Catholic University, a well-known Ukrainian theologian emphasized the relationship between globalization and religion, the complex and ambiguous situation of religiosity in Western Europe. It is important for us to actualize V. Yelensky’s idea that the tendencies of changes in a religious life should not be reduced only to a renewal. “After all, the future of religion will always depend on its ability to be both traditional and forward-looking, to value and respect its heritage, but also to be able to transcend it” (Yelensky, 2009).

The following data were used in writing this article: European Values Surveys (EVS), The European Social Survey (ESS), World Christian Database, Center for Religion, Economy and Politics (ZRWP); materials Pew Research Center’s Forum on Religion & Public Life, German company of the Statista, Deutsche Welle (DW), Bertelsmann Foundation, Swiss Metadatabase of Religious Affiliation in Europe (SMRE).

**The purpose of the article** – to identify the religiosity tendencies in Western Europe at the end of XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries. Such analysis can confirm or refute superficial generalizing stereotypes about a religious life in Western Europe, understand in this context the specifics of religiosity in Ukraine, understand the real challenges of today and the answers to them.

The complexity of the religiosity study is associated, primarily, with methodological problems. Also, it is very difficult for people to express their religious beliefs and feelings verbally. Thus, we can think more about external religiosity, and the internal – the invisible connection that unites a human being with God – will always remain Kant’s “thing in itself”.

And even confirmation / non-confirmation of religiosity by knowledge and reading of prayers, Holy Scriptures, visits to religious buildings, observance of other cultic practices may not indicate a true religiosity (Fylypovych, 2015). After all, according to I. Ilyin, between faith and unfaith, between religiosity and without religiosity, there are many peculiar intermediate states when a person remains insecure, indecisive and unstable... Sometimes, under the crust of a theoretical disbelief, true and deep religiosity lives secretly; and vice versa, often, a pronounced church piety hides a completely non-spiritual soul... (Ilyin, 2014).

**The Main Material Statement.** Although confessional identification is a weak indicator of an individual's religiosity, in our opinion, it should be taken into account when analyzing the relationship between people and religion and the church, because confessionalism helps understand the historical and traditional dimensions of religiosity. At the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries Western European countries, from the point of view of confessional identification in general, can be attributed to one Christian culture (unfortunately, much lost), with similar political processes and structures, because 46% of people call themselves Catholics and 22% – Protestants (other religions make up about 7%). In Table 1 the list of countries is illustrated. Approximately the same results were obtained by European Values Surveys waves 4, 5. Although regional and global conflicts (1991 and 2001, the events of the Arab Spring, which began in 2011, mass migration to Europe in 2015, etc.) led to a reassessment of the opportunities and constraints of existing European social institutions and a real challenge for states, which for centuries remained the embodiment of Christian civilization. Pew Research Center survey of religious beliefs and practices in Western Europe<sup>1</sup>, illustrated that “both church-attending and non-practicing Christians are more likely than religiously unaffiliated adults in Western Europe to voice anti-immigrant and anti-minority views” (Being Christian in Western Europe, 2018).

According to Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (2000), the new religious processes that are taking shape in Europe go beyond the classical contours of modernity and thus, “The central new development regarding the place of religion is thus that religious identity, which was in the classical model of the nation-state delegated or confined to private or secondary spheres, has become transposed into the public political and cultural arenas, thereby becoming a central, autonomous component in the constitution of collective identities” (Eisenstadt, 2000).

In fact, Europe is very diverse to be analyzed as a whole. “Western societies vary in the extent of their religious diversity and the rate of religious change among their populations” (Collins-Mayo, 2012, p. 81). In general, in Western Europe, Christians are more likely to show a high level of a national than religious pride.

**Table 1<sup>2</sup>. What denomination you belong to?**

Country	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Evangelists	Orthodox	Other
France	91.8	2.4	0.8	1.9	3.1
Great Britain	15.4	60.3	1.7	0.1	22.5
Germany	41.8	50.6	2.6	0.5	4.5
Austria	91.5		6.4	1.0	1.2
Netherlands	51.3	21.0	16.9		10.8
Ireland	95.9	1.6	0.7		1.9
Belgium	86.3	1.7	3.1	0.6	8.3

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<sup>1</sup> Pew Research Center conducted surveys among 24,599 adults (ages 18 and older) across 15 countries in Western Europe. Interviewing was carried out under the direction of GfK Belgium by telephone (both cellphones and landlines) from April to August 2017.

<sup>2</sup> EVS3, 2001, p. 75

The percentage of belonging to a religious denomination is represented in Table 2. As it can be seen in Ireland (90.7%) and Austria (88.1%) the majority shows the belonging to a religious denomination, but in the Netherlands – only 46%.

**Table 2<sup>3</sup>. Do you belong to a religious denomination?**

Country	Yes	No
Ireland	90.7	9.3
Austria	88.1	11.9
Germany	76.6	23.4
Luxembourg	72.2	27.8
Belgium	64.2	35.8
France	57.5	42.5
Netherlands	46.0	54.0

Respondents' answers to questions about belonging to religious denomination and religiosity are closely related. The results of researches illustrate that people who say they belong to a particular denomination at the same time claim to be non-religious, while people who do not belong to a religious denomination claim to be religious. Pierre Bréchon (2008) considers that this may be a sign of distance between interpersonal attitudes and registered social affiliation, as well as a diminution of the importance of religious institutions that lost some of their power to determine the country's religious panorama.

According to José Pereira Coutinho (2016), the countries with "higher belief" are Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic (Table 3). As it can be seen, the countries of Western Europe out of 47 countries, with the exception of Ireland, are presented at the bottom of the Table with a lower index of religiosity.

**Table 3<sup>4</sup>. Indicators and Dimension of Beliefs**

	Country	Personal God	Life after death	Hell	Heaven	Sin	Dimension <sup>1</sup>
1	Turkey	90.6	92.5	96.7	96.7	97.8	1.28
6	Georgia	94.3	44.8	65.3	70.3	85.0	0.68
7	Poland	78.5	66.1	60.8	70.7	80.9	0.67
12	Ireland	53.4	59.7	42.1	67.2	67.8	0.32
17	Ukraine	55.0	38.0	39.5	44.0	76.5	0.13
24	Great Britain	25.0	44.3	28.6	46.4	28.6	0.14
27	Austria	25.7	51.6	23.8	35.9	51.6	- 0.21
31	Switzerland	26.4	44.6	18.3	39.3	45.6	- 0.28
35	Netherlands	23.9	45.8	15.0	37.2	36.3	- 0.36
36	Belgium	21.6	40.4	17.1	34.0	43.9	- 0.37
40	Luxembourg	27.4	40.9	17.7	25.6	36.9	- 0.42
41	Germany	21.7	34.7	16.6	30.8	42.6	- 0.43
42	France	17.6	39.3	16.6	31.6	38.9	- 0.44
47	Sweden	13.7	33.9	7.6	19.0	13.3	- 0.73

<sup>3</sup> EVS3, 2001, p. 74

<sup>4</sup> Coutinho, 2016, p. 175.



If you analyze these indices thoroughly and refer specifically to the block on attendance frequency at religious services (Table 4<sup>5</sup>), you can see a high percentage of those who do not attend the service in France (60.4%), Great Britain<sup>6</sup> (55.8), Belgium and the Netherlands. Although at the age of 12 attending religious services was much higher in France, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands. Also, answering the questions about the frequency of prayers except for the prayers at religious services, which the majority of Western Europeans (except for some countries) never attend, only in Ireland (69%) and Austria (43.3%) the majority prays once a week (Table 5).

**Table 4<sup>7</sup>. Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?**

Country	Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?			Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often did you attend religious services when you were 12 years old?		
	More than once a month	Special occasions	Never	More than once a month	Special occasions	Never
France	11.9	27.8	60.4	63.4	12.2	24.4
Great Britain	18.9	25.3	55.8	58.7	13.4	27.9
Germany	30.1	41.2	28.8	54.8	26.4	18.9
Austria	42.5	40.5	17.0	79.6	15.9	4.5
Malta	87.2	8.9	3.9	98.0	1.4	0.6
Belgium	28.0	25.3	46.6	77.6	9.0	13.5
Netherlands	25.7	28.1	46.1	60.9	14.7	24.4
Luxembourg	31.8	35.5	32.7	84.0	6.4	9.6
Ireland	67.4	28.834	9.7	97.5	1.6	0.9
Northern Ireland	63.4	16.9	19.8	92.0	2.7	5.3
Poland	78.2	16.6	5.2	97.3	1.6	1.1
Ukraine	16.9	52.7	30.5	8.1	34.7	57.3

**Table 5<sup>8</sup>. How often do you pray to God outside of religious services?**

Country	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never
France	19.6	5.8	19.6	55.0
Great Britain	28.8	4.7	18.1	48.4
Germany	35.8	8.0	19.7	36.5
Austria	43.6	9.5	26.7	20.2
Italy	62.1	5.8	19.2	12.9
Malta	87.2	2.0	8.0	2.8

<sup>5</sup> For comparison, as in the previous tables, we indicated some other European countries and Ukraine also.

<sup>6</sup> Church attendance in England decreased by approximately 211,000 since 2009, with the average weekly attendance of the Anglican Church in 2018 being just 870.9 thousand of people.

<sup>7</sup> We combined two tables taking the data from EVS3, 2001, pp. 78–79.

<sup>8</sup> EVS3, 2001, p. 98

Country	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never
Belgium	35.6	5.8	19.3	39.3
Netherlands	33.9	4.5	13.6	48.0
Luxembourg	32.3	7.3	26.6	33.8
Ireland	69.0	8.3	13.5	9.3
Poland	78.0	7.0	10.5	4.4
Ukraine	41.4	8.7	11.2	38.7

According to new studies of religious beliefs and customs in Western Europe, conducted by Pew Research Center, it is really so, “that non-practicing Christians (defined, for the purposes of this report, as people who identify as Christians, but attend church services no more than a few times per year) make up the biggest share of the population across the region” (Being Christian in Western Europe, 2018).

According to many researchers, young people in Western Europe are much less religious than adults. For example, Sylvia Collins-Mayo (2012), during deep interviews with young people in England, revealed their friendly (though indifferent) attitude to religion, and the very Christian life – uncertain and superficial. Thus, faith in God is a situational phenomenon. “If religion does not matter very much, what does matter to young people is being happy in life and having good and satisfying relationships with family and friends” (Collins-Mayo, 2012, p. 88). Although religion is peripheral to many young people, they remain potentially open to the possibility of faith. This is due to the fact that a religious tradition is one way or another “held within the family and the wider cultural memory (which is largely Christian)” (Collins-Mayo, 2012, p. 88). Indeed, it is the spiritual foundations of tradition, in our view, that determine its effectiveness, ontological personal and social levels. “Owing to a religious tradition, in society there are conditions not just for a human development, but the elevation of our lives to a higher level – the level of a spiritual existence” (Tkachenko, 2020, p. 114).

Actualizing the tendency of subjectivization of a religious faith and practice, S. Collins-Mayo (2012) notes that it complicates the transmission of religious traditions from one generation to another. A categorical (sometimes pathological) personalistic position of Western European culture is meant, which presupposes the dominance of a personal choice in a socio-political and spiritual life and does not want to realize that freedom is practiced in the space of tradition. “The fact that only a minority of young people in most Western countries go to church does not bode well for the long term future of Christianity” (Collins-Mayo, 2012, p. 90).

In general, in Western Europe there is a situation when religion is often engaged with “vicariously”. In other words, “the minority keep religious traditions going, and the majority (implicitly at least) are happy that they do so, for occasionally they take advantage by selectively drawing upon those religious ideas, traditions and services and when they need or want to” (Collins-Mayo, 2012, p. 91). According to a new study of religious beliefs in Western Europe, an average of 53% of respondents consider themselves neither religious nor spiritual (Being Christian in Western Europe, 2018).

David Voas (2005), reflecting on a common concept in Western scientific thought “believing without belonging”, which reflects one of the laws of a religious life in Western Europe, draws the following conclusion: “Our point is simply that the crucial fact about religion in modern Europe is decline; the rest is commentary” (Voas, 2005, p. 11).

Thus, despite the fact that researchers claim a new paradigm of modernity – postsecularity, we share the point of view David Voas: “belief has in fact eroded in Britain at the same rate as

two key aspects of belonging: religious affiliation and attendance. Levels of belief are lower than those of nominal belonging” (Voas, 2005, p. 25).

Results of answers to question from VS3 (2001): “Generally speaking, do you think that your church is/the churches are giving, in your country, adequate answers to the moral problems and needs of the individual?” (Table 6), illustrated the following percentage: in France, Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands the amount of people with predominantly negative attitudes towards religious organizations (respectively 64.3%, 67.4%, 62.5%, 63.7%, 65.2%) is bigger, than the amount of people with predominantly positive attitudes towards religious organizations (respectively 35.7%, 32.6%, 37.5%, 36.3%, 34.8%). In Germany this percentage is approximately the same (positive – 48.3%, negative – 51.7%). The majority of respondents answered the following question negatively: “Generally speaking, do you think that your church is/the churches are giving, in your country, adequate answers to problems of family life?”, the data from EVS3 (2001), (Table 6).

**Table 6<sup>9</sup>. Generally speaking, do you think that your church is/the churches are giving, in your country, adequate answers to...**

Country	The moral problems and needs of the individual		Problems of family life		People’s spiritual needs	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
France	35.7	64.3	27.8	72.2	55.4	44.6
Great Britain	32.6	67.4	30.0	70.0	58.1	41.9
Germany	48.3	51.7	39.0	61	55.5	44.5
Austria	37.5	62.5	29.0	71	60.3	39.7
Italy	61.8	38.2	47.7	52.3	72.4	27.6
Malta	66.6	33.4	75.0	25.0	85.5	14.5
Belgium	36.3	63.7	32.8	67.2	53.8	46.2
Netherlands	34.8	65.2	30.1	69.9	47.4	52.6
Luxembourg	33.2	66.8	24.2	75.8	45.7	54.3
Ireland	30.1	69.9	27.2	72.8	63.8	36.2
Poland	64.5	35.5	63.9	36.1	82.8	17.2
Ukraine	79.8	20.2	63.3	36.7	82.1	17.9

In Austria – 74.2%, Belgium – 61.4%, the Netherlands – 66.6% people believe in supernatural forces, which may be expressed in terms like a Life Force, a Mighty Power, God, a Spirit, a Universal Law, a Cosmic Conscience or a Source of all creation (EVS3, 2001, p. 94). This can be explained, in particular, by the high level of pluralism and relativism in modern societies, which create conditions for the formation and spread of new forms of spirituality, new religious, or rather quasi-religious structures, characterized by diversity and tendency to constant changes<sup>10</sup>. In particular, attempts to find answers, for example, about death outside the traditional religious concepts typical of young Europeans. “It was in thinking about death that English young people were most eclectic in their beliefs drawing on concepts of ghosts, karma and reincarnation as well as heaven” (Collins-Mayo, 2012, p. 90).

<sup>9</sup> We combined three tables from the data of EVS3, 2001, pp. 82–84.

<sup>10</sup> For example, occult-esoteric trends “New Age”, Christian movements “Neocatechumenate”, “Opus Dei”, “Comunione e Liberazione” and the others.

One of the tendencies of Western European religious life is the desire of religious denominations to recognize their particularism and obtain a cultural definition in public. Nowadays, the media and religion perform approximately the same functions in maintaining social ties by creating a symbolic space, the spread of standardized messages and maintaining the image of the “faithful”. The media also become a space where the image of the “other” is constructed, and here we may observe the dynamics of ostracism, widespread throughout Europe. The results of numerous studies illustrate the following: “in some countries the media sphere is the center (in Denmark) or repeater (in France, Germany) of the transformation of Islam into a threat to a national identity or social unity” (Foret & Itçaina, 2008). The “caricature” crisis in France showed that the boundaries and forms of the secret in religious traditions continue to be the subject of controversy.

In general, “when we look at the events of a religious life that lie on the surface, we very, very often deal with politics” (Yelenskyi, 2011). The current religious situation in Western Europe to some extent reflects the confrontation between the ideologues of the civilization integration project and the transnational paradigms of Europe and the supporters of the Christian heritage, which must be protected from the prospect of an active European political space. In the European Union there are still people who realize that the erosion of Europe’s traditional religious foundations will lead to its future extinction.

Reflecting on the past and present of Europe, Professor Yaroslav Hrytsak (2018) emphasizes that it is in a state of crisis and, unfortunately, in terms of preserving the religious vector, religious instinct, Europe is not an example for Ukraine. But, according to the Ukrainian historian, Europe has little choice but to return to serious conversations about values. Because basically (this is what the historian tells you) there is no other meaning of Europe than the continent of Christianity. And the fact that Europe does not want to admit this is its problem. Because there has to be something called the metaphysics of politics, the metaphysics of identity that makes us bigger than who we are. Europe is blind nowadays, because, relatively speaking, it is being eaten by consumerism and, etc. (Hrytsak, 2018).

**The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research.** Western societies remain a relatively secular part of the global world with a civilizational political project and differ in the level of religious diversity and the dynamics of religious change among their populations.

From the point of view of confessional identification, the countries of Western Europe can be attributed to one Christian culture (lost significantly). The majority of Western Europeans believe that churches and other religious organizations play a positive role in society.

According to the criterion of religiosity level, “high religion” is characteristic of countries with the largest number of Orthodox and Catholics (in the global dimension these are Muslim countries).

Non-practicing Christians (people who identify as Christians but who do not attend church) make up the largest proportion of the population. In general, in Western Europe there is a situation when religion is often engaged with “vicariously”.

The tendency of religiosity in Western European countries is the subjectification of faith and practice, which complicates the preservation and transmission of religious traditions. As a result, religiosity is situational.

At the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries, according to many researchers, the world experiences an institutional and sociocultural return of religion, although, in our opinion, even in the context of the post-secular paradigm, the deep meanings of a religious tradition are lost. And even nowadays the words of the American Orthodox

priest Hieromonk Seraphim remain relevant (Eugene Dennis Rose), which written by him during the 70s of the XXth century:

The way of life of modern “Christians” – a life that is self-centered and self-satisfied – became so common that it finally separates them from any understanding of the spiritual life; and when such people turn to the “spiritual life”, only as a new form of self-satisfaction (Serafim Iromonah (Rouz), 2005).

We are witnesses of vulgarization, the creation of various distorted forms of religiosity, which generate the unbridled force of destruction. In our opinion, one of the main causes of the spiritual crisis is the gap and disproportion between the deep spiritual content of culture and its representative forms (Tkachenko, 2020, p. 116). Our point of view is the following: the decline of traditional religiosity, which is not a localized tendency and coincidence, continues in Western Europe.

In the future, we would like to focus on international researches – important for assessing broad religious tendencies. Another area of research is migration processes in Europe, which are directly related to the problems of religion and identity. It is worth noting the spread of the so-called “civic religiosity” and the growth of new religious movements.

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## **THE HISTORICAL PROCESS THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE CULTURAL CIVILIZATIONAL APPROACH: THE PAST AND THE PRESENT**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the place and role of the cultural civilizational approach within the problem field of historical research studies. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, interdisciplinarity. The authors used hermeneutic, cultural historical, historical logical, transdisciplinary, and integrative approaches. The scientific novelty of the study consists in the justification of the feasibility of further development and use of the cultural and civilizational approach in contemporary historical science, which has become especially relevant in the context of nowadays globalization processes. The Conclusions.* *The results of the study allow us to conclude that the cultural civilizational approach has a powerful potential to become one of the most fruitful tools of the historical exploration in the new millennium. As the approach enables scientists to combine the study of general and specific in history; to analyze the development trends of both planetary society and local civilizations from the standpoint of contemporary achievements and problems; to understand their logic within the worldview and value system of any given culture. The expansion of the functional field of cultural civilizational approach will promote intercultural dialogue of the members of different regional communities, as well as the representatives of historical science; in this dialogue, the various vectors of socio cultural interaction will not exclude, but will mutually complement each other.*

*Reflecting the long-lasting experience of the thinkers who have sought to build a logically consistent and historically accurate image of the past, the cultural civilizational approach will contribute to a well-grounded explanation of the present and predict the future of the world community. The cultural civilizational approach is a promising tendency in the development of the methodology of historical science, which is able to become the basis of mass historical consciousness contributing to the successful human activity in the contradictory postmodern world. The contemporary cultural civilizational approach has to be “embedded” in a broader context, which requires the joint efforts of historians, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, theologians, psychologists, anthropologists, etc.*

**Key words:** cultural civilizational approach, culture, civilization, historical process, theories of local civilizations.

## ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ПРОЦЕС ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ КУЛЬТУРНО-ЦИВІЛІЗАЦІЙНОГО ПІДХОДУ: МИНУЛЕ ТА СУЧАСНІСТЬ

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* полягає в аналізі місця і ролі культурно-цивілізаційного підходу в проблемному полі історичних розвідок. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, об’єктивності, міждисциплінарності. При проведенні дослідження були застосовані герменевтичний, культурно-історичний, історико-логічний, трансдисциплінарний методи, а також інтегративний підхід. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в обґрунтуванні доцільності подальшої розробки і використання культурно-цивілізаційного підходу в сучасній історичній науці, що набуло особливої актуальності в контексті глобалізаційних процесів сьогодення. **Висновки.** *Результати* проведеного дослідження дають змогу дійти висновку, що культурно-цивілізаційний підхід має потужний потенціал стати одним з найплідніших інструментів історичних розвідок у новому тисячолітті. Він спроможний органічно поєднати вивчення свого і чужого, загального та особливого в історії; проаналізувати тенденції розвитку як планетарного соціуму, так і локальних цивілізаційних утворень, з позиції досягнень і проблем сучасності; зрозуміти їх логіку в рамках світогляду і системи цінностей окремих культур. Розширення функціонального поля використання культурно-цивілізаційного підходу сприятиме міжкультурному діалогу як членів різних регіональних спільнот, так і самих представників історичної науки; у цьому діалозі різноманітні вектори соціокультурної взаємодії не виключатимуть, а взаємно зумовлюватимуть один одного. Відображуючи віковий досвід мислителів, які прагнули побудувати логічно несуперечливий та історично достовірний образ минулого, культурно-цивілізаційний підхід сприятиме адекватному відображенню сьогодення і прогнозуванню майбутнього світової спільноти. Культурно-цивілізаційний підхід є перспективним напрямом розвитку методології історичної науки, який здатний перетворитися на підґрунтя масової історичної свідомості, сприяючи успішній діяльності людини в суперечливому світі постмодерну. Сучасний культурно-цивілізаційний підхід має бути “вбудований” у більш широкий контекст, що потребує спільних зусиль істориків, філософів, соціологів, політологів, релігієзнавців, психологів, антропологів тощо.

**Ключові слова:** культурно-цивілізаційний підхід, культура, цивілізація, історичний процес, теорії локальних цивілізацій.

**The Problem Statement.** The process of globalization, which took the world by storm at the turn of the second and third millennia, requires effective approaches development to historical research. On the one hand, the leading centers of the Western world establish the basic parameters of the unified global standards, which, in fact, contributes to the total Westernization of non-Western societies. On the other hand, the regional communities’ uniqueness is increasing, with the development of this unifying trend simultaneously, the most significant of which are civilizations. The civilizational status of countries and regions from the subject of scientific research became an object of political speculation nowadays. Huntington’s clash of civilizations (Huntington, 2011), despite the rosy dreams of a “single liberal world” by Fukuyama (Fukuyama, 1992), unfolded in full force. Realpolitics does not



work, taking into account the fact that the clashes go beyond the pragmatic reception of the world and take place in a sphere that was rooted deeply in the unconscious. We are talking about a mentality, the core of which are values. The spiritual situation is complicated by those phenomena that are observed in modern scientific discourse, in which there is a transition to a new paradigm based on the post-classical science. It is reflected both in the rejection of the creation of generalized concepts of the historical process and in the post-postmodernism development of the new millennium. The above-mentioned situation requires the cultural and civilizational research revival and rethinking the challenges facing modern historians.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** The representatives of various scientific fields were particularly interested in the civilizational paradigms interaction issues. For example, in the field of comparative historical methodology, the following works written by H. V. Bonhard-Levin, L. S. Vasilyev, F. Hrebner, J. Elliot, B. S. Yerasova, M. Y. Conrad, M. K. Petrova, M. T. Stepanyanets, F. Ratzel, G. R. Rivers, S. Huntington, K. Jaspers and the others became the basic researches on the sociocultural development features of various civilizational formations. In addition, the comparative sociological methodology, focusing on the specifics of civilization of Eastern and Western societies, was represented by P. Bourdieu, M. Weber, E. Durkheim, G. Simmel, K. Marx, T. Parsons, V. Pareto, G. Spencer, A. Tocqueville. The studies on the Philosophy of History, were of utmost importance for the study on the interaction of civilizations, where the cross-cutting theme was the problem of unity and diversity of the world-historical process, which in turn led to the concept of Eurocentrism. In multifarious studies, published by M. O. Berdyaev, R. Guénon, L. M. Gumilyov, M. Ya. Danilevsky, M. Eliade, A. Kroeber, F. Nietzsche, F. Northrop, P.O. Sorokin, A. Toynbee, L. Frobenius, O. Spengler, the historical civilizational process was understood as the development within individual – local – civilizations. The proponents of the above-mentioned approach put emphasis on the fact that civilizations may not be genetically related, and this complicates the interpretation of the new complex reality of the XXIst century.

Moreover, a significant contribution to the development of cultural and civilizational approach in the methodology of historical research was made by K. Kumar in the work “The Return of Civilization – and of Arnold Toynbee” (2014). The author stressed out that the civilizational approach was especially popular among the historical disciplines precisely because it provided an opportunity to shed light on many important historical issues, and was especially attractive to those researchers, who rejected the Eurocentric interpretations of history and tried to take into account general human experience from ancient times to the present. The modern conceptual basis of the cultural civilizational approach was developed by J. Arnason In his work, “The Cultural Turn and the Civilizational Approach” (2010), J. Arnason stated that the civilizational analysis’ revival was closely linked to an awareness of the constitutional role of culture in all spheres of life. The civilizational analysis focused on the multifaceted cultural manifestations of the world, as well as on long-term socio historical communities, which provided new dimensions of the world of culture. One more researcher, W. Spohn in his work “World history, civilizational analysis and historical sociology: Interpretations of non-Western civilizations in the work of Johann Arnason” (2011) highlighted the macro-historical orientation of the civilization approach, which gave the golden opportunity to analyze modern globalization processes and world society in transit. In addition, Yu. Prozorova in “Civilizational Analysis and Archeology Prospects for Collaboration” managed to analyze the relationship between civilizational analysis and archaeological research, noting that archeology provided a diachronic perspective vital for the

long-lasting civilizations' analysis: "Within the archaeological discourse, the most relevant for civilizational analysis is the nature of pre-axial trajectories and their relationship with early civilizations and axial civilizational complexes... Material artifacts, traditions and practices have always mediated cultural interaction and marked the boundaries of civilization. systems that constitute "supranational" civilizational phenomena, or, in Moss's later terminology, "civilizational forms" (Prozorova, 2018, p. 53). Hence, when facing challenges nowadays, scientists turn to the cultural and civilizational approach increasingly. T. Danylova in her work: "The Theory of Civilizations Through the Lens of Contemporary Humanities" put emphasis on the fact that the civilizational approach "provides an opportunity to look at the history of mankind with different eyes, see its various facets and more successfully address the issues facing the modern era before each country and the world" (Danylova, 2016, p. 57). In his monograph "Civilizational approach to history: modern Ukrainian experience (1991 – 2009)" (2011) V. Honcharevskyi made an in-depth analysis of the formation and application of the civilizational approach in modern Ukrainian historiography. The researcher stressed out that the new historical conditions of planetary society put before the Ukrainian historians new requirements for the interpretation of the world-historical process, to determine the directions of its development, which required the use of a civilizational approach.

Due to the existing research, which provided valuable information on the civilizational interactions, but in the process of growing and complicating intercivilizational relationships, even more issues arose that need to be adequately addressed.

**The purpose of the research** is to analyze the place and role of the cultural civilizational approach within the problem field of historical research studies.

**The Main Material Statement.** Civilization became one of the derived categories for explaining and understanding the historical process nowadays. In contrast to the unification associated with the category of gradual development, the so-called cultural and civilizational approach to the history of mankind was formed, which also claimed to have general coverage of social phenomena and processes. The essence of the above-mentioned concept in its most general form was that human history was a collection of unrelated human civilizations. The approach has many supporters, including such well-known names as O. Spengler and A. Toynbee. The above-mentioned approach was based on the concept of cyclic time, according to which the passage of time was constantly repeated and was an eternal circular motion. The social cycle did not have a specific direction, although it was not random. Any state in which the system can occur in the future, in addition, it already existed in the past. Within a short period of time, changes occur, but for a long period of time there were no changes, as the system returned to its original state. The cycles can vary in the number of phases (for example, day – night; origin – maturity – decline; childhood – adolescence – maturity – old age – death). The duration of the cycle can be long or short.

M. Ya. Danilevsky was one of the founders of the cultural and civilizational approach to history. He defined civilizations as certain cultural and historical types that differ from each other, have their own face and destiny. Hence, the classification of historical periods can be carried out only within a certain cultural and historical type, and these periods can differ significantly chronologically. The progress of mankind, according to M. Ya. Danilevsky, "is not to go all in one direction (in which case it would soon stop), but to go all the field, which is the level of historical activity of mankind, in all directions. Therefore, no civilization can be proud of the fact that it represents a higher point of development, compared to its predecessors or contemporaries, in all aspects of development" (Danilevsky, 2011, p. 135).

O. Spengler, the German historian, brought in the cultural-historical doctrine, which was depicted in the work “The Twilight of Europe” (2006), sought to reflect all the diversity of historical metamorphoses of mankind. In addition, O. Spengler presented the course of world history as an alternation of independent historical organisms – cultures. Each culture is a spiritual individuality, it is characterized, according to O. Spengler, a certain spatial symbolism, which arose at the time of awakening of her soul. Each culture develops its own special way of representing space, which is its proto-symbol. This primordial symbol underlies the external forms and determines the whole spiritual structure of culture. It should be mentioned that Spengler’s interpretation of history lent a helping hand to understand that it was no longer world history that revolved around the European observer, but that higher cultures, like planets, moved in their own orbits. O. Spengler was convinced of the uniqueness and authenticity of each culture, as the above-mentioned thesis was based on the uniqueness of the soul of the culture. Instead of monotonous world history, he proposed a mosaic consisting of many different, dissimilar cultures that flourish against the backdrop of their own landscape. Some cultures, like all living things, sooner or later die, and humanity as a whole is immortal.

The most renowned representative of the cultural and civilizational approach is A. Toynbee, the English historian. The researcher considered history as the process of the cycle of an individual, relatively closed civilizations, each of which can undergo the following stages: the emergence, growth, breakage, and disintegration, and then perish/death in his twelve-volume work, called “Study of History” (Toynbee, 1987a; Toynbee, 1987b). The idea of the emergence and development of civilizations in response to the global challenges of his time is crucial and is at the heart of A. Toynbee’s theory of civilizations. Furthermore, the English researcher considered civilizations to be the institutions of the highest order that are most widespread in space and time, and human history becomes a field of study of human relations. P. Sorokin and R. J. Collingwood criticized harshly A. Toynbee’s grand attempt to present human history as a chain of civilizations, in particular, through the opposition of the historical process itself and the researcher of history. At the same time, R. J. Collingwood stated that A. Toynbee showed “a very subtle historical intuition, and his specific historical assessments are distorted by the erroneousness of his principles in extremely rare cases” (Collingwood, 1980, pp. 157–158).

L. M. Gumilev, the Russian historian, ethnologist, orientalist, archaeologist, translator and writer presented plural-cyclical approach to history in the works. In particular, in his work “Ethnogenesis and the Earth’s Biosphere” (Gumilev, 2001), he called the units of historical development that he singled out ethnoses and superethnoses. According to L. M. Gumilev, each ethnic group in the process of development (ethnogenesis) goes through several phases, and the beginning of this process gives a passion impetus. The above-mentioned rise, acmatic phase, fracture, inertial phase, obscuration. Moreover, these phases (as well as the emergence of the ethnos) are directly related to the state of passion (energy level) of its members. In the phase of rise, passion grows, in the phase of acme it reached a higher state, and then there was an “overheating of the system”, for example, the struggle of ambition, and the ethnos entered a state of breakdown (sharp decline in energy). In the inertial phase, the decline in passion slows down – the ethnos lives by accumulated wealth and traditions. This period is especially favorable for “harvesting the fruits of the earth” – this is the so-called golden autumn of civilization. A striking example here is the Western world of the XVIIIth – XXth centuries. And the last phase – obscuration – a new sharp decline in passion, a painful decline of the ethnos.

The cultural civilizational approach to the historical process has a number of advantages, as it avoids unification, Eurocentrism, takes into account the aspect of cultural diversity and the unique experience of different civilizations. Its disadvantage is that it still cannot explain the modern movement of civilizations towards universal planetary integration. Yu.V. Pavlenko, a domestic historian and philosopher, in order to solve the above-mentioned problem developed a methodology for complementing the principles of stagedness, polyvariance and civilizational discreteness of the vision of history, combined with a personalistic understanding of the role of the individual in the socio-cultural process (Pavlenko, 2002). “According to Yu. V. Pavlenko, civilization is a concrete historical unique self-sufficient polyethnic system, the understanding of which requires taking into account both its stage position and belonging to a certain path of development, and awareness of its uniqueness, its own characteristics and features that cannot be deduced from general theoretical considerations deductively” (Honcharevskiy, 2011, p. 9).

Further development of the scientific methodology of the cultural civilizational approach is more relevant nowadays, because in the scientific literature there is a lot of controversy about its subject, tasks, specifics, heuristic potential and the subject of civilizational research, as well as the relationship of the civilizational approach with other scientific areas. Indeed, nowadays there is no generally accepted standard definition of the term “civilization” – it is defined and interpreted differently. Sometimes it is used as a synonym for the term culture. Civilization can also refer to society as a whole. Moreover, there are diverse discussions on the relationship between the concepts of civilization and culture (Botz-Bornstein, 2012). If in the Anglo-American tradition these concepts are used as identical, then the continental discourse distinguishes them, giving preference to one of them. In particular, in the works of German thinkers, the term “civilization” often acquired a negative connotation.

It should be mentioned that the civilizations objective reality issue is also problematic. According to R. Aron, “the problem is the inability to give an unambiguous answer as to whether civilizations exist or not, because they can be considered either as a historical reality or as a historical chimera” (Honcharevskiy, 2011, p. 163). If the researchers M. Danilevsky, O. Spengler, A. Toynbee consider civilizations that exist for real, then other researchers, as E. Said (Said, 2003), F. A. von Hayek (Hayek, 1943) truly believe that civilizations advocate certain mental concepts that exist only within the framework of scientific theories.

Furthermore, there is a fairly high level of “ideological” texts, which in one way or another affect the civilization’s issues. In this case, the attitudes, preferences, value orientations of interpreters, who identify themselves with a certain civilization paradigm, and, hence, perceive the representatives of other civilizations, and, accordingly, their historical and cultural background, as something foreign, hostile, worse, are fully manifested. Meeting with other, dissimilar civilizations can confirm existing beliefs, cause misunderstandings, anxiety or even aggression. Accordingly, the assessment comes from an ethnocentric position, which leads to inadequate interpretations of historical events. The field of civilizational research is influenced by the political situation, as its representatives work with symbols of collective identities – narrative constructs that control the actors of the historical process (Eder, 2009); sometimes the cultural civilizational approach is generally replaced by geopolitics.

However, such allegations do not give serious grounds for denying both the use of cultural civilizational approach, and its obvious significance. The cultural civilizational approach opens space for the civilizational dialogue and provides opportunities for various civilizational narratives to create projects for a secure future. Certain civilizational models

can reflect conflict situations and at the same time suggest possible ways to resolve them (Danylova, 2015). Consequently, new ideas reception, formation of a new interpretation of the world, awareness of the diversity of social actions and relationships contribute to a deeper awareness of their own civilizational identity, which involves a sense of belonging to a particular civilization, acceptance of certain cultural norms, behavior's patterns, values and more. Influencing the processes of integration and disintegration, civilizational identity serves as an indicator of the internal state of the polyethnic community as a socio-cultural system simultaneously (Pylypiv, 2020).

In order to acknowledge both the globalization process as a whole and Ukraine's place in it, the Ukrainian historical science lacks a developed civilizational approach to history. V. Honcharevskyi put emphasis on the downward nature of the civilization approach in modern Ukrainian historiography and stated aptly that "from the sphere of comprehension of general historical processes, the civilization approach in the works of the Ukrainian historians of the beginning of the XXIst century began to shift thereby losing its heuristic potential" (Honcharevskyi, 2011, p. 161). In addition, cultural and civilizational approach to history is still in the process of formation: standing on the shoulders of the giants of the past, the approach finds its own way of development.

The cultural and civilizational approach is of utmost importance in order to explain the processes taking place in Ukraine. Not only and not so much the geographical, but also the cultural and political aspect of the history of Ukraine determined its "border" nature between the East and the West, the duality of the Ukrainian mentality (Ševčenko, 1996). It is almost impossible to give an adequate assessment of the events taking place in our society nowadays, if we do not take into account this aspect of the Ukrainian history. Attempts to apply a linear-stage approach to the explanation of historical events leads to rejection, resistance, aggression by marginalized (or those who consider themselves as such) groups at the moment. The application of the cultural and civilizational approach will promote the development of a better project of the Ukrainian national idea.

**The Conclusions.** The results of the study allow us to conclude that the cultural civilizational approach has a powerful potential to become one of the most fruitful tools of the historical exploration in the new millennium. As the approach enables scientists to combine the study of general and specific in history; to analyze the development trends of both planetary society and local civilizations from the standpoint of contemporary achievements and problems; to understand their logic within the worldview and value system of any given culture. The expansion of the functional field of cultural civilizational approach will promote intercultural dialogue of the members of different regional communities, as well as the representatives of historical science; in this dialogue, the various vectors of socio cultural interaction will not exclude, but will mutually complement each other. Reflecting the long-lasting experience of the thinkers who sought to build a logically consistent and historically accurate image of the past, the cultural civilizational approach will contribute to a well-grounded explanation of the present and predict the future of the world community. The cultural civilizational approach is a promising tendency in the development of the methodology of historical science, which is able to become the basis of mass historical consciousness contributing to the successful human activity in the contradictory postmodern world (Danylova & Salata, 2018). The contemporary cultural civilizational approach has to be "embedded" in a broader context, which requires the joint efforts of historians, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, theologians, psychologists, anthropologists, etc. (Danylova, 2017)

**The Practical Significance of the Obtained Results.** The provisions set out in the article and the conclusions drawn can be used in the development of special educational and training programs aimed at training a new generation of historians. These programs should be based on a cultural and civilizational approach and developed by an interdisciplinary group of specialists.

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**THE CONCEPT “RUIN”: MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to study the modern historiographical discourse related to the scientific circulation of the concept “Ruin” in the context of conceptualizing the history of the Hetmanate. The research methodology is based on the methods’ symbiosis usage: comparative studies, contextual analysis, convergence from the abstract to the concrete and vice versa. The scientific novelty of the article is that for the first time the specifics of the approaches implemented by modern researchers to the use of the concept of “Ruin” for the interpretation of early modern Ukrainian history have been analyzed in historiography. The essence of the discussion concerning the concept marking feasibility of a special period in the second half of the XVIIth century has been investigated and its echo in further conceptualizations. The Conclusions. Taking into consideration that the modern scientific discourse on the concept “Ruin” reflects the key tendencies in understanding the history of early modern Ukrainian statehood. The issue reached the point of discussion concerning the grounds for using the concept at the beginning of the XXIst century for the first time in historiography, while in the previous tradition it was used without being discussed. Consequently, the discussion was translated into the plane of elucidating the image of the epoch, which forms the concept not only in scientific interpretive models, but also in the historical memory of the public. The comparative approach and typology of the Ukrainian version against the European background were used, which provided the brand new opportunities for improving*



*the terminological apparatus related to the era conceptualization and marking. Furthermore, the substantive discussion between T. Chukhlib, the Ukrainian historian and T. Tairova-Yakovleva, the Russian researcher became the controversy. As a result, the above-mentioned discussion triggered a smooth refusal of the concept "Ruin" usage in historiography, especially noticeable in Ukraine.*

**Key words:** *Ukraine, Ruin, interpretation, conceptual apparatus, scientific discourse.*

## ПОНЯТТЯ "РУІНА": СУЧАСНИЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНИЙ ДИСКУРС

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* полягає у дослідженні сучасного історіографічного дискурсу, пов'язаного з науковим обігом поняття "Руїна", у контексті концептуалізації історії Гетьманщини. **Методологія дослідження** передбачає використання симбіозу методів компаративістики, контекстуального аналізу, сходження від абстрактного до конкретного і навпаки. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає в тому, що вперше в історіографії проаналізовано специфіку підходів сучасних дослідників до використання поняття "Руїна" для інтерпретації ранньомодерної української історії. Досліджено сутність дискусії про доцільність маркування цим поняттям особливого періоду в рамках другої половини XVII ст. та її відгомін у подальших концептуалізаціях. **Висновки.** Сучасний науковий дискурс навколо поняття "Руїна" відбиває ключові тенденції в осмисленні історії ранньомодерної української державності. На початку XXI ст. уперше в історіографії проблема вийшла на рівень обговорення підстав використання поняття, тоді як у попередній традиції воно вживалося не продискутованим. Обговорення було переведено до площини з'ясування того образу епохи, який формує поняття не тільки в наукових інтерпретаційних моделях, а й у історичній пам'яті широкого загалу. Залучено компаративістичний підхід та типологізацію українського варіанта на європейському тлі, що створило нові можливості для удосконалення термінологічного апарату, пов'язаного з концептуалізацією та маркуванням доби. Фокусом полеміки стала предметна дискусія між українським істориком Т. Чухлібом та російською дослідницею Т. Тайровою-Яковлевою. Ця дискусія стимулювала плавний відхід в історіографії від використання поняття "Руїна", особливо помітний в Україні.

**Ключові слова:** *Україна, Руїна, інтерпретація, понятійний апарат, науковий дискурс.*

**The Problem Statement.** Researches intensification on different issues related to the history of early modern Ukrainian statehood, caused intensification of optimal terminological support issues of the research process. Consequently, the conceptual apparatus becomes the subject of professional discussion in order to filter the optimal model of usage, which would reflect scientific ideas adequately and unjustified modernization of concepts. Second of all, the very process is quite natural, taking into account the purely research objectives and the close connection of historical terminology with the past images formation in the public historical memory. Along with the discussions concerning the central concept for the typology of the epoch, which is considered to be Bohdan Khmelnytskyi era marker, in some period of time, it came to a substantive discussion on the application legitimacy of the category "Ruin" to the processes of the second half of the XVIIth century. As a result, the scientific circulation issue and the context of usage / non-usage of this term brought in the process analysis and the formation consequences in the modern intellectual tradition of the Hetmanate image tonality. Accordingly, elucidating the evolution of scientific approaches to the usage of the concept "Ruin", known in historiography since the second half of the XIXth century, is important in terms of singling out not only the specifics of its usage in early modern times, but also the features of modern concepts of early modern Ukrainian history.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches.** It should be mentioned that the concept "Ruin" was not yet the subject of special analysis in the modern scientific discourse. The historiography of the issue is represented only by some significant observations. The main participants of the above-mentioned substantive discussion were T. Chukhlib and T. Tairova-Yakovleva, hence,

the majority of the observations on the prospects of the term usage to denote the relevant period, belong to them. Both researchers limited themselves to stating the supporters of the concept “Ruin” and succinct remarks concerning the motives of some of them (Chukhlib, 2004, pp. 488–508; Yakovleva, 2005, pp. 667–672), without having any intentions to do an in-depth analysis of the historiographical situation. The only attempt, which was made, to present the actual historiographical section belonged to V. Maslak, who mentioned the place of the concept in the terminological apparatus of modern Russian and Polish researchers briefly, and also drew attention to the discussion between T. Tairova-Yakovleva and T. Chukhlib (Maslak, 2014, pp. 69, 209–210). As a result, the above-mentioned observations became fruitful intellectual nourishment for further research.

**The purpose of the research** is to study the modern historiographical discourse related to the scientific circulation of the concept “Ruin” in the context of conceptualizing the history of the Hetmanate.

**The Main Material Statement.** Owing to M. Kostomarov, the concept “Ruin” spread in the historiographical space quickly and painlessly. Furthermore, the concept “Ruin” began to be used not only in the Ukrainian historiography but also in Russian and Polish partly. The concept marked the main period for the fate of early modern Ukrainian statehood, which occurred right after Bohdan Khmelnytskyi’s death and, eventually, the Hetmanate ended with the narrowing to the Left Bank and the Hetmanate’s sovereignty decline in favour of Moscovia (the Grand Duchy of Moscow). The victorious march of the concept “Ruin” was interrupted only at the territory of the USSR in the 1940s and 1980s on purely ideological reasons, because after “the triumph of historical justice” (that is how the official Soviet canon interpreted the Pereyaslav Council (Pereyaslavskia Rada) of 1654) nothing like the “Ruin” could have happened in Ukraine (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 489). Otherwise, the whole construction of the Sovietized great-power explanation of further Ukrainian history, sustained within the framework of the concept of the “greatest good”, would be undermined. Instead, in the Ukrainian diasporic historiography, the concept continued to be present in the intellectual circulation (Kohut, 1996, p. 36; Ohloblyn, 2001, p. 65; Subtelny, 1989, p. 139).

In addition, a similar situation was observed in the Polish historiography of the second half of the XXth century, which was considered to be one of the most powerful scientific forces in the field of research and early modern Ukrainian history interpretation (Serczyk, 1979, p. 168; Perdenia, 2000, p. 11; Wójcik, 1989, p. 6, 79). Z. Wójcik’s thesis summarized the Polish historians’ approaches decently that in the 1660s Ukraine “entered the period of “Ruin” – one of the most tragic in its history” (Wójcik, 1989, p. 8). At the same time, the researcher completely agrees with the historiographical tradition of using the concept “Ruin” in relation to that time, using the following phrase “the period of history, known in historiography as “Ruin” (Wójcik, 1989, p. 79). One more researcher, Z. Kohut shared the same point of view and even wrote in a similar style on the pages of his monograph, which was first published in 1988: “This period is known in the Ukrainian historiography as “Ruin” (Kohut, 1996, p. 36). Taking everything into account, the above-mentioned information symbolized the conceptual consensus between contemporary Polish and foreign Ukrainian historiography.

It is quite paradoxically, however, that despite the spread of “Ruin” in the historiographical space, the expediency of using such a concept-marker until recently was not discussed in historiography properly. Moreover, the attempts made by O. Ohloblyn, dated back to 1928 to the interpretation issue of this period in the categories of “Ruin” were not conceptualized even by the author himself (Ohloblyn, 1928, p. 200) and remained without any professional

discussion in the Ukrainian historiography. Thus, the effect of the so-called historiographical "chatter" was created, when as a result of long-term usage a certain statement or concept is accepted stereotypically as appropriate, almost as an axiom, and is no longer scientifically tested. It was facilitated greatly by the fact that the concept "Ruin" wedged well in the dominant interpretations of the Ukrainian and Polish historiography, immersed in its roots in the texts, written in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries. For the Ukrainian historiography, the Civil War along with the external forces active intervention, which was literally cutting the wings of the restored statehood in the middle of the XVIIth century, acquired gloomy feature simplicity. For the Polish historiography, these phenomena worked well for the concept of the total harmfulness of the attempt on the integrity of Rzeczpospolita (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and the Ukrainian society position in it.

After the USSR collapse and the fall of the "Iron Curtain", the concept "Ruin" regained its position in Ukraine quickly, which was accompanied by active development of the heritage of foreign Ukrainian historians and a closer acquaintance with the latest developments implemented by the Polish researchers. In 1990, owing to Yu. Mytsyk, the concept "Ruin", appeared on the pages of the Ukrainian Historical Journal, which, even taking into account the significantly relaxed ideological control of the late USSR, meant a kind of legitimization of the concept. Moreover, the concept was heralded in a conceptual discussion within the framework of the round table "The Ukrainian Cossacks: the current state and prospects of research", which was organized by the same magazine (Mytsyk, 1990, p. 25). In addition, V. Smolii and V. Stepankov, invited the scientific community to discuss the early modern Ukrainian statehood issue, which used the concept "Ruin" actively two years later (Smolii, Stepankov, 1993, pp. 26, 47).

Later on, the concept "Ruin" entered both scientific discourse and historical journalism smoothly. As a result, the concept "Ruin" was presented across the spectrum: from general publications on the Ukrainian history up to the specialized articles, from popular literature – to school textbooks and programmes. In general textbooks, which were called "The Histories of Ukraine", the concept may be even found in the titles of sections (Mytsyk, Bazhan, Vlasov, 2010 p. 126; Yakovenko, 2005, p. 370), which reflected its entry into the orbit of key categories for the interpretation of the early modern era. At the same time, the concept usage remained unreflected for a long time. Moreover, the concept "Ruin" was taken for granted. This is because, the role of a kind of indulgence was played by its expressive historicity, because the term "Ruin" was really in the Hetmanate in intellectual circulation at the second half of the XVIIth – mid XVIIIth centuries. In addition, there were even calls to avoid the excessive modernization of concepts and to describe the past as much as possible in the categories inherent in the studied time intensified the tendency (Kasianov, Tolochko, 2012, p. 20).

In 1994, the dissertation, written by St. Petersburg researcher Tetiana Tairova-Yakovleva, did not change the general mood, and in 1998 the monographs were devoted to the conceptualization of the era as "Ruin" (Yakovleva, 1998). "Ruin, in particular, the historical period that lasted from the time of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's death until the end of the XVIIth century, occupies a special place in the history of Ukraine", the researcher began her book with this thesis, describing the concept as a common roof for all events of that time and processes that took place in the Hetmanate (Yakovleva, 1998, p. 5). It should be highlighted that the reviews published in Ukraine for this book, despite a number of critical arrows, did not mention the legitimacy issue concerning the use of the concept as an image of the day. It was only about the vagueness of the chronological framework of the "Ruin".

However, the general revision of the conceptual apparatus of early modern Ukrainian history, typical of the end of the XXth and at the beginning of the XXIst centuries, could not sooner or later affect the “Ruin”. Moreover, the terminology related to the problem of marking the social explosion in Ukraine in the middle of the XVIIth century was extremely actively discussed and is still being discussed. And the above-mentioned discussion continues to this day, periodically erupting in the Ukrainian historiography with renewed vigor.

Furthermore, the impetus for reflections on the concept “Ruin” was the appearance of the second monograph by T. Tairova-Yakovleva “The Ruin of the Hetmanate...” in 2003 (Yakovleva, 2003). The book triggered a discussion about approaches to the usage of the term. At first, the participants of the terminological discussion, which took place within the framework of the international conference “Ukraine and Neighboring States in the XVIIth Century”, mentioned the issue. T. Tairova-Yakovleva raised the issue, noting that the Ukrainian researchers T. Chukhlib and V. Horobets were “categorically against” the usage of the term “Ruin”. The researcher put emphasis on that “to talk about whether or not there was Ruin, in particular, the problems of internal and external development of the Hetmanate at the end of the 50s, the 60s and the 70s of the XVIIth century”. – This is a matter of principle”. At the same time T. Tairova-Yakovleva raised the issue sharply, proposing a dilemma on the principle of “either – or”: “If we abandon to usage of the term “Ruin”, then we say that everything was fine there, everything was good” (Yakovleva, 2004, p. 231). However, despite all the ambiguity of such a resolution of the issue and open controversy, the problem was not widely discussed. Yu. Mytsyk supported the researcher with one phrase (Yakovleva, 2004, p. 231). Moreover, the rest of the participants limited themselves to silence, focusing on a comprehensive discussion of terminology, which was related to the era of B. Khmelnytskyi.

As a result, T. Chukhlib presented his position on the “Ruin” right after the conference, as if confirming what T. Tairova-Yakovleva said about his negative attitude to the usage of the concept as a marker for the whole period of early modern Ukrainian history. It was this researcher, who was destined to become the driver of the transfer in the modern scientific literature of the position on “Ruin” and to the analysis of the meanings it imposes on the intellectual image of the day and on the corresponding slice of historical memory of the general public. In fact, T. Chukhlib did not hide that he intended to initiate a scientific discussion on the validity of strategies for continuing the ancient terminological tradition. Moreover, his substantive article contains a specific subtitle: “The Attempt to Initiate a Scientific Discussion of Historical Term” (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 473). However, behind the above-mentioned modest statement there was actually a deep understanding of the problem against the broad background of the processes that began in Ukraine under the sign of the war, which led to the restoration of the Ukrainian statehood in the form of the Hetmanate.

In addition, the researcher pointed out directly that he considered his version as a continuation of the discussion about the nature of B. Khmelnytskyi era, started by V. Stepankov in the famous article “1648: The Ukrainian Revolution Outburst “wojna domowa (civil war)” in the Commonwealth” (Stepankov, 2003, p. 369). T. Chukhlib proposed to expand the format of assessing the feasibility of using the concept “Ruin” by combining two options: the semantic content of the concept as such outside the historical context and the scientific qualification of the essence of historical realities to denote the concept. Consequently, the problem of using the term was raised to the point of cross-analysis through the prism of both purely scientific tasks and the politics of memory.

It should be highlighted that the very appeal to the semantics of the term “Ruin” inevitably creates a mixed feeling about its use, because in the Ukrainian language it means “complete

collapse, destruction", "complete ruin, decline of something" and so on. And the assessment of how exactly the semantic content of the term correlates with the realities of the period to which it is proposed to apply, is the starting point of research tools of T. Chukhlib and determines the tone of judgments and conceptual generalizations. At the same time, the historian tries to filter the content that T. Tairova-Yakovleva invested in the concept "Ruin" in both monographs.

In addition, T. Chukhlib, while analyzing the peculiarities of the concept "Ruin" mentioning in the works of St. Petersburg researcher, noticed the evolution of her interpretation of the term (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 490). Initially, the term "Ruin" was used as a concept that characterizes socio-political phenomena and manifested itself in "the intensification of the struggle for power, the accumulation of internal problems and social tensions, civil war, kaleidoscopic change of Hetmans, foreign interference in internal affairs" as characteristic features of the period (Yakovleva, 1998, p. 5). However, a bit later T. Tairova-Yakovleva brought in a significant clarification: "Now "Ruin" is primarily a period of political crisis of the Hetmanate, which led to its final weakening and transformation into the political autonomy" (Yakovleva, 2003, p. 4). Hence, all other manifestations were the subject to this main identifier.

In general, T. Chukhlib's observations were decent and relevant and reflected the essence of T. Tairova-Yakovleva's approaches. One can only criticize the qualification of changes in the researcher's position as "a certain evolution". It seems that we should talk about a significant reformatting of the approach. After all, in the first interpretation brought in by T. Tairova-Yakovleva (in this context we will put in parentheses the material that serves the basis and the intermediate conclusions of the book) the "Ruin" forms only the idea of the accumulation of negative internal problems of a social and political nature. In the second case, a different interpretive model is formed. The delineation of the period as "Ruin" should suggest, first of all, the weakening process of the newly restored Ukrainian state and the narrowing of its self-sufficiency. And already as a refrain there are phenomena, the intertwining of which led to such a negative result from the point of view of the Ukrainian perspective.

It should be mentioned that the researcher's latest version was not a novelty. Rather, on the contrary, the change in the angle of view reflects her reception of the works of the Ukrainian historiography. In 1997 the concept "Ruin" was described as "the historiographical name of the tragic decline of the Ukrainian Cossack state in the second half of the XVIIth century and the terrible devastation of the Right Bank (Pravoberezhna) of Ukraine" in the "Small Dictionary of the History of Ukraine" (Small Dictionary, 1997, p. 345). It is noteworthy that when the researcher published the text in 1998, she did not adopt such an approach, and already while working on the second book, she recognized it as rational. Furthermore, T. Chukhlib also left behind the fact that in 1998 the raid of the so-called "ruin" used by T. Tairova-Yakovleva was probably due to negligence, but somehow extended to the period of B. Khmelnytskyi's Hetmanship. The above-mentioned infer could be traced in the researcher's thesis: "In this book, the Ruin will be considered as a period that began in Ukraine as a result of a social devastation (Khmelnitshyna, foreign invasions, a long-term war)" (Yakovleva, 1998, p. 6). Hence, it already potentially leads to shifting the emphasis in the interpretation of the very era of B. Khmelnytskyi, although in the future such a careless statement did not turn into a historiographical trend. Moreover, in the future T. Tairova-Yakovleva not only did not assume such ambiguities but a special explanation of the connection between the processes of the mid-1650s and political and social cataclysms of later times were made in the same book, where the above-mentioned quote was submitted (Yakovleva, 1998, pp. 97–98).

The idea of genetic continuity between the B. Khmelnytskyi's era and the subsequent period of the Ukrainian history was the researcher's concept nucleus (and this was important in the context of the Russian historiography development) (Maslak, 2014, p. 233). As a result, T. Tairova-Yakovleva stuck to the above-mentioned idea in principle and invariably. The imperishable ditch that, in favor of the Russian-centric interpretation of the latter, the Russian historians dug between the political concepts implemented by B. Khmelnytskyi and I. Vyhovskyi consistently, between the reaction of the society to these concepts in both cases, was filled up. Although in other respects such longevity was recognized. The researcher removed the touch of exclusivity from I. Vyhovskyi's strategies and social cataclysms that shook the Hetmanate in 1658 – 1659 and later. Accordingly, T. Tairova-Yakovleva spotted elements of filling the social content of the concept "Ruin" in anti-Hetman speeches, which flared periodically up in 1651 – 1657, but were suppressed by B. Khmelnytskyi with an iron fist. Those speeches reflected the formation of deep internal contradictions, which in I. Vyhovskyi's time only broke the dam: "The elitist republican form of the Hetmanate's government and the military democratic nature of all its institutions gave rise to a deep internal conflict contradict each other... This situation caused an explosion of political ambitions among the Ukrainian officers and contributed to the flourishing of diplomatic intrigues around Ukraine... It is these internal problems and contradictions of the Cossack state that became the main prerequisite for the Ruin" (Yakovleva, 1998, pp. 97–98).

Moreover, T. Chukhlib opposed the usage of the concept "Ruin" in scientific circulation. He justified his position by claiming that "this historical term does not fully cover the complex processes of political, economic, social, as well as the cultural and spiritual life of the Ukrainians in the second half of the XVIIth century" (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 489). In addition, the researcher noted the negative impact of the concept on the formation of the image of the day in the historical memory of the general public not only in Ukraine. In his opinion, the concept sketches distorted ideas, because in this plane the game includes its multi-functionality inevitably: the everyday meaning of the term in the minds of the masses will impose a specific semantic touch (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 491).

T. Chukhlib's arguments revolved around the inconsistency of the semantic mainstream concept – "complete collapse, destruction" – with the realities of the Hetmanate of the second half of the XVIIth century. The researcher tried to substantiate his position in all directions and denied the legitimacy of the assessment in the category of "Ruin" of the political crisis of the Hetmanate, economy, social relations. There were also questions about the chronological framework. And the key tool was to fit the situation in the Hetmanate into the European context, as well as a comparative perspective with neighboring periods of the Ukrainian history, to which, of course, the concept "Ruin" was no longer applied.

The researcher demonstrated the full potential of comparative studies on the example of considering the political strategies of the Ukrainian Hetmans and the elite in general in relation to neighboring rulers against the background of the European counterparts. After all, the political ambitions and involvement of the contenders of the mace in the Ukrainian affairs of neighboring countries were one of the main catalysts for the internal struggle. The typological echo of the search for more favorable citizenship by different rulers in difficult internal and external circumstances, different effectiveness of subordination, in particular, sometimes sharply negative for the self-sufficiency and internal order of states, was demonstrated. As a result, it gave rise to the remark that by the logic of things and in such cases it is necessary to apply the concept "Ruin", which no one does (Chukhlib, 2004, pp. 493–499).

At the same time, according to T. Chukhlib, the fact that in the internal life of the Hetmanate not all processes were destructive and it was impossible to bring a number of phenomena under the category "Ruin". It worked against the term usage. After all, the second half of the XVIIth century, despite the loss of statehood compared to B. Khmelnytskyi era, was the era of final international recognition of the Hetmanate, crystallization of the new Ukrainian elite, elaboration of the idea of the Hetmanate as Russia's successor, approval of a new model of economic relations and social communication (Chukhlib, 2004, pp. 500–501).

In the end, diverse attempts, which were made in order to delineate Ruin chronologically also ran into difficulties. T. Chukhlib denied the boundaries of 1658 – 1687 defined by T. Tairova-Yakovleva as blurred. In the first case, he used the argument of illegality to identify the beginning of open internal conflicts with the "Ruin". The upper limit was unacceptable, because Ivan Mazepa in key features continued the course of I. Samoilovych, and stabilization in the Left Bank Hetmanate was achieved during the Hetmanship of the latter (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 501).

As a result, T. Chukhlib's point of view was reduced to the fact that the period to which the concept was proposed to be used did not have that kind of uniqueness to use the term with such a semantic load as "Ruin".

Moreover, from the point of view of the European context, the Hetmanate "experienced a period of normal (!) State-political formation" in the sense of typological echoes in key strategies of elites, because "almost every newly created world power experienced a natural stage of internal political struggle", which quite often had a foreign policy "color" (Chukhlib, 2004, p. 492). The only problem was that these elites, entered the "normal" canvas, could not cope with internal and external challenges, which ultimately narrowed the prospects of the Hetmanate, laid in the time of B. Khmelnytskyi.

T. Tairova-Yakovleva did not remain in debt and tried to respond to the accusations of the Ukrainian researcher. By the way, her article was published in the next issue of the collection "Ukraine in Central and Eastern Europe", edited by T. Chukhlib, which testifies to the establishment of a proper culture of scientific discussions. It should be mentioned that the researcher highlighted immediately a key point that, at a basic level, determined both this and other discussions between the Ukrainian and the Russian researchers and which they prefer to chastely as if it does not exist: "History is a political science, and we with our Ukrainian colleagues will always, to one degree or another, look at the same things from different points of view" (Yakovleva, 2005, p. 670). Then T. Tairova-Yakovleva proposed to divide the problem into two issues: the term "Ruin" and the name of the period, rightly noting that in science periods were often outlined by vivid concepts, which did not have a scientific background ("Smuta", "Flood", etc.). Therefore, the term "Ruin" has the right to life. At the same time, the researcher, however, skipped the issue raised by T. Chukhlib of the influence of the poly-functionality of the concept (in contrast to the same "Smuta" or "Flood" on the general image of the day and its echo in historical memory).

Similarly, T. Tairova-Yakovleva preferred not to answer the main argument of the Ukrainian researcher – the echo of the processes with European counterparts. The emphasis was placed on the negative trends of the day, which in the end did little to convince in favor of the concept "Ruin". Consequently, that is why, no one tried to emphasize the position of T. Tairova-Yakovleva. Instead, T. Chukhlib once again duplicated his arguments in the edition of 2018 (Smolii, 2018, pp. 393–399). The paramount historiographical tendency both in Ukraine and abroad stretched towards the unaccented use of the term as a non-scientific marker like the "Flood". We often come across reservations, such as events "prompted

many historians to call the next decades after the uprising Ruin” (Plokhii, 2016, p. 154). Even O. Sokyрко, who introduced the concept “Ruin” in the title of his book on the Battle of Konotop in 1659 (“The Triumph in the Time of Ruin”), called the concept “terrible” (Sokyрко, 2009, p. 4). V. Brekhunenko, despite the proposal to use the term “The Civil War of 1658 – 1676”, to fit the Ukrainian situation more closely into the European context and, following T. Chukhlib, in order to put emphasis on the “normality”, continues to use the term “Ruin” instrumentally (Brekhunenko, 2014, pp. 6, 110, 161, 220, 270). The researchers V. Smolii and V. Stepankov decided to distance themselves from the concept. And from the fact that they spread the Ukrainian national revolution to 1648 – 1676, a negative attitude to the use of the concept probably follows (Smolii, Stepankov, 2009, pp. 5–6). In the Polish historiography, the “Ruin” also continues to be used metaphorically without attempting to typologize the phenomenon (Kossarzhetyskyi, 2006, p. 565; Kaczmarczyk, 2007, pp. 72, 138; Kroll, 2004, p. 9).

**The Conclusions.** Modern scientific discourse around the concept “Ruin” reflected the key trends in understanding the history of early modern Ukrainian statehood. At the beginning of the XXIst century for the first time in historiography the problem reached the level of discussion of the grounds for using the concept, while in the previous tradition it was used without being discussed. The focus of the controversy was the discussion between the Ukrainian historian T. Chukhlib and the Russian researcher T. Tairova-Yakovleva, a representative of the modernist wing in modern Russian historiography.

The depth of the discussion was ensured by T. Chukhlib’s energetic attempts to derive approaches from the typology on the European background of the essence of the processes that are proposed to be marked as the “Ruin”. And it was in this field that the limitations of the positions of T. Tairova-Yakovleva, a consistent supporter of functioning of “Ruin” in the scientific circulation, appeared. The reaction of interested researchers was to reduce the concept to the level of metaphor and transfer the final verdict to future more detailed research and deeper typology. The situation echoed the approaches to the terminological apparatus, focused on the problem of formation of early modern Ukrainian statehood, when neither side was able to achieve dominance, that is why, in the scientific space continue to be in circulation such terms as “The National Liberation War”, “The Cossack evolution”, “The National revolution”, “Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Uprising” as identical.

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## РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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## **FEATURES OF SOCIO-STRUCTURAL INTERACTIONS OF A MAN, A CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE.**

**Review of the monograph: “Man, Society, Power in Ancient and Early Modern Ukraine: Contexts of Historical Presentation”. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2020. 616 pp., ill.**

**ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СОЦІОСТРУКТУРНИХ ВЗАЄМОДІЙ ЛЮДИНИ, ГРОМАДЯНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА І ДЕРЖАВИ В ІСТОРИЧНІЙ РЕТРОПЕРСПЕКТИВІ. Рецензія на монографію: Людина, суспільство, влада в давній та ранньомодерній Україні: контексти історичної презентації. Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2020. 616 с., іл.**

Historical researches, the object of which is a man, society, power in ancient and early modern Ukraine are extremely important and topical for the national history.

Nowadays, the priority of a man in a modern society is gaining more and more importance. The human factor, nowadays, essentially becomes a key impetus for major social upheavals

that can change the entire existing system of society, and the consequences of this change may be unpredictable.

The study of the problem of power, society and man interconnectedness in their historical retrospect is important not only in the context of academic interest, but also in the prognostic and pragmatic dimension. Solving the dilemma, in which the civic interests of the whole society will be synchronized with the needs of each person, as well as ensuring his or her daily spiritual and material needs, is extremely important.

The authors of the monograph try to find the answers to many important questions that arise in this area. The peer-reviewed monograph has its own holistic concept, which is aimed at forming the vision – how the socio-political processes in Ukraine took place in the context of the realities of antiquity, the Middle Ages and early modern period. The structure of the monograph is logical and thought out carefully, it consists of separate blocks on various topics, the selection of which was based on the most objective and diverse coverage of complex and far from unambiguous issues.

We agree with V. Smoliy's point of view that the whole course, all the complex turns of the historical process depend on the coherence, balance of "personal, public and state interest", determined by the development level of interrelated relations between the state and society.

In Chapter I "Methodological Reflections" the state of scientific development of the problem and its methodology are analyzed. We share Valentyna Matiakha's point of view, that in Ukraine modern historical science demonstrates significant progress in terms of integration into the world methodological space. This integration is observed not only in the context of specific historical knowledge, but also in the processes of modeling the historical process in Ukraine at its various stages and periods. The introduction of research practices of modern Ukrainian historians into the field of interdisciplinarity, which "in modern philosophy of science" was interpreted "as a system of interactions" contribute to this intergration. However, our point of view is the following: the answers to the challenges facing the Ukrainian society against the background of changes in the so-called socio-historical, socio-cultural, linguistic, narratological, cognitive, postmodern factors are not entirely adequate.

According to Valentyna Matiakh, a considerable heuristic potential is hidden in the possibilities of modern historiography. It is not just about the prospects of finding new models and approaches to improving the conceptual apparatus in the context of early modern studies. It is also about a more detailed and dense filling of various sections of historical knowledge and showing what opportunities there are for a further integration of the global civilization project. It is also important to abandon the linear schematization of the historical process and to strengthen its theoretical component.

We share the author's point of view that the concept of "interdisciplinarity" does not have its own unambiguous reading. Modern researchers mostly agree that it is primarily a kind of "methodological design of the real synthesis of scientific achievements of various disciplines in large-scale scientific projects and researches".

The author proves the fact that the Ukrainian modern subdisciplinary construct is completely formed nowadays. We disagree to it totally. Our point of view is that the Ukrainian modern subdisciplinary construct needs improvements in many areas, including conceptual, problem, institutional, personalized, and etc.

Positively should be noted Valentyna Matiakh's comprehensive approach to the choice of theoretical and methodological principles of the study, set out in Chapter I of the monograph.

This comprehensive approach, no doubt, will help in the reception of many difficult issues discussed in the monograph.

Chapter II of the monograph is represented by several works in which the authors explore the political and socio-economic practices of the interdependence of society and government variously and thoroughly. In the section “Slave Relations in Olbia Society in the VIth – IIIth centuries BC” Olexander Odrin tries to do a research on certain aspects of slavery, the main of which is the problem of the slave labour importance in the ancient economy in general. The Olbia polis is known to have existed in the northern Black Sea coast, the modern borders of Ukraine, and had a great influence on the development of the region and beyond its territories.

We consider this study to be especially important because there is no single clear position in assessing the importance of slave labour in the ancient society, actually very often diametrically opposed views are expressed. Some researchers speak of the determinism of slave labour in the majority of industries development, while the others deny it. Understanding of the very nature of the ancient society also depends on the answer to this question largely.

In his research “Vytautas’ Horde Rubicon in the Context of Political Law and the Influences of the Geographical Factor” Borys Cherkas raises the issue of the legal basis of Vytautas’ power over the Ukrainian lands, as well as the study of those events, which took place at the end of the XIVth – the beginning of the XVth centuries. This research is quite important, because the policy of Vytautas Keistutovych, the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, had a huge impact directly on the Ukrainian realities of the XIVth – the XVth centuries. After the events of the Civil war between Vytautas and Jagiello, the treaty was signed, which included the redistribution of the Ukrainian lands between the Lithuanian princes. The author also tries to answer the question: “What were the pitfalls of the treaty, and what role was given to Ukraine in it?”

Of a particular importance is the event that took place in the spring and summer of 1397, when Khan Toktamish arrived in Kyiv and asked Vytautas for protection and assistance in regaining the throne at the Al-Jadid Palace located on the banks of the Volga river. We share the author’s point of view that this event was extremely important for Lithuania, and the decision made by Vytautas changed the historical path not only of the Lithuanian Duchy, but also of Central and Eastern Europe. After the signing of the alliance and aid treaty, a fierce confrontation broke out between the Lithuanian state and the Mongol-Tatar horde over the right to own the Ukrainian lands at the territory from the Dnieper region to the Black Sea-Azov steppes, Gedyminovychi or Dzhuchydy.

According to the author, the expansion policy of Vytautas, was not planned, it was more forced by circumstances. We don’t share the author’s point of view. The seizure of the Ruski lands by Lithuania was not in the nature of conquest or enslavement, but of accession. The Lithuanian princes considered themselves the heirs of Kyiv state, and they considered their duty to return the Ruski lands to their possession. They realized well that without the unification of the Ruski lands, the greatness of the state to which they aspired would not be achieved.

This period is also analyzed by Andriy Blanutsa in the section “Ukrainian princely and noble families in the socio-economic and political life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania”. The author does the research on the role of political elites in the political and socio-economic life of Ukraine during the period of its belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A particular attention is paid to the way in which the central government of the Dutcy formed a system of local government at the newly possessed territories.

The accession of the Ukrainian lands to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania did not make significant changes in their socio-political system. The Lithuanian authorities retained all

the rights of local feudal lords to land ownership, as well as the main social and political institutions – the principalities. One of the changes, Andriy Blanutsa says, was the involvement into a military service of a large number of people representing not only the nobility, but also other strata. In return, land with the right of ownership was allocated. The main resource, from which the management staff was formed, was the representatives stratum of the princely families and the nobility. The Lithuanian voivodes sought support from the local elite.

In their charters the Lithuanian princes proclaimed that they “do not move away the antiquities, they do not introduce the new”. Rus’ principalities received a fairly broad autonomy. In practice, this gave good results and support not only among the local nobility, but also among the common people.

In the research “For his Faithful Service at our Court. Service at the Tsar’s Court as Permit to Sotnytstvo in the Hetmanate” Viktor Horobets analyzes the influence of the Russian factor on personnel appointments in the hundreds of the Hetmanate. Moscow authorities and their representatives constantly interfered in the electoral processes which took place in Ukraine. This became a kind of trend in the Russian politics until nowadays. According to the author, due to the lack of relevant information, the mechanisms by which this interference took place remain hidden. In addition, some of the remaining archival material may shed light on the nature of the Hetman’s communication with the Russian ruling elite. These are mostly some testimonies, the analysis of which can help lift the veil of secrecy. However, the influence exerted by Moscow was not always accepted unconditionally. The dependence factor was well realized by the Ukrainian officers. This state of affairs also follows from the correspondence between the daughter of Peter I, the future Empress Elizabeth and Hetman the Apostle. Elizabeth lobbied the interests of Olexiy Yablonovsky, who served at her court, and after resigning he claimed the sotnytstvo in the Hetmanate. From the very beginning of his tenure as the Hetman, Danylo the Apostle proved to be a fighter for the restoration of the free election principles in obtaining positions in the Hetmanate. On his initiative, on October 11, 1727 (the tenth day of his tenure) the universals were sent to all regiments, the main message of which was a call for fair and democratic elections of starshyn. A commission was also formed to review staff decisions made with electoral irregularities. It is worth noting that the work of the commission was met with a considerable resistance at local places.

The second restoration of the Hetmanate and the election of Kyryl Rozumovsky as Hetman were also initially marked by the attempts to return the principles of free election. At least in the archival sources, we find information that indicates this fact. We agree with the author of the article that, despite the Hetman’s declared commitment to “previous military customs” during the election of starshyna, there were often deviations that were previously considered unacceptable.

In the work “Socio-political Relations in the Crimea after its Annexation by Russia (the last quarter of the XVIIIth century)” Olexander Hurzhiy describes the socio-political situation in the Crimea and abroad after the annexation of the peninsula by Moscow. One of the important issues raised by the author is the propaganda, which was used by the Russian Empire actively to justify the invasion of the peninsula. Very clear parallels can be traced with the situation of Russia’s annexation of the Crimea nowadays. The same as nowadays, the Russian historians characterized this act unequivocally – as historical justice. The same tendency concerns ousting of the Tatars from the Crimea. The same as nowadays, the Western press covered everything differently, in particular, it was claimed that Russia by its actions turns the invaded peninsula into “hungry steppes”. There were even calls for a concerted effort to counter the Russian aggression and help the Ottoman Port regain its territorial integrity.

An exemplary measure of the Russian propaganda was the organization in 1787 of “Catherine II’s Trip to the South of the Country”, i.e., the trip to the annexed Crimea. To legalize the annexation, the Austrian Emperor Joseph II was officially invited to travel, as well as high-ranking government officials from many European countries. With this invitation, the Muscovites wanted to somehow legalize the peninsula as a part of Russia and show the appearance of prosperity. And, according to the author, they wanted to declare that the Russian state will not give up its “legal rights to the Crimea” under any circumstances.

In Chapter II of the monograph the authors analyze the spiritual and cultural vectors of a social space. In the paragraph “Adoptionism, Filioque and Kyiv Metropolis” Valery Zema aims at considering the emergence and spread of the doctrine of filioque, the assertion of which occurred in the context of the struggle against the “Spanish heresy” – adoptionism. The researcher also analyzes the disputes between the East and the West, including the discussion of the pentarchy and the place of various Christian capitals in it. Despite the defining position of Rome as the apostolic capital, Constantinople tried to gain more significance in the Christian world, and opposed itself to Rome. Analyzing the works of the Ruski metropolitans, as well as ancient manuscript sources of ancient Kyiv, we may find much unknown till nowadays in the context of this discussion.

According to the author, among the main reasons for the division of the Christian world were the claims of Constantinople over Rome’s control over Bulgaria, which stemmed from the belief that it belonged to ancient Illyricum, i.e., the legacy of Rome.

In the study “Subculture of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the Context of the of Basic Archetypes Formation of the Ukrainians” Andriy Hurbyk analyzes the historical heritage of the Cossacks as an important archetypal component of the Ukrainian people formation. This issue is constantly in the field of view of a wide range of scholars (historians, ethnologists, archaeologists, literary critics, etc.), and therefore requires a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach. According to Andriy Hurbyk, the Ukrainian Cossacks went through a difficult path of development during their historical period, from spontaneous social and military forms to the main leadership of the national liberation and social movement. Becoming the driving force of the all-Ukrainian tendencies of development of our people, the Cossacks revived the state-building perspectives and raised the spiritual potential of the Ukrainians. The goal of the study was to identify the broadest possible, comprehensive approach to the problem and elements coverage of the Ukrainian Cossacks subculture in the context of the basic archetypes formation of the Ukrainians. The need for a generalized interdisciplinary approach to the study of the basic principles of the Cossack system, a customary law culture in the Cossack environment, as well as in the Ukrainian society in general remains topical in the research.

We agree with Andriy Hurbyk that the practices of legal and judicial institutions that were formed and functioned in the Zaporozhian Sich were a reflection not only of the Cossack customary law and worldview and religious attitudes, but also became genetic and mental followers of the sacred and military traditions of the times of the Kyivan Rus and the Galicia-Volyn principality. According to the author, in the context of historical perspective, this was important. Despite the fact that from the second half of the XVth century, after the liquidation of the Ukrainian principalities, the annexation of the Ukrainian lands by neighboring states (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Kingdom of Poland, the Russian Empire) its own customary culture developed and functioned in Ukraine. Its main foundations were the principles of military democracy and religious traditions and customs. Mentally, they persist to this day.

In Chapter IV “Biographical Connotations” the authors analyze the Ukrainian personalities, whose activities influenced the course of certain historical events and processes significantly:

“a prosopographic portrait of the participants of the Viennese military campaign of 1683 from the Ukrainian side” Taras Chukhlib examines the biographies of leaders and soldiers of magnate, noble and Cossack units who took part in the Vienna campaign of 1683, and till nowadays, with some exceptions, remains terraiacognita not only for the Ukrainian and the Polish, but also for world historiography. The research methodology is based on prosopographic and diachronic biographical methods of reproducing the life of an individual, as well as the collective biography of people united by one historical event and life during one historical period.

Taras Chukhlib found and analyzed a large number of documents and archival sources, which allowed to characterize everything in its entirety. The above mentioned material proves that many Ukrainian servicemen who took part in the Vienna campaign of 1683 were of a noble origin or were nobilitated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth nobility. Among them we may find the representatives of the ancient princely families of Rusy, the Cossacks, whose family “from great-great-grandfather” was Cossack, and the petty gentry of Ukraine. These historical figures, whom Taras Chukhlib calls the “people of the sword,” were distinguished not only in the Vienna campaign, but also in many other military campaigns of that time. These are the battles near the Parkany, the storming of the Hungarian fortresses of Ostergom and Szczecin, the campaigns to Ishmael and Iasi, and etc. We can state confidently that the studied personalities created history, they were the authorities of their time and set the vector in which society moved.

Finally, it should be noted that the monograph is a holistic, relevant, innovative in its concept work. The authors are good at a high level of technique of scientific and analytical cognition. The presentation style is clear and concise. Its reading opens the curtain on a number of poorly studied issues of ancient and early modern Ukraine. The monograph will be useful definitely, not only for scientists, teachers, students, but also for all who are interested in the historical past of Ukraine.

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**A NEW LOOK AT THE PHENOMENON OF UKRAINIAN KOBZARISM.**

**Review of the monograph: Khai M. O. Mykola Budnyk and Kobzarism. The 2nd, updated and supplemented edition. Lviv: “Astrolabiya” Publishing House, 2020. 380 p.**

**НОВИЙ ПОГЛЯД НА ФЕНОМЕН УКРАЇНСЬКОГО КОБЗАРСТВА.**

**Рецензія на монографію: Хай М. О. Микола Будник і кобзарство. 2-ге, оновлене та доповнене видання. Львів: Видавництво “Астролябія”, 2020. 380 с.**

The Ukrainian kobzarism is a socio-historical and at the same time artistic phenomenon that has long attracted attention of domestic and foreign researchers. Recently, in Lviv publishing house “Astrolabiya” there was published the work of a famous Ukrainian art critic, Professor Mykhailo Khai, dedicated to the historical tradition of kobzarism, lyre and bandura studies, as well as the work of Mykola Budnyk, a kobzar, a bandura player, an artist, a master of folk musical instruments, a founder of the organization “Kyiv Kobzar Workshop” (1953 – 2001).

The monograph consists of five chapters, which focus on historical, art and sometimes philosophical and aesthetic issues of the Ukrainian kobzarism. In Chapter I “Epic (epic-thought) and Old Man (kobzar-lyre) Traditions of Rus-Ukraine” M. Khai traces the influences of kobzar culture on the work of Taras Shevchenko, analyzes various aspects of the origin and evolution of kobzar instruments in the light of the concepts of Hnat Khotkevych, Volodymyr Kushpet,

Heorhy Tkachenko and Mykola Budnyk, traces the views of famous Ukrainian scientists (from Ivan Franko to Yuri Sherekh-Shevelyov) on the genesis of the Ukrainian epics. The author dedicated a separate section to Filaret Kolessa as a researcher of the kobza-lyre tradition.

Professor M. Khai assures that despite the influence of romanticism on the work and worldview of Taras Shevchenko, he still had a realistic view of kobzarism as an element of the Ukrainian culture. The researcher considers Taras Shevchenko's artistic descriptions and assessments of kobzarism to be reliable, accurate and almost identical to the well-known ethnographic observations of field folklore practice, which was just emerging (Panteleimon Kulish, Porfiry Martynovych, etc.) at that time (p. 22). However, it was the creative work of Taras Shevchenko that contributed to the fact that researchers of kobzarism resorted to idealization, romanticization and heroization of the folk kobza-lyre tradition later (p. 14).

Considering the genesis issues of folk instruments (harps/husli, kobzas, banduras, lyres), M. Khai emphasizes that nobody was able to record the form-construction, the number of strings, the system, or the way of playing the ancient Ukrainian harps. There are hypotheses about this by A. Famintsin (the XIXth century), but the author rejects them, calling them "phantasmagoric assumptions". He believes that at the territory of Ukraine in later times than Kievan Rus harps (husli) were not recorded precisely because they were transformed into a more perfect and closer to the European lute, and later to the form of the Asian kobza-kobyza propagated by the Cossacks. At the territories of Bila and Novgorod Rus, where this transformation did not take place, this form and, probably, the ways of playing lasted longer, till (though in its original form hardly) almost to the present day. At the same time, the researcher emphasizes that the symmetry of the "majority" of kobza-banduras is recorded, as a rule, in iconographic images (most often in folk paintings "Kozak Mamay"), which, as well as their plot and naively reproduced colors, cannot serve a sufficiently reasonable basis for serious scientific conclusions. The scientist denies the productivity of philological (etymological) approaches to explaining the genesis of kobza and kobzarism. Therefore, he opposes equating of a kobzar player and a bandura player, although he admits that the commonality of the repertoire and forms of activity was characteristic of the performers of kobza and bandura playing (p. 33–34).

The author of the monograph criticizes the conclusions of Iryna Zinkiv, a researcher, who drew conclusions about the "revival of the traditional bandura" and its evolution into a "bandura-hybrid of an advanced type" in her work "Bandura as a Historical Phenomenon". M. Khai argues that obsolete ethnographic rudiments are not naturally revived – they can be only reconstructed experimentally, and a scientifically incapable requirement to "improve" the attributes of folk life in order to meet the criteria of technical progress in terms of ethnology is completely absurd, because it destroys their ethnographic identity and value as such, creating, instead, its surrogate derivative with completely lost authentic features of a primary ethnographic phenomenon (p. 43).

Investigating the genesis of kobzar songs, the researcher also touches on the issues of the kinship of the Russian epics (antiquities) with the Ukrainian dumy. He admits that this issue is poorly studied. M. Khai is somewhat critical of Yuri Sherekh-Shevelyov's idea, who proposed an original method of considering historical phonology, "which has to do with thirty to forty phonemes" and therefore, in his opinion, "... is fully committed to such task and is of the highest degree of persuasiveness". M. Khai believes that the filling of "voids" in the Ukrainian history by methods of oral history and culture, namely – restoration and reconstruction according to the oral testimony of old people and legends, recorded by "oral" historians, ethnographers and folklorists, the facts collected in the folklore heritage are

much more effective than the written structural and phonological reconstruction proposed by Yu. Sherekh-Shevelyov (pp. 48–49).

In Chapter II “Historical and Social Status of Epic and Old Man Performing Practices” M. Khai paid attention to the poorly studied aspects of the musical epic tradition of the Ukrainians, analyzed the usage of the term “singing”, shared his thoughts on the work of Hnat Khotkevych “Bandura and its Repertoire”, analyzed the structure of kobzar and lyre societies. The scientist devoted the last sections of Chapter II to the lyre tradition, in particular its regional characteristics.

The author of the monograph pointed out the reasons for not understanding the nature, depth and essence of the Ukrainian kobzarism. He noted the objective reasons (the natural tendency of tradition to fade and level the immanent features), artificial causes (repression and physical destruction of kobzarism during the 1920s and 1940s by the Russian and German totalitarian regimes), scientific reasons – an extremely insufficient study of the basics of kobzarism as a folk tradition, the lack of popularization of existing scientific knowledge about it. The biggest misunderstandings is caused by especially weak research of such important from the point of view of musical ethnography aspects of kobzarism studying, as: 1) the genesis of epic individual singing and instrumental forms in ancient Ukraine; 2) musical and performance characteristics of kobzarism and lyre tradition at different historical and temporal phases of their evolution (the ratio of tradition and innovation, oral and authorial, indigenous and influential, sacred and secular, collective and individual, common and different, etc.); 3) different phases and stages of the tradition: the emergence and development, decline, natural extinction and forced extermination, restoration and scientific professional secondary reconstruction; 4) ethno-pedagogical principles of its imitation, restoration, scientific and reconstructive reproduction; 5) ethno-organological and ethno-phonetic features of kobzarism and lyre tradition (pp. 64–65).

Professor M. Khai is against the usage of the term “singing”, introduced into a scientific circulation by Kharkiv researcher Kost Cheremsky in 2005. Instead, he advocates the usage of the commonly used terms “kobzarism”, “kobzar-lyre / epic tradition”, “old age”. According to the author, the term “singing” was introduced to a categorical generalization of all singing genres and performing practices of ancient Ukraine. However, K. Cheremsky did not propose clear criteria for the classification of these genres and practices, that is why, to this concept any performance may belong, including amateur, which is often difficult to be called singing (p. 67). On the other hand, M. Khai singles out K. Cheremsky’s scientific achievements, in particular, the discovery of previously unknown documents and facts, for example, about the mass extermination of kobzars during the 1920s and 1930s. Among the achievements of Kharkiv researcher is the publication of “Twelve Vustyn Statutes”, which for the first time introduced into a scientific circulation the entire volume of unwritten laws and regulations of customary law of the Ukrainian bandura players, kobzars and lyre players. The author cited no less significant and important materials in the appendices “Singing Creativity” and “Singers of the Sloboda Kobzar Workshop of the XIXth– XXth centuries” (p. 70).

M. Khai expressed not less critical judgments concerning the above-mentioned book by H. Khotkevych. Noticing in it many contradictory statements, the researcher did not share H. Khotkevych’s opinion on the need to develop academic kobzarism. M. Khai emphasizes that kobzarism is possible only within the framework of the “folklore line”, according to which only “quasi-bandura art” is possible, in which the authentic form and essence of tradition never existed and could not exist (p. 84).

Characterizing the existence of kobzar-lyre communities in ancient Ukraine, M. Khai speaks of the hierarchical ladder of the ruling kobzar-lyre “top” led by the work-shopmaster or “a priest” at the head. A priest-teacher was assisted by the institute of the work-shop foreman (judge and дума councils) and the treasurer, who collected a hundredth part of the earnings from each member of the community. However, the researcher expresses some ideas concerning adoration of kobza-lyre workshops by the city workshop organizations. He states that in the Ukrainian ethnic environment kobzarism and lyreplaying were not just another artistic craft (as, for example, typical urban medieval music workshops, whose function, in addition to playing at folk holidays, was to perform academic – the so-called “Italian” – music), aimed at serving the demands of the bourgeois community. Kobzarism and lyre playing were basically a peasant folklore tradition that professed spontaneous primordial and syncretic forms of creation and principles of functioning; it was a spiritual, artistic and aesthetic need of the common people, without which neither the singer himself could imagine life, nor his living environment or wanders. From city and town cultures, this folklore tradition took only certain elements of workshop organization and administrative hierarchy. However, the level and degree of organization was much more veiled (oral) than it was in the bourgeoisie workshops. But the rules of the oral customary statute, which kobzars and lyre players followed unconditionally, were professed by them with orthodox strictness inherent in all other “closed” fraternities and communities (blindmen, ordinary old men-beggars, monks, the Cossacks, etc.). That means that the type of kobzar “professionalism” was based on the postulates not of the town, but of the so-called “sincere” rural ethics and aesthetics and, more broadly, culture, ethno-pedagogical and ethno-artistic principles of which followed from diametrically opposed to the generally accepted understanding of the professionalism bases (p. 86–87). Interesting is the explanation of a three-year process of teaching a young student to play the bandura by a priest-master during the 30s of the XXth century, described by the author (p. 94–95).

The author states that in Ukraine the kobzar tradition was destroyed physically at the original authentic level during the severe 1930s, and the lyre tradition also died out: information about the last lyre players, who until recently wandered in Volynia, Polissia, Podillia and Hutsul region dates back to the 50s–60s and at least the 70s–80s of the previous century. Mykola Tovkaylo from Pereyaslav, Volodymyr Kushpet from Stritivka, Taras Kompanichenko from Boyarka, Kost Cheremsky and Nazar Bozhynsky from Kharkiv, Yurko Fedynsky from Kriachkivka, not blind bandura players Yaroslav Krysko and Nazar Cherkas from Lviv, Vasyl Kyrylych from Drohobych, blind Layosh Molnar from Lviv and Oleksandr Trius from Romen, not blind lyre players Stefan (Mykhailo Khai), Yarema (Vadym Shevchuk), Boroda (Yuriy Avdeyev) from Kyiv region, Serhiy Tkach, Andriy Liashuk from Volyn, Viktor Levytsky from Hutsul region, etc., are the most productive at the level of scientific restoration and sometimes reconstruction. The scheme of reconstructive work on the restoration of the extinct tradition at the secondary level consists in the following positions mainly: a) selection and study of a certain local tradition (or a specific singer); b) recording, research processing of the material for the purpose of its scientific comprehension; c) the study of the characteristic features of tradition as a specific ethno-phonetic phenomenon, notation and preparation of the material and performing means (voice and instrument) for reconstructive reproduction; d) the secondary reproduction of the manner of performing, as close as possible to the authentic sample; e) functioning of the received variant of performing at the secondary level and popular science representation (p. 102).

Emphasizing that one of the most characteristic forms of the Ukrainian traditional music culture is the ancient epic (old age) practice of wandering singers – kobzars and lyre players, the researcher notes: the situation with lyre tradition in Ukraine is not less sad as

with kobzarism. Due to the hectic demand for the study of the kobzar tradition at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, which catastrophically disappeared from everyday life at that time, those who began to save it then, did not notice how the lyre tradition disappeared unnoticed, remaining almost unrecorded. Thus, the researchers' attention was focused on "more noble and peculiar to us" kobzarism, the areas of distribution of which, in comparison with lyre tradition, reached only a third of the territory of Ukraine (p. 105).

Professor M. Khai considers the origin of the Ukrainian lyre tradition from Western Europe. He considers the kobzar tradition to be oriental. The researcher analyzes the social origin and state of kobzars, bandura players and lyre players, points out their common features (old men casual and professional singing), as well as differences: lyre players most often sang songs of a religious nature, and kobzars and bandura players – secular, domestic, heroic, and etc. He also writes about the repression of the Soviet authorities against kobzars and the repression of the Nazis against lyre players (p. 113). He regrets that the famous lyre players Dmytro Gintsar from Putyla (Bukovyna Hutsulshchyna) and Ivan Vlasiuk from Zaliuttia (Volyn) were the last lyre players in Ukraine, and the living authentic tradition was interrupted finally.

The section on a regional distribution of lyre tradition is interesting. M. Khai emphasizes that the most characteristic features of lyre playing as a tradition in the Ukrainian Carpathians area were most densely concentrated not in the mountains, but at the foothills (Nadsiannia, Opillia, Boikivske Pidhiria, Pokuttia), from where lyre players extended their practice to the neighboring mountainous regions of Lemkivshchyna, Boikivshchyna, and Hutsulshchyna. However, in Transcarpathia, no traces of its functioning were found, despite few facts of the typical lyre repertoire fixating in the so-called "passive" practice. The traditions of Volyn-Polissia zone, despite all the mentioned information in the scientific and fiction literature, are the least recorded and studied, and therefore their reconstruction at the secondary scientific level is perhaps the most problematic nowadays. Instead, the lyre traditions of the Dnieper and Poltava-Sloboda areas have, perhaps, the most vivid and the most complete material for such reconstructions (pp. 120–131).

In Chapter III, M. Khai describes the instruments (harp/husli, bandura, kobza, lyre), the repertoire (epics, dumas, historical songs, psalms and chants, etc.) of the Ukrainian kobzars, lyre players, bandurists. The author notes that for a long time researchers considered the kobza and the bandura to be the same instrument, except that the bandura was a somewhat more modern instrument option. However, based on the descriptions by the composer Mykola Lysenko, who described the kobza of the famous kobzar Ostap Veresay, the master Mykola Budnyk managed to make kobza (p. 141). In one of the sections of this chapter, M. Khai mentions the issue of repression against kobzars one more time, interpreting them as a method of waging a "small war" against the Ukrainians (pp. 185–196).

Chapter IV deals with the biography, artistic and social activities of Mykola Budnyk. In detail the researcher considers the principles of making kobzar tools by M. Budnyk. The author focused on M. Budnyk's kobza repertoire. It should be noted that the section is full of author's memoirs, because M. Khai was a student of M. Budnyk for two years. The last, Chapter V contains appendices to the monograph: publications and reviews, photos, audio albums, note transcriptions.

In general, M. Khai's monograph is an important interesting synthesis of scientific analysis of the epic and old man traditions foundations of the Ukrainians; the monograph with worldviews, philosophical, national and existential visions of the author and kobzar, and a master M. Budnyk. The monograph contains a critique of modern, the so-called "academic" bandura tradition and exposes a number of quasi-scientific and romantic myths about kobzarism.

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**MOST-SUFFERING FATE AND GLORIOUS VICTORIES  
OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH**

**(review of the monograph: Vehesh M., Kontsur-Karabinovich N., Marchuk V.,  
Palinchak M., Golonich Ya., The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church:  
past and present. Academic publishing Fairmont, 2020. 380 p.)**

**БАГАТОСТРАЖДАЛЬНА ДОЛЯ І СЛАВНІ ЗВИТЯГИ  
УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ЦЕРКВИ**

**(рецензія на монографію: Вегеш М., Концур-Карабінівич Н., Марчук В.,  
Палінчак М., Голонич Я., Українська Греко-Католицька церква:  
минуле і сучасне. Academic publishing Fairmont, 2020. 380 с.)**

The peer-reviewed publication highlights the historical path of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and church-religious transformation in the western Ukrainian region. The main milestones of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's life, spiritual ministry and national valour are traced.

In Chapter I of the work "The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church: Pages of History", the authors did the research on the source base, the scientific development state of the topic and

analysed the historical progress and main activities of the UGCC, identified the contribution of the church to the development of the Ukrainian national idea, to the consolidation of State-conciliar forces, tracked its suffering path in the 1940s – 1980s, determined the role and significance of the UGCC in the state system – Church Relations of Ukraine.

**In subsection 1.1.** “UGCC in the Light of Historiographic Heritage and Documents” a historiographic review of scientific studies on the topic was conducted and the theoretical and factual achievements in the history of this unique religious formation were analysed. The authors logically identified three periods of the research on the history of the UGCC: 1) the first half of the XXth century; 2) the period of catacomb existence (from the notorious Lviv Cathedral in 1946 to the legalization of the UGCC); 3) the modern stage (from the legalization of the church in 1990, etc.). The authors noted that the focus of research interest in emigration and in western Ukraine dealt with prominent figures of the Church, the history of religious printing, and the spiritual and cultural education of the UGCC among the population. It is also noted that the Soviet historiography of the XXth century, despite its ideological bias, also has a certain value as a historiographic source. Modern studies of the history of the UGCC are covered in detail, presented in the 4th volume of the ten-volume book “History of Religion in Ukraine”, in the monographs of B. Hudziak, A. Sapeliuk, A. Pashuk and the others. In accordance with the opinion of the authors, appropriate studies of the church history of Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, Nadsianina, vicissitudes of the foundation and activity of individual monasteries and religious centres are also considered. Several pages are submitted for viewing foreign studios, primarily the Polish ones (pp. 27–29). In general, the authors proved that the available source base allows studying the transformations of church and religious life in the western Ukrainian lands.

**In subsection 1.2** “The Struggle for the Preservation of the National Idea as Part of the Activities of the Greek-Catholic Church” scholars applied the problem-chronological dimension, highlighting in the history of the Church events of universal significance: baptism of Ukraine-Rus; the Brest Union of 1596; the underground and the revival of the UGCC in the XXth century. Therefore, the authors’ definition of the Ukrainian Christianity as a symbiosis of the Eastern Christian tradition with the Western one on the basis of the pre-Christian culture of Rus-Ukraine looks appropriate, which expressed the spiritual face of the Ukrainian nation already at the end of the XIth century (p. 34). The authors noted that the Union of Brest was a natural result of the process of integration of Eastern and Western church traditions in Ukraine and the second epochal event in the history of the Ukrainian Christianity after Vladimir’s baptism of Kyiv in 988.

Later, the historians highlighted the educational activities of monasteries, the circumstances of the restoration of the Galician Metropolitanate in the XVIIIth century, noted the role of the “Russian Trinity” and the Greek-Catholic hierarchs M. Levitsky, H. Yakhimovich, I. Sembratovich in the national revival of the XIXth century. It is rightly noted that at that time the clergy became almost the only representative of the Ukrainian population in relations with the authorities. Obviously, the priests and the worshippers of the UGCC mainly shared the ideas of fr. V. Podolinsky, who defended the salvation of Galicia from perishing in the cathedral independent Ukrainian state (p. 49, 52). The thesis about the huge role of the UGCC, metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, in fact, that the centre of the national movement moved to Galicia, and the region received the name “Ukrainian Piedmont”, is supported by facts. As a result, it is stated that the UGCC and its worshippers at the end of the century were ready to fight both for national and cultural rights, and for the statehood and conciliarity of Ukraine.

At the beginning of **subsection 1.3**. “The Contribution to the Consolidation of State-Conciliar Forces (the first third of the XXth century)” it is noted that a new era in the history of the UGCC was initiated by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who launched consummate activities in various fields. It is noted that A. Sheptytsky called on Lviv residents to defend their faith and, at the cost of his arrest and exile, nullified the intentions of transferring the church under the Moscow Patriarch in 1914 (p. 67). It is noted that the clergy of the UGCC welcomed the proclamation of an independent UNR, took an active part in the November Revolution of 1918 and the development of the ZUNR and UGA. It is observed that during the interwar period, the UGCC maintained the Theological Academy and community, libraries, choirs, theatres and study clubs, collaborated with Prosvita, Ridna Shkola, published some magazines, donated to orphanages, supported the UNDO, and over the course of time even its own parties – UCO, UKNP, etc. It is summed up that in the interwar 20th anniversary, the national character of the UGCC, which had 16 bishops and dioceses in Transcarpathia and overseas, crystallized finally. In Galicia alone, the Church numbered 1 907 parishes in the 1920s, where 2 298 priests worked (p. 76).

The history of confessional and ethnic, political transformations during World War II (1939–1945) is described in **subsection 1.4**. The authors recalled that on the eve of the war, the UGCC was the largest (4.3 million worshippers) and the affluent among the Ukrainian churches in Poland (p. 86). It is confirmed that, having annexed in the autumn of 1939, western Ukraine, the Bolsheviks carried out the first stage of “Sovietization”, during which dozens of priests were killed and deported, educational and scientific institutions, magazines were closed, church lands and buildings were nationalized (pp. 88–90). At the same time, scientists, adhering to the principle of objectivity, noted that the UGCC suffered the least losses among other faiths. Owing to metropolitan Andrey, who called for obeying the laws, but not interfering in politics, the authorities were unable to use the Church for their own purposes, and the Metropolitan himself formed 4 exarchates outside of Galicia, including in Soviet Ukraine.

It is noted that the outbreak of the Soviet-German war on June 22, 1941 changed the religious situation significantly. The authors traced the change in the attitude of the Metropolitan of the UGCC towards the German authorities: from gratitude for liberation, from Bolshevism to condemnation of Nazism and hostility expressed in the letter to Pope Pius XII in August of 1942. A. Sheptytsky wrote: “the German government is evil, almost diabolical, and then to an unprecedented greater extent than the Bolshevik government” (p. 92). It is recalled that at the same time, the Metropolitan condemned the genocide of the Jews, and in November, in a pastoral letter “Do not kill”, strictly warned that the Curse of the Church would fall on all and sundry, who shed innocent blood.

The historians came to the conclusion that at the time of the “second Soviets”, the attitude of communist leaders towards the UGCC was associated not only with “the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”, but also with collaboration through the participation of the clergy in the leadership of Galicia District, the formation of the Galicia Division, and assistance to the OUN(B). However, according to the historians, Moscow, in connection with the war, was aware of entering into an open conflict with the UGCC, that is why, it extended the policy of “partnership” with the church adopted in 1943 to the Greek-Catholics. Therefore, the delegation sent to Moscow, headed by the new Metropolitan I. Slipyi, received assurances that the UGCC could act on an equal basis with other faiths (pp. 99, 100). This, of course, did not save the Church from the supervision of special services and repression for its close ties with the UPA.

In **subsection 1.5**. “The Suffering Path of the Church in the Second Half of the 1940s – 1980s” it is proved that the Soviet government fully supported the action to liquidate



the UGCC. The sabotage culminated in the pseudo-Council of 1946 in Lviv, which annulled the resolutions of the Brest Union of 1596 and proclaimed “reunification” with the All-Russian Orthodox Church (p. 107). The historians have given arguments to prove the illegitimacy and uncanonicity of the decision of the “council” (pp. 113, 114). It is noted that by 1947, only 43% of UGCC clerics joined the Russian Orthodox church, while the majority of priests continued to resist the destruction of the Church. “Thus, the Lviv Council of 1946 did not become the moment of a decisive turn of the Uniate clergy and worshippers towards Orthodoxy, as the Soviet government and the hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church expected,” the historians stated (p. 109). They rightly noted that it was obvious to the international community that the liquidation of the UGCC was not the will of the people, but the result of political coercion to weaken the Vatican. It is no coincidence that out of 267 priests who returned from exile during Khrushchev’s “thaw”, only 14 headed Orthodox parishes, while the rest served in the catacomb UGCC (pp. 123, 124). It is noted that in the 60s there was another wave of the struggle of Communists with the “opium of the nation”. And only the Helsinki Accords of 1975 forced the Kremlin to weaken its offensive slightly. It is noted that in the 1980s, the communist regime weakened, and the movement for the restoration of the church grew stronger.

**In subsection 1.6.** “The UGCC as a Church-Religious Institution of Independent Ukraine” it is noted that in 1987, the new head of the Church, M. Lubachevsky, and the Synod of bishops appealed to Orthodox hierarchs for reconciliation. In Ukraine, the movement for the restoration of the church was headed by Bishop Pavel Vasylyk. It is noted that the turn in the CPSU’s policy towards churches took place in April of 1988, when Mikhail Gorbachev announced the abolition of discriminatory acts against religion. In the same year, the UGCC priests held a number of unauthorized services for the millennium of the baptism of Rus, sent petitions to international forums, and sent a delegation to Mikhail Gorbachev (pp. 127–131). It is stated that only on November 21, 1989, the government of the Ukrainian SSR finally allowed the registration of the Greek-Catholic communities. It is indicated that Archbishop V. Sterniuk on January 23, 1990, convened a council of the UGCC in Lviv, which recognized the pseudo-Council of 1946 as non-canonical and legalized the Church. This led to an avalanche-like Return of worshippers from orthodoxy and registration of the UGCC communities (p. 133, 134). The authors also analysed interfaith relations in independent Ukraine, the organizational structure of the UGCC, the training of clergy, information resources, provided statistics on churches and monasteries returned to the church, etc.

**In subsection 1.7.** “The UGCC in the System of State-Church Relations of Ukraine”, it is noted that the problem of relations between the church and the state is closely related to the formation of a national-state ideology. The authors agree with L. Kiyanovskaya that in Galicia in the XIXth century, it was the priests, more than anywhere else in Europe, who awakened the consciousness of their nation in the Ukrainian people, laid down scientific, educational, cultural institutions and cells (p. 141). The national and state – forming role of the Ukrainian church during the liberation struggle of 1917 – 1920 was clarified. The struggle for the survival of the Ukrainian Christian churches during the Soviet times is traced. The law of Ukraine “About freedom of conscience and religious organizations” has been considered. It is noted that the National-statist ideology of the UGCC is shared by the Ukrainian political parties of the statist, right-wing directions, as well as the OUN. Analysing the social doctrine of the UGCC, the historians noted that A. Sheptytsky contrasted the Marxist dogma of the class struggle with the need to eliminate the “Fraternal struggle of social strata” and follow the law of God that unites people (pp. 149, 150).

**In subsection 1.8.** “Features of the Confessional Situation in Transcarpathia: History and Modernity” the authors remind that it is the thousand-year-old Kyiv Metropolitanate that rightfully belongs to the name “The Ukrainian Orthodox Church”. The Synodal period of the history of the Russian Church, which subjugated the Ukrainian church by bribery, is characterized as grossly non-canonical and forced (p. 152). It is stated that autocephaly was restored in 1920, but even before the war, the UAOC was destroyed de jure, and almost all hierarchs – physically (pp. 155, 156). Hereafter, the authors traced the circumstances of the transfer of the dioceses of the UGCC to the Moscow Patriarchate in 1946. The process of restoring the jurisdiction of divine services of national churches and the formation of multi-confessionalism in Ukraine has been also analysed.

Regarding the main topic of the subsection, the historians noted that the religious and ecclesiastical life of Transcarpathia has its own characteristics related to the interweaving of interests of neighbouring countries and is marked by confessional diversity: as of January 1, 2019, there were 1,977 religious organizations of 37 faiths and directions in Transcarpathia. It is noted that the UOC remains dominant in the region, and Mukachevo Diocese of the UGCC ranks second in terms of the number of religious organizations – 466 parishes. At the same time, the Reformed Church is widespread in 8 districts of the region where the Hungarians live (p. 165, 166). As a result, it is noted that Transcarpathia has a high degree of trust in religious organizations and Interfaith Harmony.

**The second section** of the monograph – “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky: pages of life and activity” – is a bit smaller in volume, but contains a thorough study of the activities and teachings of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.

**In subsection 2.1.** “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky through the Eyes of Contemporaries and in Historiography” the scientific developments of various aspects of monumental efforts of the transcendent hierarch of the UGCC and his life path have been analysed. Among the special works in which the activities of A. Sheptytsky are studied, the work of V. Laba, the works of S. Baran and V. Doroshenko have been highlighted. The historians also recalled that the contribution of the Galician Metropolitan to the Ukrainian state-forming processes is successfully studied by V. Sergiychuk, his attitude to the Carpathian Ukraine – M. Vegesh and M. Tokar, the national contribution – I. Ortinsky, R. Magochy, V. Kosik, etc. “Important and interesting in all respects” describes the work of R. Tozhetsky – “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky”, which, in particular, analyses the Metropolitan’s attitude to the OUN, UPA and Division “Galicia” (pp. 178–179). The source base of the dissertation of V. Marchuk, who studied the social activities of the UGCC and its metropolitan, is approved. K. Panas’s opinion on two important goals for which A. Sheptytsky fought was singled out: The Ukrainian Church and the restoration of the Kyiv Metropolitanate within of princely Russia. The article assesses the figure of Metropolitan Ya. Zaborovsky, who agreed with the “quite accurate historical term “the Prince of the Church”.

**In subsection 2.2.** “The Way of Life and Socio-Political Activity of Andrei Sheptytsky” it is noted of the substantive coverage of various aspects of the multifaceted asceticism of the Metropolitan is taken, which gives a holistic view of the greatness of this figure. The authors noted that since 1896, when Roman (Andrey) Sheptytsky was appointed the abbot of the monastery of St. Onuphrius in Lviv, he went “to the people”, where over time he gained great fame and authority among the people. It is noted that the Metropolitan of Galicia (since October 21, 1900) outlined a kind of guide for himself and his flock, which he adhered to all his life: “1) to know their faith well, 2) to know the faith of Orthodox brothers,

3) to pray for unification” (p. 188). A separate page of the study is the evaluation of the attitude of A. Sheptytsky to the Ukrainian military and political forces and to the political regimes (Austro-Hungarian, Polish, Soviet, German) that dominated Galicia at different times (pp. 198–201). It is noted that under all circumstances, the Metropolitan defended the interests of his native people and the national Greek-Catholic Church.

**Authors of subsection 2.3.** “Educational, Cultural and Scientific Activities of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky” based on the facts, proved the thesis about the outstanding role of this church figure in the national and cultural development of the Ukrainians, which manifested itself both in practical assistance to educational, cultural, scientific institutions, and in theoretical developments of issues of spirituality, morality, education, and upbringing of a person. It is traced the evidence of A. Sheptytsky’s believing that the main link of education should be the family, because “the Christian family is a school of the Christian life, but also a school of a mutual, national life”. Among the main elements of Education, A. Sheptytsky refers, firstly, to suggestion, as the influence of the environment on the child; secondly, science and, thirdly, the Christian atmosphere. It is noted that Metropolitan Andrey constantly paid attention not only to what virtues should be brought up but also to what the Christian education should be directed against. (pp. 228–231).

**In subsection 2.4.** “Ecumenical Activity of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky” (pp. 232–267) the role of Andrey Sheptytsky in spreading the Union ideas and mutual rapprochement of Churches is thoroughly analysed. The authors noted that in the diverse activities of the outstanding church figure Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, the central place was occupied by the problem of the Unity of Churches and the associated ecumenical action, which manifested itself throughout his adult life.

**Subsection 2.5.** “Religion and the Church in Carpathian Ukraine” is marked by a particularly balanced presentation and thorough analysis of the events (pp. 267–455). The authors of the subsection use data that give an idea of the general and regional ratio of the number of the UGCC believers. Thus, it is noted that at the end of the 1930s there were 410 000 Greek-Catholics in Transcarpathia (p. 269). There were also 140 Orthodox parishes in Carpathian Ukraine and 155 000 Orthodox parishes. It is noted that A. Voloshyn’s government was loyal to the Orthodox Church, which had positive consequences for the harmonization of interfaith relations (p. 275, 276). One of the cross-cutting problems considered by the historians was the relations between the Government of Carpathian Ukraine and the Czech and the Hungarian authorities and also their attitude to the UGCC. Close attention is paid to the analysis of the situation when Mukachevo Parish was practically divided into pro-Hungarian and pro-Ukrainian Wings with centres in Uzhgorod and Khust.

**Summing up** the contribution of the authors of the monograph to the increment of historical knowledge, we should note the foreseeable source base of the study, which includes more than a hundred titles, including archive records. It is noteworthy that along with empirical analysis of primary sources, the historians have demonstrated a deep understanding of the role of the UGCC in the spiritual life and national and cultural development of the Ukrainian people. The authors rightly noted that Greek Catholicism as a social product of the internal development of the Ukrainian Christianity has organically synthesized the Eastern and Western Christian traditions and clearly showed the Ukrainian national and cultural individuality. The historians have convincingly shown that the Union of 1596 allowed the Western Ukrainians to remain Orthodox in faith and traditions for five centuries, the Catholics – in love and God – saved-in the hope of ethno-spiritual liberation

and conciliarity of ethnic lands. The authors also vividly and competently highlighted the huge theoretical and practical contribution to the revival of the UGCC and the development of the Ukrainian spirituality of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky provided a professional interpretation of the ideas set out in his works.

Noting the high scientific level of the entire author's team, we believe that the work could be better structured in order to prevent a return to some previously covered aspects, in particular, the versatile activities of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, as can be seen in comparing the content of subsections 1.3., 1.4. with the materials of the second section. In our opinion, the name of subsection 1.8 looks somewhat artificial "Features of the Confessional Situation in Transcarpathia: History and Modernity". Only a third of its content contains the analysis of the confessional situation in the region, and that would be logical to combine with subsection 2.5. Obviously, the work should be supplemented in the future with materials on the modern development of the UGCC, the development activities of its Beatitude Lubomyr Husar and Sviatoslav Shevchuk. We believe that as for such a fundamental work, more extensive final conclusions and more systematic analysis of historiographic sources, their distribution in the list of references, are appropriate. In general, the complex and comprehensive nature of the work of the five historians distinguishes it favourably among numerous studies of individual aspects of the topic, as it demonstrates a holistic vision of the historical path and versatile activities of the Greek-Catholic Church and one of its outstanding Hierarchs – Andrey Sheptytsky. Of course, the peer-reviewed monograph has a high professional level and is a significant contribution to the Ukrainian historical science, and first of all, to the study of the church history of Ukraine. Therefore, we are convinced that the publication will be useful for scientists, teachers, clergy and broad public circles.

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## NOTES

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