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THE HOARD OF COPPER COINS OF THE PONTIC STATE OF MITHRIDATES VI EUPATOR FROM ROMNY DISTRICT OF SUMY REGION

Abstract. The purpose and scientific novelty of the article. The article focuses on the analysis of coin complex that included 19 antique (bronze) coins of Mithridates VI Eupator times and was discovered near the Sula River, between the villages of Brodok, Zasullia and urban-type settlement Nedryhailiv, Romny district, Sumy region in the summer of 2022. **The Conclusion.** After including of Greek apoikias of the Northern Black Sea region to the Pontus state of Mithridates VI Eupator times there appeared a significant number of copper Pontic coins in their money circulation, resulted in their spread in the Pontic Steppe region, particularly in Steppe and Forrest-Steppe zones of modern Ukraine. The detailed study of this monetary complex allowed the authors to compile its catalogue and systematize the coins according to the issue centres and the chronology of their minting. It has been determined that all 19 coins of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator from the coin hoard, which were found in the summer of 2022 near urban-type settlement Nedryhailiv, Romny district, Sumy

region, constitute two consecutive groups of copper coins medium denomination **B**, minted in the cities of Amaseia, Amisos and Sinope.

It has been determined that coins of Ares/Sword type constitute 68,42% and coins of Aegina/Nika type comprise 31,58% in the hoard composition. Concerning the minting places of these coins, though coins from Amaseia account for 5,26%, Amisos amount 84,21% and Sinope comprise 10,53%.

The two classifications by F. Imhoof-Blumer and François de Callataj of the copper coins of Pontic State of times Mithridates VI Eupator have been analysed by the authors. It has been assumed, that Pontic coins of the medium denomination Ares/Sword type **B** were minted approximately in 110 – 100 BC, the type of Ares/Sword with letters **IB** were coined – in 100 – 90 BC, and the Aegis/Nika type were minted in 90 – 85 BC.

It has been proven that the find of this coin's hoard of the Pontic State of Mithridates VI Eupator times on the territory of the Left-Bank Forest-Steppe, particularly in Romny district, Sumy region fully corresponds to the archaeological content of this region specifically archaeological finds of the materials of Zarubintsy culture and numismatic sources, which are known to the authors: coins of Scythian King Skilurus, which were minted in Olbia in 130 – 120 BC and Pontic coins. It has been highlighted that the coin finds of the 3rd-1st centuries BC on the territory of Sumy region are recorded not only in the Sula River basin and in the basins of the Seym and the Psel rivers.

The monetary complex studied in the article is an important source not only of the history of the settlement of Posullia at the end of the 2nd – the beginning of the 1st century BC and the connections of the population of this region with the antique Black Sea region, but also of the history of coinage in the Pontic state during the times of Mithridates VI Eupator.

Keywords: Northern Black Sea region, Olbia, coin finds, Mithridates VI Eupator.

СКАРБ МІДНИХ МОНЕТ ПОНТІЙСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ МІТРИДАТА VI ЕВПАТОРА З РОМЕНСЬКОГО РАЙОНУ СУМСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ

Анотація. Мета і наукова новизна статті. У статті досліджено монетний комплекс, виявлений влітку 2022 р. поблизу р. Сула між селами Бродок, Засулля та смт. Недригайлів Роменського району Сумської області, до складу якого входило 19 античних мідних (бронзових) монет Понтійської держави часів Мітрідата VI Євпатора. **Висновки.** Після входження грецьких апокій Північного Причорномор'я до складу Понтійської держави часів Мітрідата VI Євпатора в їхньому грошовому обігу з'явилася значна кількість мідних понтійських монет, що спричинило їхнє поширення в Надчорномор'ї, зокрема в Степовій та Лісостеповій зонах сучасної України. Детальне вивчення цього монетного комплексу дало змогу авторам скласти його каталог та систематизувати монети відповідно до емісійних центрів і хронології їхнього карбування. Встановлено, що усі 19 монет Понтійської держави Мітрідата VI Євпатора із монетного скарбу, знайденого влітку 2022 р. поблизу р. Сула між селами Бродок, Засулля та смт. Недригайлів Роменського району Сумської області, складають дві послідовні групи мідних монет середнього номіналу **B**, карбованих у містах Amaseia, Amisos та Sinope.

Визначено, що у складі скарбу 68,42 % складають монети типу Арес-меч, а монети типу Егіна-Ніка – 31,58 %. Стосовно місць карбування, то монети Amaseia складають 5,26 %, Amisos – 84,21 % та Sinope – 10,53 %

Авторами проаналізовано класифікації мідних монет Понтійської держави часів Мітрідата VI Євпатора, зокрема Ф. Імхоф-Блумера та Франсуа де Каллатая. Висловлено припущення, що понтійські мідні монети середнього номіналу **B** типу Ares-Sword карбувалися близько 110 – 100 рр. до РХ, типу Ares-Sword із літерами **IB** – близько 100 – 90 рр. до РХ, а типу Aegis-Nika близько 90 – 85 рр. до РХ.

Доведено, що знахідка названого скарбу монет Понтійської держави часів Мітрідата VI Євпатора на території Лівобережного Лісостепу, зокрема в Роменському районі Сумської області, цілком відповідає археологічному контенту цього регіону, зокрема археологічним знахідкам матеріалів зарубинецької культури та відомим авторам нумізматичним джерелам: монетам скіфського царя Скілура, карбованих в Ольвії в 130 – 120 рр. до РХ та понтійським монетам. Зазначено, що знахідки монет III–I ст. до РХ на території Сумської області фіксуються не лише в басейні р. Сула, а і в басейні р. Сейм та р. Псел.

Досліджений у статті грошовий комплекс є важливим джерелом не лише з історії заселеності Посулля наприкінці II – на початку I ст. до РХ та зв'язків населення цього регіону із античним Причорномор'ям, а й з історії монетного карбування в Понтіїській державі часів Мітрідата VI Євпатора.

Ключові слова: Причорномор'я, Ольвія, монетні знахідки, Мітрідат VI Євпатор.

The Problem Statement and Analysis of Recent Research. The scientific recording and analysis of hoards and other coin finds allow scholars not only to supplement and deepen the data on the history of coinage and money circulation, but also sometimes to change established concepts. Modern German researchers of the antique numismatic U. Peter and V. Stolba rightly assert that “after the known monograph of Mielczarek (1989), the question of the role of money in the local barbarian population ceased to be a subject of discussion, because before that there was a lack of data on the finds of Greek coins in the hinterland of Scythia, especially in the territory of the Ukrainian forest-steppe” (Peter & Stolba, 2022, p.190). However, unfortunately, for a long time the Ukrainian archaeologists and numismatists have been, and some are still, under the influence of the baseless claims of the Soviet historiography “about the absence of monetary circulation among the barbarian population surrounding the ancient Greek colonies” (Orlyk, 2021a, p.9). In the last decades there appeared a large body of works devoted to the finds of ancient Greek coins on the territory of the Northern Black Sea region, the Pontic Steppe region, particularly Steppe and Forest-Steppe zone of Ukraine (Mielczarek, 1989; Shestopal, 2007; Mielczarek, 2008; Skoryy & Zimovets, 2014; Kotsur, 2017; Mielczarek & Orlyk, 2019; Myzhin, Stepanenko & Sytyi, 2019; Orlyk, Kotsur, & Tsyganenko, 2019, Orlyk, 2020a; Orlyk & Orlyk, 2020; Orlyk, 2022), including coins of Mithridates VI Eupator times (Bulatovych, 2003; Komar, 2014; Orlyk, 2020b; Orlyk, 2021b; Orlyk, 2021c).

The purpose of publication is the study and including to scientific circulation the hoard of coins from the Pontic state of the Mithridates VI Eupator times, that was found in Romny district, Sumy region near the Sula River.

The Results of the Research. After Mithridates VI Eupator came to power in the Pontic kingdom, almost all Greek cities of the Southern and Northern Black Sea coasts were united in his state. The establishment of political, economic, and military relations between different regions of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator had a positive effect on their economic life especially on the growth of trade turnover. As a consequence of “revival trade relations have been increasing the share of the of Mithridates VI Eupator’s state coins in the money circulation of the cities of the Northern Black Sea region, which had a significant deficit of the local coins” and in the “money market of the region copper coins of the cities of Pontus and Paphlagonia become important” (Orlyk, 2020b, p. 94). This is confirmed by the numerous finds of the Pontic coins recorded on the area of Greek apoikias of the Northern Black Sea region, particularly Olbia (Karyshkovskiy, 1988, pp. 102–103), Tyras (Bulatovych, 2003, p. 43), Chersonesus (Gilevich, 1968, p. 19), Feodosiia (Gavrilov, 2001; Gavrilov, 2010), Kerkinitis and Panticapaeum (Abramzon & Frolova, 2008) and beyond them (Dobrovol's'kyi, 1952). As it is known, it was unified minting in the Pontic Kingdom of Mithridates VI Eupator times, and cities, settlements and fortresses of Pontus, Paphlagonia and possibly Bithynia became emission centres in the Northern Black Sea region, part of which even did not mint coins and did not have polis status earlier. In the Northern Black Sea region, coins were minted in small quantities in traditional emission centres: Olbia, Tyras, Chersonesus, Panticapaeum, Gorgippia, Phanagoria.

For the first time, a Swiss scholar F. Imhoof-Blumer managed to systematize the coins of issue centres in the Southern Black Sea region during the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator (Imhoof-Blumer, 1912). He “divided all bronze coins into seven groups, which reflect also the chronological sequence of issues” (Stolba, 2005, p. 29). However, this systematization is not perfect, which was noticed by many researchers of the coinage of the Pontic state during the time of Mithridates VI Eupator. A new, more well-argued classification of the copper coins of the Pontic State of the times of Mithridates VI Eupator was developed by the famous Belgian scholar Francois de Callatay. He suggested reducing the number of groups to 4, to decrease types of coins to 17 and to limit the time of their minting by the period of 110 – 85 BC (Callatay, 2007, p. 282). There are a lot of aspects in the concept of Callatay which is hard to disagree with.

In the modern Numismatics copper coins of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator times are divided according to their weight and diameter to 5 groups (denominations): **AA** (approx. 16 – 21 g), **A** (approx. 11 – 14 g), **B** (approx. 5 – 8 g), **C** (approx. 3 – 4.5 g), **D** (approx. 1.5 – 2.5 g), which in the historiography of researchers, following Imhoof-Blumer, define as obol (AA, A), Tetrachalkon (B), Dichalkon (C) and Chalkon (D) (Imhoof-Blumer, 1912).

The appearance of a significant number of copper coins of the Pontic state from the time of Mithridates VI Eupator in Greek apoikias of the Northern Black Sea region have contributed to dissemination of these coins in the Pontic Steppe region, particularly Steppe and Forrest-Steppe zones of the modern Ukraine. Since, “the economic life of the Greeks of the Northern Black Sea region was also closely connected with the life activities of the inhabitants of the neighbouring lands..., with whom the Hellenes of the Northern Black Sea region had trade relations” (Orlyk, 2020b, p. 95). Regarding the nature of these property or commodity-monetary ties, “not only the presence or absence of coin finds can prove or disprove the existence of commodity-monetary relations in this region. The character of such finds is of great importance, in particular the existence of money or commodity-money complexes, as well as the concentration of individual finds in a limited area” (Orlyk, 2020b, p. 95).

In July of 2022, a lot of 19 coins of the Pontic State of Mithridates VI Eupator was put up for sale on the Ukrainian Internet resource Violity (Coins Amis, Pont. Mitridat VI Yevpator). All the coins have been chemically treated, only a few have preserved fragments of patina. Having regard to the unsatisfactory condition of the majority of the coins, we present photos only part of the hoard (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1

We managed to get information about this find and get a detailed look at the coins that were part of this hoard. Thus, according to the testimony of the coins owners, they were found nearby the Sula River, between the villages of Brodok, Zasullia and urban-type settlement Nedryhailiv, Romny district, Sumy region. A detailed study of this coin complex allowed us to compile its catalogue (Table 1) and systematize the coins according to the emission centres and the chronology of their minting¹.

¹ During the research we used a stereoscopic microscope MBS-9.

Table 1

**The Catalogue of the Coins Hoard of Pontic State of Mithridates VI Eupator Times
Discovered between the Villages of Brodok, Zasullia and Urban-Type Settlement
Nedryhailiv, Romny district, Sumy Region in the Summer of 2022**

No.	Description	Catalogue	Chronology and place of coinage	Wt (g) / Diam. (mm)
1.	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΑΣ-ΣΕΙΑΣ	SNG BM Black Sea #1051	111–105 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amaseia	5,43 20
2	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1147–1150	111–105 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	6,45 20,4
3	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ, above l., star and crescent; above r., IB, below r. ☉	SNG BM Black Sea ##1159	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,73 21,2
4	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ, above l., star and crescent; above r., IB	SNG BM Black Sea ##1160–1161	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,08 18,8×19,9
5	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ, above l., star and crescent; above r., IB	SNG BM Black Sea ##1160–1161	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	6,06 19
6	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ, above l., star and crescent; above r., IB	SNG BM Black Sea ##1160–1161	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,07 18
7	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ, above l., star and crescent; above r., IB	SNG BM Black Sea #1161	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,24 17,6
8	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ, above l., star and crescent; above r., IB	можливо SNG BM Black Sea ##1165	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,97 18,4
9	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1147–1165	111–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,70 г. 17
10	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1147–1165	111–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,68 г. 19

No.	Description	Catalogue	Chronology and place of coinage	Wt (g) / Diam. (mm)
11	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath AMI-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1147– 1165	111–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	2,34 14
12	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath ΣΙΝΩ-ΙΙΗΣ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1528– 1530	111–105 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ) Sinope	6,46 22×20
13	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Ares in Anttic helmet right. <i>Rev.</i> Sword in sheath	Not possible to classify	111–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 95–90 BC (Callataÿ)	2,74 15
14	<i>Obv.</i> Aegis with gorgoneion <i>Rev.</i> Nika advancing right AMI-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1177– 1191	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 90–85 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	4,97 22
15	<i>Obv.</i> Aegis with gorgoneion <i>Rev.</i> Nika advancing right AMI-ΣΟΥ below left monogram ΠΑ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1179	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 90–85 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,85 20×22
16	<i>Obv.</i> Aegis with gorgoneion <i>Rev.</i> Nika advancing right AMI-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1177– 1191	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 90–85 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,08 22×19
17	<i>Obv.</i> Aegis with gorgoneion <i>Rev.</i> Nika advancing right AMI-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1177– 1191	105-90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 90–85 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	5,85 20,6
18	<i>Obv.</i> Aegis with gorgoneion <i>Rev.</i> Nika advancing right AMI-ΣΟΥ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1177– 1191	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 90–85 BC (Callataÿ) Amisos	4,99 22
19	<i>Obv.</i> Aegis with gorgoneion <i>Rev.</i> Nika advancing right ΣΙΝΩ-ΙΙΗΣ	SNG BM Black Sea ##1536– 1540	105–90 BC (Imhoof-Blumer) 90–85 BC (Callataÿ) Sinope	4,99 21,5

We can conclude that all 19 coins of the Pontic state from the time of Mithridates VI Eupator is coins hoard found near the Sula River, between the of villages Brodok, Zasullia and urban-type settlement Nedryhailiv, Romny district, Sumy region in the summer of 2022, and these coins form consecutive groups of copper coins of medium denomination **B** minted in the cities of Amaseia, Amisos and Sinope. As we noted above, regarding the minting chronology of these coin types in numismatics, there are two main theories of classification of copper coins of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator times by Imhoof-Blumer and Francois de Callatay. According to the classification of F. Imhoof-Blumer, the coins of medium denomination of **B** type Ares-Sword were minted during the period of 111 – 105 BC, and coins of Ares-Sword with letters **IB** type and type Aegis-Nika were minted in 105 – 90 BC. All coins of Ares-Sword type were minted in 95 – 90 BC, and coins of Aegis-Nika type were

coined in 90 – 85 BC on the concept of Francois de Callatay. However, V. Stolba makes a persuasive argument from the excavations of Scythian Neapolis, when the coin of the medium denomination of **B** type Ares-Sword minted in Amisos was “discovered in the total destruction layer of the Southern Palace (layer D1)” (Stolba, 2005, p. 30), which was most likely destroyed in 108 BC “obviously during the second campaigns of Diophantus against Scythians” (Stolba, 2005, p. 30). Therefore, the issue of the medium denomination **B** type Ares-Sword coins should be categorized nonetheless under the earlier period of beginning their minting, i.e. they were coined in 108 BC, as predicted Imhoof-Blumer. In such way if the coins of the medium denomination **B** type Ares-Sword were minted in last decades of the 2-nd century BC, then the next coin’s group, to which belongs the medium denomination **B** type Ares-Sword coins with letters **IB** and Aegis-Nika type should have been minted at the beginning of the first century BC, i.e. their issue may have been started in 100 BC. Thus, when determining the chronology issues of these types of coins, it is necessary to take into account the fact that these are the most common copper coins of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator and the number of Aegis-Nika type coins known to modern researchers significantly exceeds the Ares-Sword coins type, which may indicate a much longer period of their minting than in the latter coins. Hence it can be assumed that the coins are of medium denomination **B** type Ares-Sword were minted approximately in 110 – 100 BC, Ares-Sword coins with **IB** letters type were coined approximately in 100 – 90 BC, and Aegis-Nika were minted approximately in 90 – 85 BC.

Regarding the distribution of hoard coins by types of coins and places of minting (Table 2), then 68,42% constitute coins of the Ares-Sword type, and coins of Aegis-Nika type account for 31,58%. The division types of coins evidence, that these coins came to the Northern Black Sea region and then to the Dnieper Forrest-Steppe at the beginning of minting coins of Aegis-Nika type, when they were in the money circulation in parallel with previous type Ares-Sword. Regarding minting places of these coins, then coins from Amaseia account for 26%, Amisos comprise 84,21% and Sinope constitute 10,53%, which may indicate that these coins did not reach the Northern Black Sea coast through representatives of Sinope, that was a powerful issue centre in the Pontic state at the time of Mithridates VI Eupator.

Table 2

The distribution of coins from the coins hoard of Mithridates VI Eupator times, found near the Sula River in Romny district, Sumy region according to the types and places of minting

Type of coins	Issuer (city)			
	Amaseia	Amisos	Sinope	In total
Ares-Sword	1	11	1	13
Aegis-Nika	-	5	1	6
In total	1	16	1	19

As it is known, monetary hoards are an important source in determining the population of a particular area in a specific historical era. Accordingly, we can assume that the Sula River, population, which lived in the Sula River basin of Romny district, Sumy region, had economic ties with the Northern Black Sea region. Maybe these ties were indirect. Although, this population was aware of the Pontic coins, which were used not only in trade operations, but also as a means of accumulation. The famous British numismatist Grierson P. notes that “the essential feature of a coin hoard is that the coins composing in should have been brought

together at the time when it was concealed” (Grierson, 1975, p. 130). Considering that the earliest coins of the hoard are coins of Aegis-Nika type, probably it is their first issues, as these coins constitute less than a third part of the hoard and more 2/3 of the hoard consists of the coins from the previous issue, specifically the coins of Aegis-Nika type, we might suppose that thesauration of the hoard took place in the 90s BC.

The find of this coins hoard of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator times on the territory of Left-Bank Forest-Steppe fully corresponds to the archaeological content of this region. It is known that in “Scythian times, almost the entire territory of Posullia was inhabited by agricultural and pastoral tribes” (Nimenko, 2007, p. 3). That is known Basivske hillfort which is located in Romny district and “existed during the Scythian period from the sixth to the second centuries BC” (Illins'ka, 1965, p. 58). Archeological finds, particularly materials of Zarubintsy culture (Bilyns'kyi, 2013, p. 30) indicate that Basivske hillfort was used by “the local population that remained after the crisis of the end of the first third of the 3rd century BC to the end of the 3rd – 1st centuries BC” (Hrechko, 2021, p. 370).

Except those mentioned archeological data, the fact of settlement on the territory of the modern Sumy region in the Sula River basin at the end of the 3rd-1st centuries BC is also confirmed by numismatic sources. This is, enabled by the treasure of the Pontic coins analyzed in the article and the single coin finds of the 3rd-1st centuries BC known to the authors. The Ukrainian archeologists S. Skoryi and R. Zymovets pointed out, that it was a find of about 26 antique coins, the information about 21 coins is reliable, on the territory of Basivske hillfort during the years of 2001 – 2011. It is noteworthy that 20 from the confirmed 21 coins found is Olbian “borysthenes” of different groups, from early to late, i.e. the issues of the last third of the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Skoryi & Zimovets, 2014, p. 150). Only one coin, from the found belonged to the issue of Panticapeum of the first fourth of the 3rd century BC (Skoryi & Zimovets, 2014, p. 150). It is also known to the authors about the find of Panticapeum Tetrachalk of the first fourth of the 3rd century BC and Olbian “borysthenes” (Fig. 2) of last groups, i.e. the issues of the second half of the third century BC, besides coins of the 4th-3d centuries BC found in the Sula River basin and investigated by S. Skoryi and R. Zimovets.



Fig. 2

Coins of the second century BC are also found in this region. We are aware of the finds of coins of Scythian king Skilurus which were minted in Olbia in 130–120 BC and were found in a wooded area near the villages of Basivka and Pshínchyne in Romny district, Sumy region. According to information from one of Sumy’s local historians there were found 7 coins in a limited area that indicates identity of these coins to the one hoard. Regarding these coins types, unfortunately the respondent did not have photos of all the coins. The photos of 3 coins provided to us indicate, that these are the coins of two denominations

(Anokhin, 2011, p. 94 No 561, 583): medium denomination with depiction of Head of Demeter in veil on the obverse and two horses carriage to the left (approx. 4 g) (Fig. 3) and small denomination with picture of Hermes head on the obverse and caduceus on the obverse (approx. 2.5 g). Concerning the coin found near the village of Pshinchyne it is the coin of the above-mentioned Demetra/carriage type.



Fig. 3

It should be noted that coin finds of the 3rd-1st centuries BC on the area of Sumy region are recorded not only in the Sula River basin, but also in the Seym River basin, specifically on the territory of the former Buryń, Putyvl and Bilopillia districts and the Psel River of Sumy district. Thus, there were found 2 Olbian “borysthenes” coins of the first groups, namely the issue of the last third of the 4th century BC on the bank of the Seym River near the city of Buryń in 2014 (Nikolaev, 2019; Nikolaev, 2020; Nikolaev, 2021), and then the counterfeit coin of silver drachma of the 2nd-1st centuries BC Dyrhachium, Illyria. And in the suburbs of Putyvl town in a limited area near old bed of the Seym River in 2019 there were found 7 Pontic coins of the medium denomination **B** type Ares/Sword and Aegis/Nika (Fig. 4), minted in Amisos.



Fig. 4

Unfortunately, exact number of each of these coin’s types is unknown to us, but coins of two successive groups are found in the hoard from Romny district, as well as in the vicinity of Putyvl. Concentration of 7 coins in a limited area, which at certain time simultaneously were in the coin circulation indicates that they belong to one complex of coins. Coins of large denomination **AA** type Athena-Perseus were found on the bank of the Seym River near former Bilopillia district.

Quite interesting is coin find of Pergamon of the second part of the 2nd century BC near the village of Nova Sloboda, Konotop district, Sumy region (Fig. 5). This coin corresponding to coin’s weight characteristics of the medium denomination **B** of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator times and most likely came to the Seym River basin in the 1st century BC, along with a mass of Pontic coins.



Fig. 5

It has been discovered a coin of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator times of large module **AA** Zeus type with an eagle without monogram, minted in fortress Taulara (Fig. 6) and discovered on suburbs of the village of Bytytsia, Sumy region, the Psel River basin.



Fig. 6

Therefore, numismatic sources, in particular coin finds, confirm the data of archaeological sources that the river basin of the Sula, the Seym and the Psel on the territory of modern Sumy region in the 3rd-1st centuries BC was populated, and its inhabitants had economic ties with the Northern Black Sea region. Perhaps these connections were indirect, but this population was familiar with the coins of the Greek apoikias in the Northern Black Sea region, as well as with the coins of the Pontic state of Mithridates VI Eupator times, which were used not only in trade operations, but also as a means of accumulation.

The inhabitants of the Basivske hillfort and the smaller settlements of Posullia together with the Seym River basin's population could use both the waterway of the Dnipro River and the land route, in particular a branch of the Muravsky Trail, known in the Middle Ages for trade with the Greek Black Sea coast. The connections of these regions with the Northern Black Sea region during the Scythian-Sarmatian period are indicated by finds of coins of the 4th-2nd centuries BC.

Monetary complex studied by us is an important source not only for the history of settlement of Posullia at the end of the 2nd – the beginning of the 1st BC and the connections of the population of this region with the ancient Black Sea region, as well as the history of coinage in the Pontic state during the times of Mithridates VI Eupator. After all, coins are one of the main numismatic sources. Rather interesting from the standpoint of Numismatics is the presence of medium denominations **B** type Ares/Sword coin and weight characteristics of which meet a smaller **C** denomination (approx. 3–4,5 g). Unfortunately, the state of the coins' preservation does not allow us to clearly determine whether they were minted on a coin blank that did not correspond to the average **B** denomination and this was a defect in the technological process of minting, or perhaps the coin was clipped in the process of monetary circulation to transfer it to a smaller denomination series.

The Conclusion. The conducted study of the coins finds of the 4th – the 1st BC in the basins of the Sula, the Seym and the Psel rivers confirm the archeological data concerning settlement of this area in the specified period, which allows us to expand the idea about the population at that time and to validate its connections with the ancient Black Sea region, specifically with Olbia, which coins finds of the 3d – the 2nd centuries BC prevail findings of other issuers. Considering the above mentioned, it can be assumed that the Greek apoikia of Olbia was the main trading partner of population from the basins of the Sula, the Seym and the Psel rivers in the 4th – the 2nd centuries BC. It's quite possible that the Pontic coins also entered the territory of modern Sumy region from Olbia in the next first century BC.

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**PROTECTION OF CHILDHOOD IN THE “RUSKA PRAVDA”:
HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to consider the historical circumstances of the “Ruska Pravda” formation; revealing the specific influence of Christianity on the development of legislation on child protection; detecting the main features of the “Ruska Pravda” in view of the responsibility of minors. The scientific novelty of the research can be seen in the presentation of scientific discussions on the problem of determining the role of the “Ruska Pravda” among the sources of juvenile law. The research methodology is based on the use of analytical and synthetic criticism of historical documents. Comparative and contrastive methods of various lists and editions of the “Ruska Pravda”, which have survived till our time and at different historical periods were included in various compilations of the legislation that formed the foundations of “ruske pravo”, have been used. The Conclusion. As a result of the conducted research, it was possible to determine that customary law is the first attempt of the legislator to create a set of rules for the normal functioning of social relations in the state, which*

are prohibited for violation, and to form an algorithm for responding to non-fulfillment of the norms set forth. The emergence of customary law was a strong impetus for the then society which brought the state to a new level of interrelations, including international ones. It is also worth noting that in terms of legal force custom was equated with law. It has been found out that for that period of time actualization of minors as full-fledged objects of legislative influence would mean their recognition as full members of the society. On the one hand, this would expand the subject structure of the "insult", on the other hand, it would fundamentally change the course of the society, which could have less desirable consequences for the principality. Recognizing the leading role of a man made it easier to establish the limits of responsibility and choose the punishment, that is why, women and children related to that man were subjected to certain repressions as an additional influence on the offender. This was a direct violation of the principle of individualization of punishment, and therefore unusual and unacceptable for the modern state. It has been determined that the "Ruska Pravda", in fact, did not single out the minors as a special category of the subjects of criminal responsibility. The historical circumstances of the formation and development of Old Rus legislation have been traced. The reasons for which Christianity had an influence on legislative work have been highlighted. The main features of the "Ruska Pravda" in view of the responsibility of the minors have been singled out, which are: 1) lack of a clear idea of a socially dangerous act and its potential consequences; 2) lack of individualization of punishment and final differentiation of its limits depending on the type of offense; 3) absence of the minors in the subject structure of criminal offenses; 4) relative humanity and democracy; 5) integrated and actualized Christian concept in the norms of Old Rus legislation.

Key words: minor, criminal responsibility, source of law, punishment, public danger, Christianity.

ОХОРОНА ДИТИНСТВА У "РУСЬКІЙ ПРАВДІ": ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВІ АСПЕКТИ

Анотація. Мета статті – розглянути історичні обставини формування "Руської Правди"; встановити особливості впливу християнства на розвиток законодавства із захисту дітей; визначити основні риси "Руської Правди" з точки зору відповідальності неповнолітніх. **Наукова новизна** дослідження вбачається у представленні наукових дискусій щодо проблеми встановлення місця "Руської Правди" серед джерел права неповнолітніх. **Методологія дослідження** базується на використанні аналітичної та синтетичної критики історичних документів. Використано методи зіставлення та порівняння різних списків і редакцій "Руської Правди", які збереглися до нашого часу і в різні історичні періоди вносилися до різнотипових збірників законодавства, що формували основи "руського права". **Висновки.** У результаті проведеного дослідження вдалося встановити, що звичаєве право – це перша спроба законодавця створити сукупність правил нормального функціонування суспільних відносин у державі, заборонених для порушення, та сформуванню алгоритму реагування на невиконання передбачених норм. Зародження звичаєвого права для тогочасного суспільства було міцним поштовхом, який вивів державу на новий рівень взаємовідносин, у тому числі – міжнародних. Окремої уваги заслуговує також те, що звичай за юридичною силою прирівнювався до закону. З'ясовано, що актуалізація неповнолітніх осіб як повноцінних об'єктів законодавчого впливу означала би для цього часового проміжку визнання їх повноцінними членами суспільства. З одного боку, це б розширило суб'єктний склад "образ", з іншого – принципово змінило би курс суспільства, що могло мати не зовсім бажані наслідки для князівства. Визнання за чоловіком центрального місця спрочувало встановлення меж відповідальності та обрання міри покарання, саме тому жінки і діти, які мали стосунок до цього чоловіка, піддавалися певним репресіям як додатковий вплив на правопорушника. Це було прямим порушенням принципу індивідуалізації покарання, а тому незвичне і недопустиме для усвідомлення в сучасній державі. Встановлено, що "Руська Правда" фактично не виділила неповнолітніх в окрему категорію суб'єктів кримінальної відповідальності. Простежено історичні обставини формування та розвитку давньоруського законодавства. Виявлено причини, у зв'язку із якими християнство мало вплив на законотворчу роботу. З'ясовано основні риси "Руської Правди" з точки зору відповідальності неповнолітніх, якими є: 1) відсутність чіткого уявлення про суспільно небезпечне діяння та його потенційні наслідки; 2) відсутність індивідуалізації покарання та остаточної диференціації його меж залежної від

виду правопорушення; 3) відсутність неповнолітніх осіб у суб’єктному складі кримінальних правопорушень; 4) відносна гуманність та демократичність; 5) інтегрований і актуалізований християнський концепт у нормах давньоруського законодавства.

Ключові слова: неповнолітній, кримінальна відповідальність, джерело права, покарання, суспільна безпека, християнство.

The Problem Statement. Criminally illegal activity of the minors is a rather serious problem of the modern Ukrainian state. This state of affairs is caused by the fact that the minors are a particularly vulnerable category of subjects of criminal responsibility, who need special treatment during the process of re-education. However, such a human attitude of the legislator was shaped only in 2001 with the adoption of the current criminal legislation of Ukraine. Up to this point, the criminal law of the minors has gone through a rather long path of formation and development, which is caused by regular changes in the mentality of society and the priorities of the state authorities.

The Analysis of Sources and Publications. The main documentary basis for the research is three editions of the “Ruska Pravda”: Short, Extended, and Abridged, which interact with each other and show the evolution of princely legislation. All these three editions were analyzed by researchers, translated into the modern literary Ukrainian language with comments and put into a wide scientific use (Demydenko & Yermolaiev, 2017). For scientific research, the articles of the “Ruska Pravda” are used by both historians and legal scholars, who analyze their content from different angles. In historical studies, this written record is used to reveal the state-building processes: the characteristics of Prince Yaroslav the Wise activities (Kostomarov, 1993; Hrushevskiy, 1992; Voitovych, 2006; Tolochko, 2002; Demydenko, 2013; Kraliuk, 2018), the state system and the social hierarchy of society (Honcharenko, 2019; Boiko, 2019) and written records made during the period of his reign (Chubatyi, 2002; Kotliar, 2000; Lytvyn, 2008).

Separately, we should note the legal scholars who analyzed the “Ruska Pravda” and wrote important fundamental works (Yushkov, 2002; Zimin, 1999). In the Ukrainian legal science, we find a significant number of works devoted to the study of the sources of the Kyivan Rus law and the peculiarities of the formation and development of the institution of minors’ criminal responsibility (Bedrii, 2014; Bezklubiyi, 2010; Vasytkova, 2009; Vecherova, 2010; Honcharenko, 2019; Honcharenko, Rohozhyn & Sviatotskiy, 2000; Kovalchuk, 2008; Zimin, 1999; Kovtun, 2011; Kozachenko, 2010; Kolos, 2011; Krestovska, 2008; Winter, 2016; Melnychuk, 2008; Orel, 2014; Tatsiy, 2017; Padokh, 1948; Savchenko, 2007; Sayenko, 2014; Svitlichnyi, Khriapinskiy, 2014; Cherkaskiy, 1928; Shalgunova, 2011; Khrun, 2007; Yushkov, 2002; Yastrebov, 2011). However, consideration of the main conditions for the formation of the Ukrainian criminal legislation in terms of the criminal liability of the minors requires additional attention, which emphasizes the relevance of the theme of the article.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the historical circumstances of the formation and development of the Old Rus legislation on the problems of child protection; to reveal the peculiarity of the influence of Christianity on the development of legislation on minors; to define the features of the “Ruska Pravda” regarding a criminal responsibility of children.

The Results of the Research. The “Ruska Pravda” is one of the most famous written records of law, which is due to the fact that the compilation laid the platform for establishing a number of social relations, which were transformed with time, acquiring more modern forms. The “Ruska Pravda” partially influenced the development of criminal legislation, creating

patterns for certain principles of justice. Scholars point out that customary law created the foundations for the formation and exercise of state power. The legal status of individuals and social groups was also determined by legal customs. Customary law prevailed in private legal relations: property relations, obligations, and inheritance, as well as in marital and family relations. The norms of this law determined the majority of the provisions of legal responsibility and personality of judicial proceedings. Therefore, customary law can be found in all spheres of public life in the Kyivan Rus. The legislation of princes only clarifies it, systematizes it and partially reforms it. Other sources of law supplement and mostly flow into new social relations (for example, the compilations of Byzantine law mainly regulated canonical legal relations that arose from the end of the 10th century). Thus, the customary law of the Kyivan Rus is a system of universally obligatory rules of conduct that emerged from popular experience and established social practice. They regulated the majority of legal relations and were provided by state and social compulsion. Researchers draw our attention to the fact that in chronicle sources, the terms “custom” and “pokon” (i.e. law) are used synonymously (Bezkluby, 2010, p. 37). Thus, customary law is the first attempt of the legislator to create a set of rules for the normal functioning of social relations in the state, which are prohibited for violation, and to form an algorithm for responding to non-fulfillment of the norms set forth. The emergence of customary law was a strong impetus for the then society, which brought the state to a new level of interrelations, including international ones. The fact that custom was equated with the law in terms of legal force also deserves special attention.

Subsequently, the legal development of the ancient Ukrainian state made it necessary to systematize the norms of customary law, as a result of which the most outstanding compilation of ancient Ukrainian law called the “*Ruska Pravda*” was created. Legal customs, although being conservative, underwent qualitative changes and evolved. The optimal environment for their use and development was “*verv*”. “*Verv*” was a rural territorial community, which was led by its oldest and the most authoritative representatives. It was they who were connoisseurs and guardians of legal customs, as well as judges of the “*verv*” court. Therefore, this historical type of the Ukrainian customary law can be called “*vervny law*” (Hrystiuk & Kozynets, 2015, pp. 97–99). In fact, “*verv*” became the basis of the customary law of the Kyivan Rus, although this did not prevent the legislator from building other relations, both international and interstate, as well as more sectoral – criminal, procedural, family, etc. Gradually, such legal customs began to divide the population according to gender, nationality, etc., (age was still ignored). The directly legal custom did not always have a “*verv*” origin and could be formed in other ways, for example, judicial. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is also often called “*viche law*”. In other words, “*verv*” not only observed and applied legal customs but was also authorized to create them. Obviously, this happened through the establishment of a certain practice of legal relations or through “*verv vicha*” and courts, when their decisions were repeated in many “*vervs*” and extended their validity to them. The legal regulation of social relations in the “*verv*” was based on legal customs, which were a complex and coordinated system called – “*verv*” law. Subsequently, this system evolved and from the 14th century was transformed into “*copne law*”, the existence of which was substantiated by I. Cherkaskyi (Cherkaskyi, 1928, p. 56). Norms of “*verv*” law regulated the entire circle of social relations in “*verv*”, except for those that fell under the sphere of regulation of state law. “*Verv*” law, first of all, determined the peculiarities of the formation and functioning of local self-government bodies, as well as the implementation of judicial proceedings. The form of the contract according to “*verv*” law was oral. The institution

of the death penalty was absent in the customary law of the “*verv*”. Laws adopted by the princes, including the “*Ruska Pravda*” often duplicated and sanctioned the norms of “*verv*” law (Bedriy, 2014). The absence of the institution of the death penalty directly confirms the relative preserving of humanism of the customary law. The “*Ruska Pravda*” was compiled in such way that the interests of almost all sections of the population were protected. The initial text of the “*Ruska Pravda*” has not reached us. However, it is known that the sons of Yaroslav in the second half of the 11th century supplemented and changed it significantly, creating the so-called *Pravda* of the Yaroslavichs. At present, 106 copies of the “*Ruska Pravda*” are known, compiled during the 12th – 16th centuries, which are usually divided into three editions: Short, Extended and Abridged. As experts note, the appearance of the systematized normative act in the 11th century, named the “*Ruska Pravda*”, is determined by the previous, centuries-long evolution of the development of the legislation of the Rus state (Kolos, 2011, pp. 113–114). The “*Ruska Pravda*” is a monument of customary law, which expressed the interests of the community built on the principle of original equality. The provisions of the “*Ruska Pravda*” embodied Christian traditions, established many norms about crimes and punishments, developed a number of important legal categories, and laid the foundations for the development of various institutions of criminal legislation (Savchenko, 2007, pp. 42–43). In general, it should be noted that during this period the Ukrainian criminal law was formed on the humanistic principles of Christian teaching without the need to use cruel methods of influencing a person’s behaviour, the need for which traditionally arises under conditions of a social conflict (Nazymko, 2016, p. 109). Speaking about this historical period, it is necessary to highlight its main differential features: 1) integration into wide application the principle of original equality; 2) preservation and dominance of the Christian traditions; 3) preservation of the powerful position of the church; 4) development of more relevant ways of responding to illegal acts; 5) differentiation of the legislative relationship according to gender and national characteristics; 6) relative preservation of the principle of humanism.

The influence of the church on the state-making and law-making policy of the princes should not be ignored. After all, the Christian worldview was reflected in the rules governing almost all existing social relations. The Christian tonality of the paradigm of a criminal law indicates a certain return to the origins of the specified branch of law formation with the reproduction of other basic principles of its application than those that did not take into account the mentality and worldview of the Ukrainian people, that, together with baptism, was involved in the humanistic, philanthropic principles of law in general, and a criminal law in particular (Kozachenko, 2010, p. 195). The adoption of Christianity in the Ukrainian lands determined the formation of the purpose of punishment as atonement for sin, the criminal’s repentance, his awareness of the criminal, sinful nature of his actions (Bezklubyi, 2010, p. 61). In the worldview of the Ukrainian people, the child appears as God’s messenger. People have always believed that every family should have many children. It is not by chance that the wish was expressed in wedding songs: “To have a house full of children”, “God will give children, he will also give something to support children”, “Is there greater treasure than having children are in good order” (Svitlychnyi & Khryapinskyi, 2014, p. 31). We find the first normative regulation of family values and protection of childhood in the Bible (Nazymko, 2016, p. 109). The Bible laid the ground for building the basis of a criminal legislation both in general and in terms of the criminal responsibility of the minors. The majority of the general socially dangerous actions were forbidden by religion even in ancient times and provided for punishment at God’s judgment for sins (which, in fact, were criminal offenses

in their modern sense). The Bible is the primary source of a criminal law, which is characterized by a clear procedure for determining the sinfulness (illegality) of an act and establishing the principles of responsibility (Nazymko, 2016, pp. 109–110). As N. Krestovska notes, the regulation of relations between parents and children was to some extent influenced by the Moses' law, the source of which was the Holy Script (Krestovska, 2008, p. 80). It should be noted that during the period from the 18th century till the beginning of the 20th century both in Western Europe and in the Ukrainian lands, the role of the church was quite significant. Special forms of placement and re-education of juvenile offenders developed and survived for more than a century, and with the beginning of the activity of special courts for juveniles, they were actively used by the latter through appropriate appeals to the church community, monasteries, and laity institutions (Vecherova, 2010, p. 37). Through religion, it was easier to influence the mind of a minor. We can single out several reasons that led to such influence of Christianity on law-making work: 1) the majority of the population were believers, which simplified interaction with them through "divine mediation"; 2) religion gave rise to morality, in connection with which the spiritual population was always a highly moral population; 3) the value of religion lies in the fact of shaping over the years the idea about "healthy" norms of behaviour, and therefore it could be taken as a basis for a unified system of state-building; 4) normalization is material and therefore formalizes relations, religion spiritualizes them, i.e. takes them to a new level of worldview. It should be noted that during the time of the Kievan Rus, under the rule of the Christian legal doctrine, violation of God's Law was considered a crime (Kushynska, 1999, p. 91). As O. Kozachenko notes, "a significant number of crimes under the criminal law that operated in the Ukrainian lands entailed liability in the form of a fine, and if we take into account the fact that the fine had two forms – "vira" (which was administered to the disposal of the state, its representatives) and "holovnichestvo" (money was sent to the victim as compensation for the damage caused), then we can conclude that the Ukrainian criminal law became the basis of European development, which is characterized by the humane attitude towards the criminal and protecting the rights of the victim, even during the period of its formation (Nazymko, 2016, p. 110). Therefore, the Law of God was recognized as the supreme, in connection with which the majority of issues of a normative nature were resolved through the prism of religion and the church. The history of the Ukrainian criminal legislation development testifies that during the time of our lands being under the power of other states, attempts were made to move the Christian postulates beyond the limits of a criminal law regulation of social relations. However, these provisions have always been considered in national doctrinal criminal law circles, have retained their importance and at present are being revived in Ukraine. Compliance of criminal law prohibitions with the Christian principles is gradually recognized as a principle or rule in the field of a criminal law. The attitude towards the principle of "talion" in the application of punishment depended to a large extent on cultural factors. Even according to the Christian worldview, the ethnicization of philosophical thinking took place in the context of the New Testament humanism, with a corresponding distancing from the philosophy of punishment according to the Old Testament (Nazymko, 2016, p. 111). In these sources, the attitude towards punishment as an act that must take place had already been outlined in dotted lines not in accordance with the Old Testament principle "tit for tat", but in accordance with the New Testament truth of saving the soul, and not only that of a criminal, who is given a chance for correction, but also those people who would take the sin upon their souls in case of execution of the sentence (Melnychuk, 2008, p. 106). At the current stage of the psychology

of children’s development in view of the process of reforming criminal legislation in the field of punishment of the minors, it is necessary to focus on the Christian forgiveness, the power of which is aimed at restoring and preserving the moral and spiritual state of both the criminal and the victim, which makes it possible regarding the depth of the conflict to achieve effective methods of solving it (Nazymko, 2016, p. 112). Therefore, in terms of the development of the criminal law of minors, the church made the following corrections: 1) integrated the philosophical principles of understanding illegal behaviour not only in terms of its social danger but also in the context of immorality and guilt; 2) formed a value system of social relations, in which the protection of morality and spirituality of the population comes first; 3) created the basic foundations on which the institute of criminal law and criminal responsibility should be built; 4) recognized childhood as the highest value. The criminal responsibility of the minors in the time of the “Ruska Pravda” was just emerging, which is due to the lack of a legislative approach to the understanding of a child as a subject of a criminal offense, as well as a generally simplified type of source. The “Ruska Pravda” did not contain any system of crimes and knew only two types of them: against a person and against property. The main purpose of punishment in the Kyivan Rus’ was primarily to compensate the victim and his relatives, as well as replenish the state treasury. One cannot also deny such a poorly expressed goal as revenge (Orel, 2014). The system of punishment according to the “Ruska Pravda” was quite simple. In this monument, ancient elements of custom related to the principle of “taliona” (“tit for tat”) in cases of blood feud have been preserved (Vasylykova, 2009, p. 86). However, the provisions of the “Ruska Pravda” also provided for the replacement of blood revenge, which was revenge on the criminal by the victim or his relatives, with “vira” – a monetary fine. Subsequently, blood revenge was limited (Article 1 of the Korotka Pravda; Article 1 of the Prostorova Pravda), and then completely prohibited (Article 2 of the Prostorova Pravda) (Honcharenko, Rohozhyn & Sviatotskyi, 2000, p. 85). According to the Extended Pravda: “After the death of Yaroslav, his sons Iziaslav, Sviatoslav and Vsevolod and their men Kosniachko, Pereneh, Nikifor gathered again and replaced the blood feud with a monetary fine; and everything else was established by his sons, as Yaroslav used to judge” (Sayenko, 2014, p. 273). The principle of “talion” in a transformed form is preserved in a modern criminal legislation when it comes to the principle of proportionality of the criminal punishment to the severity of the socially dangerous act that was committed. At the same time, the transition to property punishment once again confirms a certain humanism and democracy of the legislator of that time. According to the “Ruska Pravda” the next severe type of punishment was a monetary fine in favour of the prince for killing a free man (“vira”). The size of the “vira” corresponded to the importance of the crime: the “vira” dyka was taken from the parish in which the body of a person was found, murdered with or without intent; “vira” poklinna was appointed by denunciation; “vira” is poklepna (klepna) – an unjustly brought accusation of a crime. The above is confirmed by Art. 89 of the Prostorova Pravda, which provided for the responsibility for killing a servant or slave. In this case, “vira” was not repaid. A serf owner who lost his property was paid an “urok”, and the prince – a “prodazh” (sale). This refers to the killing of someone else’s slave since the master’s killing his own slave was not considered to be a crime (Orel, 2014, p. 402). The latter also refers to the cases of the master’s child murdering his own slave, for which the punishment was not applied. On the other hand, criminal acts committed by serfs were not considered to be crimes and did not attract punishment, since the serfs were not free (Shalunova, 2011, p. 65). Consequently, the legislator’s idea of the limits of a criminal responsibility regarding the minors for their

committing socially dangerous acts is gradually shaping. At the same time, the main attention is paid to violent offenses, for the commission of which the “*Ruska Pravda*” establishes an equal amount of responsibility irrespective of the subjects’ age. In the text of the “*Ruska Pravda*” there are also such types of punishments as: *vyazba* (imposing shackles on a prisoner), *toll* – a payment that was collected from the master of a runaway slave for his capture, *lovnychestvo*, *holovnychstvo* (the penalty for murder), *hrabezh* (in general, one of the types of punishment for a committed crime), *kaznyt* (punish), *potok* (punishment, which, at the will of the prince, can be either exile with the destruction of property, or imprisonment of the accused, or turning him into slavery: “Аче боудеть коневый тать, а выдати Князю на потокъ” (Vasytkova, 2009, pp. 86–87). “If there is a horse thief, he must be given to the Prince for punishment”). It is necessary to note the fact that ancient Ukrainian criminal law was generally quite democratic, which is explained by the democratic socio-political system of the Kyivan Rus (Padokh, 1948, pp. 119–127). The Code was drawn up according to the causal system, the legislator tried to predict all life situations in which crimes are most often committed, and to develop optimal measures of influence for their commission. For example, for the murder of a person during a quarrel or in a drunken state, if the killer managed to hide, then the neighbourhood (branch) where the murder was committed pays a fine for him – *dyka vira*, but in different terms of time and during several years. In case, if the murderer does not hide, then half of the tax is collected from the neighbourhood or parish – 20 *hryvnias*, and the rest is to be paid by the murderer. If the murder occurred without any quarrel, the parish does not pay for the murderer, but gives him “*na potok*” – or into the hands of the owner – together “with his wife, children and estate” (Nazymko, 2016, p. 115). According to O. Yastrebov, the latest provision of the criminal law for our time, seems to be very cruel and unfair, but at that time it was believed that the wife and children were responsible for the guilt of the husband and father since they were his property (Yastrebov, 2011, pp. 64, 65). The latter provision is rather unusual for customary law, considering religious platforms. An example is the provision of the Bible, which says that children should not be responsible for the sins of their parents. In this regard, imposing the punishment for the offense committed by the parents was inappropriate. At the same time, it can be stated that children during the princely period were recognized as the property of their parents, and therefore the legislator’s attitude can be called somewhat contemptuous. The character of development of the domestic criminal law of that period testifies a considerable influence of the population upon shaping criminal-law relations. In this context, it is worth mentioning the words of the Ukrainian scholar and statesman S. Shelukhin: “the will of the people was the right and law for the prince, and the prince’s wish was only his claim, the achievement of which depended not on his right, but on the right and will of the people” (Hetmanchuk & Turchyn, 2006, p. 109). There were numerous cases of reconciliation between a juvenile offender and a victim or his relatives in particular, either by revenge or by refusing it in case of receiving monetary payment for the damage caused. The “*Ruska Pravda*” did not know such an abstract concept as *crime*: everything that causes direct damage to a specific person, his personality and property was maleficent, and that is why, the crime was called “*obraza*” (insult).

Accordingly, the “*Ruska Pravda*” knows only two types of crimes – against a person and against property. There are no state, official, or other types of crimes in it (Nazymko, 2016, p. 116). For that period of time, the actualization of minors as objects of legislative influence would mean, their recognition as a full-fledged members of society. On the one hand, this would expand the subject composition of the “insult”, on the other hand, it

would fundamentally change the course of society, which could have not entirely desirable consequences for the principality. Recognizing the leading role of a man made it easier to establish the limits of responsibility and choose the measure of punishment, that is why, women and children who were related to that man were subjected to certain repressions as an additional influence on the offender. This, of course, is a direct violation of the principle of individualization of punishment, and therefore unusual and unacceptable for modern state. According to N. Kovtun, during this period we can only talk about the emergence of the institution of additional punishments for the minors, whose main purpose was to increase responsibility (Kovtun, 2011, p. 12). As E. Vecherova notes, the minors had not yet been singled out as special objects of influence in the *Ruska Pravda* (Kovtun, 2011, p. 12). This state of affairs in the field of regulation of criminal liability of the minors is explained by N. Krestovska by the low level of juvenile delinquency during that period, which actually became a byproduct of industrial civilization. According to the scholar, “...the irrelevance of the problem of combating juvenile crimes left it on the sidelines of the legislator’s attention” (Krestovska, 2008, p. 88). In general, the “*Ruska Pravda*” did not know the age limit of criminal responsibility, therefore it did not highlight the specifics of the criminal responsibility of the minors, and the system of punishment for the minors had not been discussed yet.

During that period, the majority of the interests of the minors remained outside the criminal law protection, which, on the one hand, testifies for the lack of experience and imperfection of the then legislation, and on the other hand, for the existing hierarchy of social relations, social benefits and interests at that time (Svitlychnyi & Khryapinskyi, 2014, p. 65). In modern Ukraine, the legislator has also built a certain hierarchy of social relations, which is completely opposite to the ancient one.

This is due to the historical experience of the society, numerous scientific studies and practice. That is why, nowadays the minors are recognized as privileged subjects of criminal responsibility that require a special approach.

During the period under analysis, people were under the rule of mostly religious, rather than secular norms. Therefore, the age of criminal responsibility was also religious. A person was considered as God’s creature, developing according to established laws. Violation of criminal prohibitions was considered to be a sin. That is, the personality of a criminal was characterized by the existence of sinful principles in a human being. And a potential possibility of sin was determined from the age of seven (Shalgunova, 2011, p. 67). In general, it must be recognized that at the early stages of the Ukrainian statehood formation, its criminal law was characterized by much greater humanity and leniency towards a guilty person as compared to similar norms of the Roman law and formed on it based Western European law (Vecherova, 2010, p. 51). It should be noted that during the above mentioned period trial of children or adolescents and passing sentences to them were carried out primarily by tribal, religious and other similar traditional institutions on the basis of religious, family, moral and ethical regulators. As we can see, at the early stages of the Ukrainian statehood formation, the first foundations for shaping the institution of juvenile punishment were laid in criminal law (Nazymko, 2016, p. 117). Thus, we can say that the main features of the “*Ruska Pravda*” in view of the criminal responsibility of the minors are: 1) lack of a clear idea of a socially dangerous act and its potential consequences; 2) lack of individualization of criminal punishment and final differentiation of its limits depending on the type of criminal offense; 3) absence of the minors in the subject structure of criminal offenses; 4) relative humanity and democracy; 5) the Christian concept is integrated and actualized in legal norms.

The Conclusion. Thus, the conducted research allowed us to sum up, that the “*Ruska Pravda*”, did not allocate the minors to a separate category of criminal liability.. At the same time, the platform for building specific relations with such people was laid, and their potential public danger was recognized.

Certain principles laid down as the basis of the considered written record were gradually integrated (with certain interpretations) into modern criminal legislation.

Complete development of the minors’ legislation took place much later and went on simultaneously with the development of the society and change in its mentality

It has been established that customary law is the first attempt of the legislator to create a set of rules for the normal functioning of social relations in the state, which are prohibited for violation, and to form an algorithm for responding to non-fulfillment of the prescribed norms.

The emergence of customary law was a strong impetus for the then society, which brought the state to a new level of interrelations, including international ones.

It is also worth noting that custom was equated with the law in terms of legal force. It has been found out that for that period actualization of the minors as full-fledged objects of legislative influence would mean their recognition as full members of society. On the one hand, this would expand the subject structure of the “insult”, on the other hand, it would fundamentally change the course of the society, which could have less desirable consequences for the principality.

Recognizing the leading role of a man made it easier to establish the limits of responsibility and choose the measure of punishment, that is why, women and children who were related to that man were subjected to certain repressions as an additional influence on the offender. This was a direct violation of the principle of individualization of punishment, and therefore unusual and unacceptable for the modern state. It was established that the “*Ruska Pravda*”, in fact, did not single out the minors as a special category of subjects of criminal liability. Historical circumstances of the formation and development of the Old Rus legislation have been traced. The reasons for which Christianity had an influence on law-making have been highlighted.

The main features of the “*Ruska Pravda*” in view of the responsibility of the minors have been singled out, which are: 1) lack of a clear idea of a socially dangerous act and its potential consequences; 2) lack of individualization of punishment and final differentiation of its limits depending on the type of offense; 3) absence of the minors in the subject structure of criminal offenses; 4) relative humanity and democracy; 5) integrated and actualized Christian concept in the norms of the Old Rus legislation.

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THE LAST ARPAD ON THE HUNGARIAN THRONE. THE REIGN OF ANDREW III UNDER CONDITIONS OF FALLING PRESTIGE OF ROYAL POWER

Abstract. *The purpose* is to analyze the period of Andrew III's reign of Hungary (András III), the influence of the Morosini family on the political life of Hungary and the relationship between the monarch and the representatives of the oligarchic top of the kingdom. **The Methodology of the Research.** *Primarily, historical comparative, structural and systemic methods of analysis, a problem-chronological and biographical method of presenting the material have been used.* **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time the period of the reign of Andrew III of Hungary has been analyzed in historiography thoroughly, the key issues of the monarch's internal policy have been determined. **The Conclusion.** *The reign of Andrew III of Hungary, the last representative of the male branch of the Arpad dynasty, coincided with one of the most unstable periods in the history of Hungary. The period of Laszlo IV Kuhn's rule led to the loss of part of the north-eastern territories, the independence of large oligarchic estates from the royal power, and the loss of political influence on the international arena. Andrew III of Hungary inherited the internal political system, the foundation of which was laid in the previous years and the essence of which*

was that the King was forced to adhere to a certain political camp of magnates who were turning into oligarchs more and more. Despite his personal charisma and traits of character, Andrew III of Hungary was unable to counteract centrifugal tendencies effectively, which gained momentum in Hungary during the reign of his predecessors and he could not get rid of the dependence of the royal power on the support of powerful baronial groups. Strong financial support from relatives and the Republic of Venice allowed the monarch to create the appearance of power, but did not allow to restore the institutions of royal power, which, under the conditions of the premature death of the childless monarch, plunged Hungary into decades of dynastic wars.

Key words: Andrew III of Hungary, the Arpad dynasty, Hungarian kingdom, Morosini, the Anjou dynasty.

ОСТАННІЙ АРПАД НА УГОРСЬКОМУ ТРОНІ. ПРАВЛІННЯ АНДРАША ІІІ В УМОВАХ ПАДІННЯ ПРЕСТИЖУ КОРОЛІВСЬКОЇ ВЛАДИ

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати період правління Андраша ІІІ, вплив родини Моросіні на політичне життя Угорщини та взаємовідносини монарха з представниками олігархічної верхівки королівства. **Методи дослідження.** Використано порівняльно-історичний, історико-генетичний та структурно-системний методи аналізу, проблемно-хронологічний та біографічний підходи до викладення матеріалу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії найбільш повно проаналізовано період правління Андраша ІІІ, визначено ключові проблеми внутрішньої політики монарха. **Висновки.** Правління Андраша ІІІ, останнього представника чоловічої гілки династії Арпадів, припало на один із найбільш нестабільних періодів історії Угорщини. Роки правління Ласла ІV Куна призвели до втрати частини північно-східних комітатів, усамостійнення від королівської влади великих олігархічних володінь та втрату політичного впливу на міжнародній арені. Андраш ІІІ отримав у спадщину внутрішню політичну систему, фундамент якої був закладений у попередні роки і суть якої полягала у тому, що король змушений був пристати до певного політичного табору магнатів, які все більше перетворювалися на олігархів. Незважаючи на особисту харизму та особисті якості, Андраш ІІІ не зміг ефективно протидіяти відцентровим тенденціям, які набрали обертів в Угорщині за часів правління його попередників та позбулися залежності королівської влади від підтримки могутніх баронських угруповань. Потужна фінансова підтримка з боку родичів та Венеційської республіки дали монархові змогу створити видимість сили, проте не дозволили відновити інституції королівської влади, що в умовах передчасної смерті бездітного монарха, занурило Угорщину в десятиліття династичних воєн.

Ключові слова: Андраш ІІІ, династія Арпадів, Угорське королівство, Моросіні, династія Анжу.

The Problem Statement. Andrew was the son of István Postum (Posthumous) and the grandson of King Andrew II. István's parentage was questioned by some members of the Hungarian political elite, primarily his father's brothers Béla IV and Kalman (Nyáry, 1869, pp. 378–396), who accused Andrew's third wife, Beatrix, of adultery (Zsoldos, 2003, pp. 123, 133) with Denesh (Parnská kronika františkána Salimbeneho, 1938, p. 2107). It is interesting that during his reign, Andrew III of Hungary did not pay much attention to rumors about the flawlessness of his origin. This fact suggests that much information must have been disseminated by his political opponents from Naples. His father's birth coincided with the dramatic circumstances of Beatrix d'Este's escape from Hungary because of persecution by the heir to the throne, Prince Béla, that is why, István, Andrew's father, was born outside the territory of the kingdom (Gombos, 2005, p. 143). István spent most of his life in the north of the Apennines in Este, Ravenna and Venice, trying to assert his rights to the Hungarian throne with the help of Italian relatives. However, his military expedition in Dalmatia was defeated, and the prince had to return to Italy (Chronicon pictum Vindobonense, 1857 – 1858, p. 659). At the same time, he always remained a threat to the ruling family of Hungary, as evidenced

by the fact that during the signing of peace with the Republic of Venice in 1244, King Béla IV put forward a condition for guarantees that the Venetians would not support István's interests (Wenzel, 1874, pp. 155–156). After the death of his first wife, István married Tommasina Morosini, a representative of one of the most influential families in Venice. At the same time, this marriage was beneficial not only to the potential candidate for the throne, but also to the Republic of Venice, since the kinship of one of the wealthiest citizens with the ruling dynasty of the state, with which Venice waged a centuries-old struggle for control of the Dalmatian coast, was seen as extremely useful in the future (Tencajoli, 1930, pp. 63–64). The support of a potential candidate raised in Venice was seen as an extremely effective weapon and held out the hope of establishing control over the disputed coastal areas (Štefánik, 2008, p. 4). István was never able to claim the Hungarian crown, although in his own documents and will he was titled *Dux Sclavoniae* “Duke of Slavonia”, a title traditionally given to the heir to the throne.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The most famous Hungarian historians who studied the history of the reign of Andrew III are G. Kristó (Kristó, 1978; Kristó, 1979), A. Zsoldos (Zsoldos, 1998; Zsoldos, 2003; Zsoldos, 2010; Zsoldos, 2011), J. Szűcs (Szűcs, 2002), T. Kádár (Kádár, 2013; Kádár, 2018), T. Almási (Almási, 2012). The Slovak historian M. Štefánik (Štefánik, 2008), the Croatian researcher M. Petrović (Petrović, 2015), the Czech scientist R. Pražak (Pražak, 2002), the English researcher P. Engel (Engel, 2001) and an Austrian scientist V. Samanek (Samanek, 1948) published interesting studies. Ukrainian historians M. Troyan (Troyan, 1982) and L. Voytovich (Voytovich, 2011) were also interested in this issue. Taking into account the new research, we will try to point out the most important problems of the reign of the Hungarian king Andrew III.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the period of Andrew III's reign of Hungary (András III), the influence of the Morosini family on the political life of Hungary and the relationship between the monarch and the representatives of the oligarchic top of the kingdom.

The Results of the Research. After István's death, Andrew was brought up by his mother Tommasina, whose role in her son's reign is unfairly downplayed, and by uncle Albertino Morosini together with another family member – Martin Gradenig. Andrew received the support of Venice as a potential candidate for the Hungarian throne, in addition, his mother and relatives directed their economic power to find supporters in Hungary, which was facilitated by the chaotic rule of Laszlo IV. During the latter's lifetime, Andrew made attempts to establish himself in Hungary and accepted the title of Duke of Slavonia (Wenzel, 1874, p. 181), but the chaos during the drastic change of baronial groups did not allow him to start a large-scale campaign to seize the throne (Karbić, 2003, p. 1037).

At the beginning of 1290, Andrew received an invitation from Janos Kyōsogi, who was supported by prelates Sopron, Váš and Eszterhom (Zsoldos, 2011, p. 315), to arrive in Hungary, but Kyōsogi's enemy Arnold Hahot (a son of Palatine Arnold) captured the candidate for the Hungarian throne and handed him over to Duke Albrecht of Habsburg (Skorka, 2019, pp. 60–61, 64). On July 10, 1290, the Cuman nobles Arbots, Tertel and Kemenze killed King Laszlo IV (Engel, 2001, p. 109). The issue of their motivation is still controversial; revenge for anti-Cuman laws or Kopas Borsha's order are among the reasons (Voytovich, 2011, p. 17). Archbishop Lodomer played a decisive role in the coronation of Andrew, who sent two monks of the Benedictine order to Vienna, where the prince was at the beginning of 1290 (Almási, 2012, p. 100). The Austrian Rhyming Chronicle reports that “Andrew enjoyed Duke Albrecht's hospitality in Vienna” (Seemüller von, 1890, pp. 522–523), which is confirmed by Tomáš Kadar, who noted the fact that the pretender to the Hungarian throne was treated

with the respect due to his origin and was at the Duke's court under the unobtrusive care of the Duke's men (Kádár, 2018, p. 114). The ease with which Andrew managed to leave his place of detention and follow the boat along the Danube to Požona (Pauler, 1899, p. 415), near which a squad of supporters was waiting for him (SRH, 1937, pp. 213–214), allow us to assert that the conditions of stay in Vienna were far from prison conditions, as noted by the majority of Hungarian researchers (Érszegi & Solymosi, 1981, p. 173).

Andrew managed to leave his place of imprisonment and arrive in Hungary, where he was crowned by Lodomer in July of 1290 (Homonnai, 2003, p. 18). At the same time, the very date of coronation is not determined and varies between July 13 and 28, 1290. Trying to strengthen his position, he makes the Alliance with Prince Vladyslav I Loketko and becomes engaged to the daughter of Kuyavsky prince Zemomysl – Fenenna (Jasiński, 2001, p. 139), which was a smart political move, because through their family ties, he hoped to normalize relations with the Galicia-Volyn principality, which had been openly hostile since the 70s of the 13th century. The dynastic marriage made it possible to enlist the support of Yuriy Lvovych, who from 1287 was married to Euphemia, the sister of Vladyslav I Loketka (Baumgarten, 1927, pp. 47, 50), and in the long term it caused a split in the Czech-Galician Alliance.

From the very beginning of his reign, Andrew III of Hungary takes an openly anti-Habsburg position and in his coronation oath he swears to return territories and castles, which were invaded by the Austrian duke during the period from 1287 till 1289 (Kádár, 2013, p. 8). The enmity between the two states was exacerbated by the fact that on August 31, 1290, Rudolph Habsburg gave Hungary to his son Albrecht as an imperial fief.

In an effort to maintain balance in the political system of the kingdom, Andrew III maintains an interesting system of two palatines, which can be characterized as a system of “counterweights”, in which the highest title was simultaneously held by two people. Although, most likely, Andrew III was forced to accept the system that was established during the last chaotic years of the reign of Laszlo IV. The idea that in the political system of those years there was a practice of the activity of two palatines was raised by G. Pauler, who claimed that as early as in 1289, two palatines took part in the meetings of the estates, for the western regions of the kingdom this function was performed by Miklós Kyösogi, for the eastern part – by Reynold Bastei (Pauler, 1899, p. 406). His assumption is based on three charters, namely two charters of King Laszlo IV dated September 9, 1289, regarding the investigation of Palatine Reynold's activities (Árpád-kori új okmánytár, I, 1860, pp. 478, 482–483) and the documents of Miklós Kyösogi dated September 8, 1289 (Pauler, 1899, p. 573). We agree that Andrew III inherited a system in which the reigning monarch was forced to donate the highest positions to the oligarchs who temporarily supported him (Gerics, 1965, p. 655), and which testified to the final fragmentation of the state management system (Kristó, 1979, p. 189), which was actually torn between the western and eastern parts of the kingdom. After the coronation, Andrew III of Hungary appointed Amade Aba as palatine, who by the end of 1290, carrying out the royal order, invaded Poland, assisting Władysław Loketko (Zsoldos, 1998, p. 329). By February of 1291, Miklós Kyösogi was already mentioned as a palatine (CDH, 1830, p. 89), who holds this position at least until the middle of the year (Wertner, 1894, p. 12). Trying to strengthen his influence on Transylvania, Andrew III arrived in Alba-Iulia in March of 1291 and convened the General Congregation, the purpose of which was to carry out a number of reforms (Sălăgean, 2005, p. 241). The main purpose of the King's presence was to conduct negotiations with representatives of the privileged estates of the voivodship and obtain their support. The General Congregation led to the recognition of

the provisions that were proposed by the King and strengthened the royal power temporarily, but laid the foundation for the deterioration of relations between Andrew III and the Borsch family in the future (Bolovan & Pop, 2005, p. 77).

The actions taken by Andrew III during the period from August of 1290 till April of 1291 allowed him to strengthen his position and return to solving the issue of the return of the western counties. The Hungarian King called on Albrecht of Habsburg to surrender the captured castles, and later started a military campaign (Bárány, 2020, p. 50). Troops reinforced by Galician soldiers invaded the territory of the Austrian Duchy in July of 1291. The Austrian duke was forced to withdraw his troops from the cities and fortresses that had once been invaded by the Kyōsogi family, including Pozhon and Sopron. The war ended on August 26, 1291 with the signing of the Peace of Hainburg, as a result of which Albrecht undertook to return previously invaded territories (Skorka, 2019, pp. 68–69). On August 29, a meeting was held in Kopčano, during which the terms of the Peace of Hainburg were confirmed, in addition, Andrew III promised to destroy castles in the liberated territories (Zsoldos, 2003, p. 173). This document was the result of the actions of Archbishop Lodomer and the clergy who supported the King, and contained a model of the perfect Christian government in their eyes “... for powerful monarchs who are not limited by law, the greatest glory ... If they willingly obey the laws and accept the blessed compulsion according to the voice of the Holy Scriptures...” (Gerics, 1987, p. 247).

The provisions of the Hainburg Peace can be interpreted as a purposeful policy aimed at weakening the Kyōsogi family, or rather at dividing its branches. A royal charter from July of 1291 names Michal Szentmagóci as palatine, but already on August 10, two royal documents mention Miklós Kyōsogi in that position (as well as the documents of the Vashvar chapter in September of 1291 (Hazai okmánytár, 1876, p. 374; Hazai okmánytár, 1880, pp. 219–220). But by the end of the year, Miklós loses his position and, after several months of strained relations, supports his brother Janos in a rebellion against the royal authorities.

Meanwhile, political confrontation with the Kingdom of Naples began to intensify as Queen Maria proclaimed her son Charles Martel the King of Hungary in January of 1292 (MDEA, 1874, pp. 81–82). The Anjou family received detailed information about the events at the Hungarian court and the unstable balance of power between the King and the barons who supported his power. Thus, the main hopes rested on the oligarchic families of the southern part of Hungary, such as the Shubychi and the Babonychi (Szűcs, 2002, pp. 457–458), in addition, in the spring of 1292, their ranks were replenished with the Kyōsogi family, whose representative, Janos, declared that he recognized only the King supported by the Holy See (Zsoldos, 2003, p. 178). King Charles II appealed to the prelates, barons and nobles of Hungary with a request to provide army to protect the rights to the throne of his firstborn – Charles Martel (MDEA, 1874, p. 114.). In the spring of 1292, the rebellion began against the power of Andrew III, whom Neapolitan propaganda called “the usurper of the Hungarian throne” (Szűcs 2002. p. 455; Dunbabin, 2000, p. 624), and his followers. In response, Lodomer excommunicated Janos Kyōsogi, expressing his disagreement with the actions of the Holy See and its favorite (Zsoldos, 2003, p. 180). This was the last military action in which Andrew III was opposed by all the Kyōsogi brothers. Miklos unsuccessfully resisted the troops of Mate III Chaka in the Pozhony area (Lukačka, 2003, p. 590), and Janos fought with royal troops on the territory of Vash and Zala counties, which he considered his patrimony. In order to maintain his position, Andrew III appointed Amade Aba as palatine. This is evidenced by the documents of June of 1292, when the final clashes with the enemy took place (Érszegi & Solymosi, 1981, p. 182).

By July, King Andrew III succeeded in defeating the enemy forces and suppressing the Kyösogi rebellion. This was followed by the King's visit to Slavonia, whose position regarding the support of the royal power was already more or less formed, but after the visit to Zagreb, after August 4, 1292 (Lenkey & Zsoldos, 2003, pp. 181–182), he was captured and imprisoned by Janos in Mochon Castle (Zsoldos, 2010, p. 657). The King was forced to remain imprisoned for several months before his supporters sent hostages to free him (Szűcs, 2002, p. 459). The exact date of the King's release is not known, but a royal diploma dated November 26, 1292 indicates the period of captivity which lasted for four months approximately (Kádár, 2018, p. 114). But these events did not bring drastic changes in the balance of power in Hungary, because the steps taken by the Kingdom of Naples to attract the cities of Dalmatia to its side failed. This may have been connected with the death of Pope Nicholas IV, who was mostly on the side of the Anjou family, and after the death of Pope the cities diplomatically refused their support and switched to the side of Andrew III of Hungary (Szentgyörgyi, 1893, pp. 23–24). But the Kyösogi's rebellion and captivity undoubtedly became a personal humiliation for Andrew III, as a result of which he, distrusting the so-called uncertain allegiance of Slavonia and Croatia, appointed his mother, Tommasina Morosini, to manage these territories (Érszegi & Solymosi, 1981, p. 183). Distrust on the part of the King was so strong that during the appointment of Tommasina as the ruler of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia (Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus, X, p. 213), Andrew III did not cross the Drava and during the royal visit did not dare to visit the southern counties of Transdanubia (Kádár, 2018, p. 115).

In the middle of 1294, Roland Borša, the voivode of Transylvania entered into an armed conflict with the bishop of Varada, which was accompanied by the capture of one of the castles belonging to the bishopric (Bunyitay, 1888, p. 24). In response, King Andrew III launched a military campaign against the Borša family, and the personal participation of the King and the approximate dates (August – September of 1294) of the hostilities are evidenced by two royal charters issued in Varada on August 3, 1294 (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, p. 322) and Hadrian Castle (castro Adorjan) on September 6, 1294 (Az Árpád-házi királyok leveleinek kritikái jegyzéke, 1987, pp. 39–88). After the fall of Hadrian Castle, the main Borša outpost in Transylvania, the family submitted to the royal authority but was removed from governing the voivodship, although they retained their possessions in Zatyssia (Kristó, 1978, pp. 83–96).

At the turn of 1295 – 1296, a rapprochement took place between Andrew III of Hungary and Albrecht Habsburg. After the death of Andrew's first wife, Fenenna, which happened before the end of 1295 (Balzer, 2005, p. 620) and who was unable to give birth to a male offspring, negotiations began between the ruling families regarding the conclusion of a closer alliance, which ended with the wedding of the Hungarian king with Albrecht's sister – Agnes Habsburg. Marriage with Agnes allowed Andrew III to become a full member of the Habsburg family (Lenkey & Zsoldos, 2003, p. 205), although she had no influence on politics and was an extremely shy and modest person (Duggan, 1997, p. 112). In August of 1296, with the support of his father-in-law Albrecht of Habsburg and the Austrian troops, Andrew III opposed a new rebellion of the Kyösogi family. Combat actions were not distinguished by activity, but royal letters (Csánki, 1894, p. 724; Diplomatikai Levéltár, p. 332), issued by Andrew III during the period of September – October of 1296 in Kyösogi Castle, testify to his personal presence on the territory of the family's possessions. And although the royal forces were able to invade only a few fortified points of the enemy (Skorka, 2017, p. 101), Andrew III managed to capture a major strategic victory by separating the political views of Janos and Miklós Kyösogi, resulting in Miklós swearing allegiance to the King (Markó, 2006, p. 236).

In the meantime, an agreement was reached between the Pope Boniface VIII and Charles II the Lame regarding the inheritance of Hungary. In 1297, the Pope confirmed the inheritance of the Kingdom of Naples by the third son of Charles – Robert, by omitting the hereditary rights of Charles Robert, and Charles Robert inherited claims to the Hungarian throne (Petrovic, 2015, p. 13). The reason for this decision lies in the fact that at that time the Kingdom of Naples was at war with Sicily, and Charles II could no longer be considered an effective ruler due to the fact that his health was undermined by the years spent in captivity and numerous injuries (Dunbabin, 1998, p. 112). Prince Robert was about 20 years old at that time (Hoch, 1995, p. 22), so he was a grown up and formed man who could take the throne in case of his father's death, unlike Charles Robert who was still a child. In addition, after the death of his eldest son, Charles II took a rather passive position towards Hungary, so the initiative to continue the dynastic competition was transferred to Boniface VIII, Queen Maria of Hungary and Pal Shubych (Karbić, 2004, pp. 11–19). In contrast to them, Andrew III of Hungary could count on the support of the middle nobility, since he was born in Venice, which was different from politically backward Hungary, and he pursued a fairly liberal policy (Štefánik, 2008, p. 11). He did not suppress the growing demands of the nobility to participate in power, it was under his rule that the meetings of estates began to be convened annually, and in 1298 he went further by allowing the middle and lower nobility to elect representatives to attend meetings of the royal council, completing the process that began during the reign of his grandfather Andrew II (Hóman, 1936, pp. 77–79). With this step, Andrew III gained support of broad strata of the nobility, which he could direct to fight against external and internal opponents. At the beginning of February of 1298, a new meeting between Andrew III of Hungary and Albrecht Habsburg took place in Vienna, during which an agreement was reached regarding the military support given to the latter during the war with Adolf of Nassau (Diplomatikai Levéltár, p. 1497). In order to conclude an even closer alliance between the states, Princess Elizabeth, a daughter of Andrew III from his first marriage, was engaged to the son of the Czech king Václav II, an ally of the Habsburg family – Prince Václav (the future king of Hungary under the name László V the Czech) (OÖR, V.V. pp. 73514–73519). This engagement strengthened the position of Andrew III of Hungary at the Viennese court (Pražák, 2002, p. 7), after all, the mother of Prince Vaclav Huta was the daughter of Rudolph of Habsburg and the sister of Queen Agnes (Maráz, 2007, p. 31). Andrew III ensured the participation of a large Hungarian army in the war, including detachments of the Cuman horsemen, who caused a conflict in Vienna by attacking local women, which led to armed clashes with the Viennese, during which hundreds of people died, including the son of the Cuman voivode Alp (Kovács, 2016, p. 28). The participation of the Hungarian contingent is directly indicated by the charter of Andrew III of Hungary, in which it is stated that the detachments of the Pozhonsky and Zvolensky ishans led by Demetrius Balashi “... fought for the glory of us and the entire Hungarian nation...” (Lenkey & Zsoldos, 2003, p. 205). On July 27, 1298, Albrecht Habsburg was elected King in Frankfurt and later he was crowned in Aachen (August 25, 1298). This allows us to state that by the end of the summer of 1298, the coalition of the King of Hungary and the Habsburgs began to dominate the Kingdom of Naples and its supporters. Stabilization of the situation in the kingdom allowed Andrew III to hold a meeting of the privileged estates in Pest, during which a number of decrees were adopted, which allowed the King to destroy castles built without permission and to reclaim property that had been appropriated during previous years (Sălăgean, 2005, pp. 241–242). After the meeting, Andrew III of Hungary concluded an official alliance with five influential

noblemen – Amade Aba, Istvan Akos, Dominique Rato, Demetri Balashi and Pal Sech, who confirmed their readiness to support the King in his struggle against external and internal enemies, as well as the Pope (Zsoldos, 2003, pp. 211, 213). At the same time, the King lacked the most important element of stability – a male heir and successor. Andrew III solved this problem, declaring Albertino Morosini and Albertino's descendants his successors in 1299, giving him the hereditary possession of Slavonia, which was the prerogative of the heirs to the royal throne (Jászay, 2004, p. 102). Constantia, Albertino's granddaughter, was engaged with the ruler of Srem, Stefan Władysław (CDAC, V, pp. 260–261). Trying to win over one of the influential Kyōsogi brothers, Henrik, Andrew III organized the wedding of his cousin Turco Morosini with his daughter (CDH, 1841, pp. 545–547). Another representative of the Morosini family, Baldo, gained control over large territories of Hungary, and other members of the extended family were representatives of Zadar and Dubrovnik in the Venetian administration (ÁÚO, 1874, pp. 323–325). This allowed the Hungarian King to begin planning a military expedition to Croatia to finally suppress the opposition and end the claims of the Anjou family. Albrecht Habsburg promised to help Andrew III in this military expedition. The passivity of Andrew III during the last year and a half can be explained by the fact that he was suffering from a serious illness and was mainly in Buda and in the territories of Pilish and Esztergom counties (Végh, 2003, pp. 13–14). In January of 1300, the final decision was made in Naples to send Charles Robert to Hungary. This was facilitated by the conclusions that in case of Andrew III's death, a long delay could cause the crown to be lost and that could be in favour of other claimants. Pal Shubych and other barons who supported the party of Anjou were informed about the decision. To form a bridgehead for the landing, King Charles II sent his generals Petrus Sura and Petrus Pilleso at the head of heavily armed galleys to Split. After that, he appointed his close friend Odo as the governor of the castles of Slavonia (MDEA, 1874, p. 144) and confirmed the possessions of the Frankopans (MDEA, 1874, p. 145) and the Babonychiv (MDEA, 1874, pp. 146–147). At that time, Charles Robert was in Apulia (MDEA, 1874, p. 155) and actually did not take part in the preparations for the invasion. Charles Robert arrived in Split in August of 1300 accompanied by a small retinue consisting of two galleys and one small merchant ship, which carried 150 combat horses and a slightly smaller number of armed soldiers (Petrovic, 2015, p. 10). According to the report of the chronicler Micah Madius, a meeting between Charles Robert and Pal Shubych took place in the city, who was supposed to hand him over to the care of Master Ugrinus, who is identified with Ugryn Chak (Korai, 1994, p. 697). But after August of 1300, none of the parties took actions, there were no military companies and significant clashes. After Charles Robert's landing, Pal Shubych did not interfere in his activities at all (Zsoldos, 2015, p. 197).

The passivity of Andrew III can be explained with several facts. Firstly, his illness was really severe and did not allow him to respond to the invasion of a new contender. It is likely that the supporters of the Hungarian King did not fully support the proclamation of Albertino Morosini as the heir to the throne and waited for the death or recovery of Andrew III in order to make the right choice in a possible fight for the crown, because there were much more contenders for the crown. It was the lack of an heir that caused the barons' "oscillating" not stable relationship with the ruling monarch and it was his weak point. The only known reaction of the monarch to the recognition of a part of the Hungarian nobility, Charles Robert, as their king, are the letters of the envoy of Andrew III to Rome, Petrus de Bonzano, who suggested that the suzerain should seize the opportunity and, with the help of Henry Kyōsogi and other loyal barons, capture the pretender (ÁÚO, 1864, pp. 262–263). There is

no information about the reaction of the King's mother Tommasina Morosini, who was the closest person to Andrew III. It is also interesting. There are several theories about the date of her death, but the most likely is the information from Ottakara Chronicler, in which it is stated that the Queen mother died before her son.

In the end, Andrew III of Hungary was unable to meet Robert on the battlefield and take the advice of his envoy, and on January 14, 1301 he died unexpectedly. The news of his death reached Charles Robert in Zagreb, where he was under the protection of the bishop (Schwandtnerus, 1746 – 1748, pp. 638). Later, Andrew III was called the last representative of the “golden branch” of the Arpad family (Engel, 2001, p. 124). His “Achilles heel” was the lack of a male heir, and with his death the male line of the dynasty died and there began a long period of dynastic and reunification wars waged by the new Anjou dynasty.

The Conclusion. Ten years of reign of the last representative of the male branch of the Arpad dynasty could not stop the destruction of the royal power institutions and restore respect for the ruling monarch. The civil war between King Béla IV and his heir Prince Istvan caused a tectonic split in the ranks of the ruling classes of Hungary, who accumulated much wealth in their hands and did not want to obey the last monarchs of the Arpad dynasty. The premature death of Andrew III and the lack of a male heir plunged Hungary into a long dynastic conflict. Further study of the relationship between representatives of the royal family and the magnate elite of Hungary, as well as the participation of the latter in the dynastic struggle at the beginning of the 14th century, is perspective.

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**IMAGE OF FOREIGN COLONIZERS IN A TOWN ENVIRONMENT
IN THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE IN TRAVELLERS' NARRATIVES
AT THE END OF THE 18th – THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to study the image of foreign colonizers in a town environment in the South of Ukraine described in travellers' narratives at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century. In the second half of the 18th century the incorporation of the southern Ukrainian region into the Russian Empire, as a fact in itself, promoted a great interest in the region all over the world, which caused springing up a new kind of tourism – travels to countries whose culture was very different from that of the West Europe. As a result, visitors described their travels in narratives which were published afterwards and it gave rise to a new literary genre – “travellers' narratives”.*

In these narratives authors described their own vision of the processes which were taking place on the territory of the South of Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century. Nowadays these travellers' narratives ("travels") are important informational sources in regard to history of the region, as they contain a lot of information which was not saved in other documentary and statistical sources. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of scientism, historical methods, verification, author's objectiveness, the frontier theory, human dimension, regionalism, and also on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. **The Scientific Novelty.** Views of travellers on foreigners in the cities of Southern Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century is researched for the first time in Ukrainian historiography. **The Conclusion.** During their own travels visitors characterized towns of the region as well as peculiarities of their social and economical, cultural development. The image of foreigners, who settled on the territory of the region during the colonization's process, was brought into focus in their numerous descriptions. In their memoirs a plenty of attention was paid to the image of foreigners in towns in the South of Ukraine. In particular, travellers focused on peculiarities of a local everyday life, culture of various nationalities, inhabitants' interaction with government, their attitude to modernization process as well. The major attention in the article is paid to differences in taking a new social and cultural reality in the southern Ukrainian region by the English and American travellers, on the one hand, and by the Russian visitors, on the other hand. The research resulted in creating a whole image of foreigners in towns in the South of Ukraine during the period under analysis.

Key-words: travels, travellers' narratives, tourism, South of Ukraine, local self-government.

ОБРАЗ ІНОЗЕМНИХ КОЛОНІСТІВ У МІСЬКОМУ ПРОСТОРИ ПІВДНЯ УКРАЇНИ У "ТРАВЕЛЕРАХ" КІНЦЯ ХVІІІ – ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХІХ ст.

Анотація. Мета статті – представити результати дослідження образу іноземних колоністів в міському середовищі Півдня України, який був описаний в записках мандрівників наприкінці ХVІІІ – у першій половині ХІХ ст. Інкorporація до складу Російської імперії південноукраїнського регіону в другій половині ХVІІІ ст. викликала значний інтерес світової громадськості. Це призвело до виникнення нового виду туризму – "путешествия" – мандрівних поїздок до країн, культура яких значно відрізнялася від західноєвропейської. У результаті візитери залишили після своїх поїздок велику кількість мандрівних записок, які були опубліковані і породили новий жанр літератури – травелери. Саме в них мандрівники описували власні спостереження процесів, які відбувалися на території Півдня України наприкінці ХVІІІ – у першій половині ХІХ ст. Травелери є цінним джерелом з історії регіону, оскільки містять великий масив інформації, що не збереглася у документальних і статистичних джерелах. **Методологію дослідження** складають принципи науковості, об'єктивності, верифікації джерел, теорії фронтиру, людиновимірності, регіоналізму. У роботі використані як загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, так і спеціально-наукові (історико-хронологічний, історико-систематичний, історико-типологічний) методи дослідження. **Наукова новизна.** Уперше в українській історіографії проаналізовано погляди мандрівників на іноземців у містах Півдня України наприкінці ХVІІІ – у першій половині ХІХ ст. **Висновки.** Під час мандрів візитери характеризували міста регіону, особливості їхнього соціально-економічного та культурного розвитку. Центральне місце в їх описах займав образ іноземців, які оселилися на території регіону в ході колонізаційних процесів. У їхніх споминах базато уваги приділено образу іноземців у містах Півдня України. Мандрівники звертали увагу на особливості побуту, культуру, взаємовідносин іноземців із владними структурами, їх ставлення до модернізаційних перетворень тощо. Головна увага у статті звернена на відмінності сприйняття нової соціально-культурної дійсності в південноукраїнському регіоні в середовищі іноземців англійськими, американськими мандрівниками, з одного боку, та російськими візитерами, з іншого. У результаті проведеного дослідження вдалося встановити цілісний образ іноземців у містах Півдня України протягом досліджуваного періоду.

Ключові слова: травелери, мандрівні записки, туризм, Південь України, місцеве самоврядування.

The Problem Statement. The topicality of the theme is dependent on the fact that modern Ukrainian statehood is undergoing deep changes within the process of reforming local self-government bodies, which causes a growing interest in comprehending historical past of the southern Ukrainian towns from the end of the 18th – till the beginning of the 19th century with the aim of clarifying the artificial imperial “Novorossia theory” as well as proving a dominancy of the Ukrainian and European factors in the development of the Ukrainian territories. The Southern Ukrainian towns were centres of power in the region; they had peculiar features which made it possible for them to have close relationships with West European culture and they were among the first to start the process of modernization in the Russian Empire.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research Papers. The grasping of southern Ukrainian towns’ image as well as that of their inhabitants started already at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century. For example, in the periodical magazines “Zapisky Odesskogo tovarystva istorii ta starozhytnostey” and “Vedomosty Tavriyskoy vchenoy archivnoy commissiy” A. Hurland (Hurland, 1900, pp. 16–17), N. Nadezhdin (Nadezhdin, 1844, pp. 433–441), K. Zelenezkiy (Zelenezkiy, 1844, pp. 442–453), N. Gudziy (Gudziy, 1888, pp. 132–143) and other authors made publications relevant to descriptions of the southern Ukrainian region by foreign and Russian travellers. The abovementioned authors described in detail towns and their inhabitants analyzing not only character of a travel but also making their comments on mistakes in official statistical materials.

During the Soviet period towns did not become a very topical issue for researches, but sometimes there appeared publications of a critical character concerning towns’ self-government activity, for example in the work by L. Velichov (Velichov, 1928), researches by O. Druzhinina (Druzhinina, 1955) and by B. Mironov (Mironov, 1975) the major attention was paid to statistical data in regard to social, national and religious composition of townspeople.

In 1991, after Ukraine gained its independence, attention was revived from the part of researchers in regard to history of the southern Ukrainian towns as well as civil institutions. Within the last decade a series of scientific researches was published concerning a town’s environment, for example the works by V. Konstantinova (Konstantinova, 2010), A. Dorosheva (Dorosheva, 2009), M. Shytuk and V. Schukin (Shytuk & Schukin, 2008) and by the others, are dedicated to ethnic, civil, social and religious environment of southern Ukrainian towns. Recently there have been a number of studies contributing to theoretical examination of the research topic. For instance, V. Pylypiv’s work (Pylypiv, 2020, p. 175) allows deeper understanding of the interaction between foreign colonists of the South of Ukraine in terms of a social and cultural identity. In L. Levchenko’s study (Levchenko, 2021, pp. 102–115) on the history of the Greek communities in Kherson and Mykolaiv there are elucidated conditions of the development of the Greek churches in the South of Ukraine at the end of the 18th century – the first half of the 19th century. Financial activity of foreign entrepreneurs in the Ukrainian territories is analyzed in the research by Shandra (Shandra I., 2020, pp. 134–144). In one more V. Shandra’s study there is analyzed the nobility’s participation in the territory of “Ukrainian hubernias” in self-government bodies (Shandra V., 2020, pp. 46–60). Among the issues which did not attract serious attention from the part of previous researchers one can single out the analysis of a southern Ukrainian town’s image which was presented by both Russian and foreign travellers; on top of everything, in previous researches attention was hardly attracted to either an image or a role of foreigners in the development of cultural, economic and intellectual potential of towns in the South of Ukraine.

The purpose of the article is to do analysis of West European colonizers' image as well as their role in building organizational, cultural and intellectual environment in regard to the development of the southern Ukrainian towns, as it was reflected in travellers' narratives by both foreigners and Russian visitors at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century, because these very travellers' narratives contain detailed information on an everyday urban life which was not included into statistical documents, and that is why, "travellers' narratives" are regarded as precious informational sources for history of a town's life and culture.

The Results of the Research. The southern Ukrainian region, which was incorporated into the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century and eventually divided into Katherynoslav, Kherson and Tavria provinces in 1803, became a "new" region not only for Russia, but also for the Western Europe. The region attracted interest not only from the part of scientists and public figures but also from the part of ordinary travellers who were interested in historical, geographical and political peculiarities as well as in what they considered "specific" in the life of a new region, especially paying attention to the fact that this territory became "New Ukraine" (Mykhailenko & Cheremisin, 2020, pp. 36–45) very quickly. During the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century the South of Ukraine was visited by a great deal of expeditions who wrote unordinary travellers' narratives on various facts of townspeople' life that were published later.

The following figures stood out among foreign travellers: M. Hutry (an Englishwoman, who travelled to the south of Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the beginning of the 19th century in order to recover from the illness); M. Kholderness (she travelled round the region at the beginning of the 19th century); R. Lyell (an Englishman, who travelled round the south of Ukraine and the Caucasus at the beginning of the 19th century); P. Pinkerton (a British traveller-missioner – at the beginning of the 19th century, a member of the English biblical society) and D. Stephens (an American lawyer, businessman and traveller – at the beginning of the 19th century).

Among Russian visitors, who travelled round the southern Ukrainian region are the following: V. Yzmailov (a Russian writer and traveller); P. Suchtelin (Orenburh's Hubernator, a nobleman, General); P. Sumarokov (a Russian writer, who wrote the books of "Travel to the Crimea and Bessarabia" and "The Leisure of the Crimean Judge or the Second Travel to Tavrida" with characteristic lyrical taking of reality in which he found himself in the south of Ukraine); M. S. Vsevolozhsky (1772 – 1857), who travelled round the south of Ukraine during the years of 1836 – 1837 at the age of 64 (a Russian nobleman, state and political figure, Tver's Hubernator (1816 – 1826), the cavalier of the Order of Saint George, Degree IV); A. P. Demydov (a Russian scholar, a merited member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences); A. S. Aphanasiyev-Chuzbinsky (he served in the Naval Ministry of the Russian Empire, the chancellery of Voronezh's Hubernator, as an editor of the newspaper "Voronezhski Provincilalni Vedomosti") and the others.

During their travels both foreign and Russian "tourists" visited such towns in the South of Ukraine as Katherynoslav, Oleksandrovsk, Beryslav, Oleshky, Simferopol, Sevastopol, Kerch, Theodosia, Karasu-Bazar, Odesa, Kherson and Mykolaiv. These towns took an important role in developing cultural environment, and that is why, these towns were the places where it was better to understand the life of the southern Ukrainian region.

In order to collect enough material for their own descriptions travellers stayed for a couple of days or years in the southern Ukrainian towns characterizing local inhabitants according to these criteria: nationality and its status, culture, an everyday life of local

inhabitants, education level and differences from other ethnic groups. A large amount of travellers' narratives contained a comparison between the southern Ukrainian towns and Ancient Greek cities in the northern Black Sea region at the time of the Antiquity. In their contemplations the authors gave preference to the past époque, as it was more brilliant and epic in comparison with present conditions. According to them a new life was revived owing to endeavors from the part of West European leaders and administrators among whom the figure of a Frenchman Duke de Richler stood out. He was the person whose activity helped transforming the region into a civilized one within "*the wild Russian Empire*". They also insisted on that a great deal of profit for developing a social and economic potential of the southern Ukrainian towns was done mainly by foreigners, whereas the Russian government held in check an active development of the southern Ukrainian towns artificially, for which it was constantly criticized. The Russia's Government in reply censored and prohibited publications of "travellers' narratives" by West European travellers.

In travellers' narratives by both Russian and west European visitors the French were represented in the image of aristocrats; a lot of them were obliged to leave the motherland as a result of Napoleon's wars and to offer service to the Russian State to become builders of a new life in the South of Ukraine eventually. It was Frenchmen, who contributed their intellectual, economic and cultural potential to the region mostly. In the South of Ukraine they were divided into 3 groups: the first one was public servants; the second – businessmen and merchants; the third group was busy with agriculture (vineyards and cattle ranches). Of course, a great deal of attention was focused on the figure of Duke de Richler, who was characterized as a distinguished state figure whose activity provided fast flourishing of the southern Ukrainian region. His creation-child – de Richler lyceum – was described vividly, whose status and its fees grew constantly every year while entrance conditions were getting more and more intrinsic. We also have materials about the Frenchmen who were busy with intellectual work, for example, Mr. Ray worked at de Richler's office and studied historical past of the Crimean Tatar's antiquities (Kholderness, 1810).

The figure of de Richler's successor the Count A. Langeron was described as an efficient statesman and leader of the region in detail. Comparing the French to Russian public officials travellers expressed sympathy for the French. For example, in M. Kholderness's descriptions the Russian officials were presented as not a very much educated group, a lot of representatives of them lacked in everything, which was connected with education, and that is why, a substantial part of their work was connected with corruption; the Russian officials even did not want to go into details of a particular case and could only copy reports and inform against each other. Instead, the image of the French officials was cardinally different: always educated, eager to create prosperity for the southern Ukrainian region; they did everything in a professional manner with prospects for the future (Kholderness, 1810).

M. Hutry also presented a positive image of the Frenchmen in the South of Ukraine. For example, she was greatly impressed by the fact that the head of Kherson was a Frenchman, who did a lot of positive to the city. During her travels she also met a lot of French hoteliers and businessmen; nevertheless, on the whole, the image of the French nationality's representatives in the southern Ukrainian region remained profoundly aristocratic for her, especially in connection with outstanding statesmen. During her own travels the author made a conclusion that the French culture had a positive influence on local inhabitants. For example, she met a lot of Greek women wearing French clothes (Hutry, 2012, pp. 43–78; Hutry, 1810, pp. 24–85).

A proper respect and esteem to representatives of the French nationality were shown by the Russian travellers, too. For example, I. Yzmailov wrote that it were the French who transformed Odesa into a centre of the region (Yzmailov, 1802, pp. 234–289). A. Davydov noted in his travels about the French as being advantageous in the public service; he noticed it were the French who facilitated the flourishing of Odesa. He also noted that many West European languages were spoken in shops, in Odesa. Each nationality had its own favourite places. Someone would spend more time at theatres, somebody at clubs, in parks, gardens or cafes. He compared Odesa with Marseille and in his travels he called Odesa “the Black Sea Marseille”. He also noted a significant role of De Ribas in building Odesa; it was he who managed to persuade the first merchants to settle in this town because it was safe there; he also managed to establish an order in Odesa as well as to provide development of the city. According to A. Demydov’s descriptions Duke de Richler was an educated leader who continued the work of his predecessor de Ribas and turned Odesa into a centre of the southern Ukrainian region and who became “the father of the city”. At the same time, A. Demydov noted that Duke de Richler and Langeron turned Odesa into an intellectual centre: they established publishing houses, magazines, academic societies, educational institutions (Demydov, 1853, pp. 254–265). A positive role of the French was also noted by Sumarokov. He described the Frenchmen as efficient officials. According to him De Ribas did a lot of good and it was him who transformed a village into a big and modern city of Odesa (Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 128–214).

At the same time, the Frenchmen were also described by the Russian travellers in the image of efficient businessmen who kept the best hotels. For example, a story was told about a Frenchman Ambles, who worked earlier in St.-Petersburg and then took a chance to start a “new life” in the South of Ukraine. He moved to Simferopol where he established his own hotel and restaurant, but he always complained that the Crimean Tatars did not come to his restaurant, because they did not eat pork, and that is why, he regarded them barbarous, as they did not show respect to progress and did not have a good understanding of high culinary art (Vsevolozhskiy, 1839, pp. 31–55).

A. Demydov emphasized an important role of the Italians in the development of Odesa, as it was they who brought their capitals from Italy and invested in the development of a local trade. Their significant contribution to a cultural heritage was evident, too, as it was the Italians who opened their opera house “Italian Opera”. A. Demydov also noted that municipal communities of Mariupol had close business contacts with Italy which helped them take the leading positions in the city (Demydov, 1853, pp. 254–265). N. Vsevolozhskiy described the Italian people as good business managers, traders and landlords as well as very hospitable representatives of the southern Ukrainian region. He called the South of Ukraine Italy and here according to him it was better than in the capital, because it was the Italians who could fill life with pleasures, besides, he thought that the best singers were the Italians (Vsevolozhskiy, 1839, pp. 87–95).

During their travels authors paid attention to representatives of other nationalities as well. For example, in Demydov’s descriptions there are records on the Hollanders who created model communities in towns of the South of Ukraine being busy with towns’ development; they also helped poor strata of the population. It was the Hollanders’ communities where people being in an extreme need could find money, food and shelter (Demydov, 185, pp. 254–265).

Travellers also met the British who worked in Mykolaiv, Kherson and Odesa. Descriptions about them were reserved and not verbose. On the whole, they were presented in the image of public officials who stayed for a while and were forced to be in the service; the majority

of them did not plan to stay there for life. As an exception, there were some Englishmen in Odesa who lived permanently; they had plans for future and were busy with commerce (Kholderness, 1810). Apart from it, A. Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi wrote positively about the personality of an English doctor D. Howard who paid his own life saving the town from an epidemic, although the author was very astonished at the fact that the Russian population of the city knew about him a little (Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi, 1861, pp. 310–335).

The Poles were represented in descriptions as aristocrats and were considered as one of the largest groups of population in the region. According to the travellers' descriptions foreigners had the right to buy land and serfs in the South of Ukraine and, under certain conditions, to gain a civil rank corresponding to a lieutenant's rank in the Russian Army. For example, M. Kholderness wrote an interesting story about a Polish aristocrat who was able to buy land together with serf villagers, later he let them free supposing they would be happy, because they gained freedom. In that way he wanted to revenge on the Russians for the occupation of Poland. M. Kholderness could not take this fact quietly, because she thought that in the south of Ukraine reappraisal of values already provided understanding that the Russians were "careless and unpredictable" and absolutely not capable of taking care of themselves supposing that their own needs could be realized only at the account of their master (Kholderness, 1810).

N. Vsevolozhskyi wrote about the Poles in his travels, too, in particular he paid his attention to the fact that they presented themselves as aristocrats who planned to found their own town in the South of Ukraine. For different reasons they did not manage to do it, so they invested their capitals in agricultural development (Vsevolozhskyi, 1839, pp. 55–69).

The Greeks were described as one of the most modern nationalities in the South of Ukraine. Their main characteristics were as follows: noticeable craving for civilization, progress, modernization; they constantly took care of new phenomena, spoke many languages fluently and not only European; they also spoke the Tatar and Turkish languages. Towns Greeks were more interested in modernization than those living in the countryside. It was towns Greeks who absolutely quit their traditional costume and system of life; they assumed European manners and style of West European life very fast. It was noted that the Greeks were very hospitable; they were constantly busy with community matters and they wanted to be helpful for others. According to V. Yzmailov the Greeks in the South of Ukraine were always aware of their past and millenniums' heritage and they respected it very much (Yzmailov, 1802, pp. 289–360). The Russian traveller Sumarokov noted that the Greeks were mainly busy with commerce in Kherson, Mykolaiv and Simferopol. They were engaged in wine trade, groceries and fruit. A lot of old Greeks in protest against the incorporation of the region by the Russian Empire moved to the territory of Turkey having left their own property, houses and other things (Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 7–128).

The Germans were characterized as officials, businessmen or colonizers. Many of them settled in towns and became townspeople who were busy with various trades (shoemakers, plumbers, carpenters). Towns Germans differed from other national groups in having more strict moral demands as well as more reserved manners. Owing to the Germans' activity townspeople were satisfied with much more productive agriculture and gardening on towns' lands. In particular, they rented municipal land and grew fruit. Production of the German nationality representatives had a better quality but a higher price at the same time. The greater part of the Germans was successfully busy with industry and trade. In towns environment the Germans showed themselves as competitive and deeply religious people, and that is why,

they enjoyed public respect. They were also advantageous in regard to developing a town life, which was a properly German feature, but were not so fast in adapting to surrounding circumstances: it was difficult for them to learn the Russian language.

For example, P. Sumarokov met representatives of the German nationality. He characterized them as efficient businessmen working in hotelier business. He noticed that they were rather economical and had a very careful attitude to money (Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 7–128). A. Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi in his travels described representatives of the German nationality as too accurate, hospitable and hardworking. In particular, the houses, which were built by them in Aleksandrovsk, became the pride of local inhabitants. They were very hospitable: always suggested schnapps, ham and coffee, but they used Prussia's good mostly. On the whole, they were busy with trade, industries and workshops. They were different from other nationalities in doing everything of a superior quality (Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi, 1961, pp. 137–138).

N. Vsevolozhskyi noted that although all the nationalities lived peacefully and adapted to new conditions of life together rather quickly, nevertheless they lived as separate national communities. People opened their own shops, schools and religious institutions. N. Vsevolozhskyi noted in his narratives a lot of examples of West European and Asiatic stylistic influences in the life of townspeople. For example, in Simferopol a public garden designed in the English style was opened where the Crimean Tatars sat playing French games. We have memoirs in travellers' narratives about the Bulgarians; in particular, a lot of attention was given to characteristics of representatives of this nationality by N. Vsevolozhskyi. In his records it was the Bulgarians who stood out for a hardworking lifestyle. They lived in the southern Ukrainian towns enjoying equal rights with the Germans and were freed from taxes by the Government. They always showed loyalty towards the Government, for which they were not loved by the Tatars. In their everyday life the Bulgarians were economic and did not show their prosperity; they were also too superstitious. They were rarely busy with gardening. They were hospitable with foreigners. N. Vsevolozhskyi noticed an interesting fact: the Bulgarians were almost the only nation who did not suffer from various epidemics that were constantly breaking out in the region. In towns the Bulgarians had their own national self-government: the community matters were done by the elders. The Bulgarians were also engaged in police service. Their religious life was very similar to the Orthodox Ukrainians and Russians; the more so that they had close relations with the Russians with whom they hardly felt the language barrier (N. Vsevolozhskyi, 1839, pp. 87–95).

The Armenians were represented in the image of shopkeepers. In towns of the region they lived in their communities and almost everyone was busy with trade; they were included into various merchants' groups. In their everyday life they led a secluded life and behaved reservedly especially towards foreigners. As for their social environment one could see a wish to be interested in something new and up to date, but at the same time they demonstrated a traditional lifestyle to much more extent than other nationalities. They were proud of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem after which they were given an honorable name "Hadji". The most honorable among the Armenians were the Catholics, because they were regarded as successors of the Arians. The most popular games were chess and trik-trak (Kholderness, 1810).

The Conclusion. Thus, the conclusions can be made that descriptions of a town's environment in the South of Ukraine took the central place in travellers' narratives by foreigners. On the whole, visitors saw towns in the southern Ukrainian region as multinational. According to their descriptions there lived the French, the English, the Italians, the Greeks, the Germans, the Armenians and representatives of other nationalities. All the groups of population

being of a foreign origin were represented as ethnic formations who lived in compact groups having established special national associations for solving their own problems. In the southern Ukrainian towns the customs, everyday life and lifestyle of various nationalities were mixed. Both the Russian and foreign travellers noted in their descriptions that the southern Ukrainian region differed substantially from Russia's inland regions. The foreigners did a lot of good especially for the development of home and foreign trade. There appeared an exotic mixture of Western Europe and Asia. On the whole, in travellers' narratives the southern Ukrainian region was characterized as more modern and quite different from Russia's inland.

It was the foreigners who invested money in trade; they opened cultural and educational institutions, built houses which eventually became the pride of local inhabitants. Owing to their endeavors the power in the region was more independent of the central government, as foreign administrators themselves developed projects of reforms, struggled against corruption, bribery and other misdoings. In a town's environment in the South of Ukraine foreign colonizers were represented in the image of public servants, officials, businessmen, merchants and intellectuals. Cultural and educational centres opened in towns by foreign colonizers were regarded as more popular and aimed at elite. Thus, it may be concluded that foreign colonizers made a great contribution to towns development of the region and they became "builders of a new life"; they also influenced organizational, cultural, economic and intellectual potential. Foreign visitors also noted that local self-government was much more independent of the central government in comparison with other regions of the state. It was explained by the presence of foreign administrators in public service. In fact, it was foreigners in power in the region who worked out projects of reforms, struggled against corruption and "misdoings in the service". However, their positive activity was brought to naught, when the Russian officials were appointed in their place.

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FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAVAL MEDICINE IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE (THE END OF THE XVIIIth – BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURY)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to study the peculiarities of the formation and development of naval medicine in the South of Ukraine using the example of the city of Mykolayiv, as a centre of shipbuilding and command of the Black Sea Fleet at the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XXth century. To find out its compliance with the state of development of medicine and the health care requirements of the military personnel of the naval department and the residents of the city at that time. The research methodology is based on the principles of historical knowledge (scientific, historicism, objectivity, systematic and comparative analysis), as well as on the application of general scientific, special and historical, special source studies methods. The scientific novelty of the research consists*

in the fact that for the first time the formation conditions and features of the initial functioning of naval medicine in Southern Ukraine, which laid the foundations for the development of this important branch of domestic medicine, have been highlighted and analyzed. **The Conclusion.** The birth of naval medicine in the South of Ukraine had its beginnings precisely in Mykolayiv, where a centre of practical and scientific medical professional elite of naval doctors was formed. The establishment of naval hospital in Mykolayiv played a significant role in the recovery of patients with infectious diseases and wounded servicemen during the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish Wars, as well as weakening the spread of epidemics among the urban civilian population. Mykolayiv naval doctors made a significant contribution to the development of the city's public medicine, the science of domestic naval medicine and the development of sanitary and anti-epidemic measures during epidemics both in the troops (including on warships) and among the civilian urban population.

Key words: naval medicine, naval department, the Black Sea Fleet, Southern Ukraine, city of Mykolayiv, naval hospital, Society of Naval Doctors, city (Duma) medicine.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І РОЗВИТОК ВІЙСЬКОВО-МОРСЬКОЇ МЕДИЦИНИ НА ПІВДНІ УКРАЇНИ (кінець XVIII – початок XX ст.)

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження особливостей становлення і розвитку військово-морської медицини Півдня України на прикладі міста Миколаїв, як центру суднобудування і командування Чорноморським флотом в кінці XVIII – на початку XX ст. З'ясувати її відповідність стану розвитку медицини та вимогам охорони здоров'я військовослужбовців морського відомства і жителів міста того часу. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історичного пізнання (науковість, історизм, об'єктивність, системний та порівняльний аналіз), а також на застосуванні загальнонаукових, спеціально-історичних і спеціальних джерелознавчих методів. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше висвітлюються й аналізуються умови створення і особливості початкового функціонування військово-морської медицини Півдня України, яка заклала основи розвитку цієї важливої галузі вітчизняної медицини. **Висновки.** Зародження військово-морської медицини на Півдні України мало свій початок саме у Миколаєві, де утворився осередок практичної і наукової медичної професійної еліти морських лікарів. Створення морського шпиталю у Миколаєві відіграло значну роль в одужанні хворих на інфекційні хвороби та поранених військовослужбовців у період Кримської війни і російсько-турецьких війн, а також послабленню поширення епіdemій на міське цивільне населення. Миколаївські морські лікарі здійснили суттєвий внесок у розвиток міської громадської медицини, науки вітчизняної морської медицини та розробки санітарно-протиепіdemічних заходів під час епіdemій як у військах (в т. ч. на військових кораблях,) так і для цивільного міського населення.

Ключові слова: військово-морська медицина, морське відомство, Чорноморський флот, Південь України, місто Миколаїв, морський шпиталь, Товариство морських лікарів, міська (думська) медицина.

The Problem Statement. In the second half of the 18th century the entire territory of the South of Ukraine, including the Black Sea coast lands, came under the power of the imperial government as a result of the military expansionist policy of the Russian Empire. The Russian government's policy of "development" of the Ukrainian steppe and the Black Sea lands implied the creation of a system of imperial strongholds, into which the Cossack or Tatar settlements or the Turkish fortresses were transformed, by giving the "new" cities and fortresses names that should glorify the Russian Empire and its monarchs. Thus, in 1778, in particular the city of Kherson was "founded" on the site of the town of Bilkhovychi and Oleksandrivsky Shanets (the centre of the Inhul palanka during the period of the New Sich), in 1787 the Cossack settlement of Polovytsia became Katerynoslav, the Tatar village of Akhtiar became the "Russian" city of Sevastopol, and Khadzhybey became Odesa in 1794. It was possible to keep the southern

Black Sea lands under the power of the imperial government only if it had its own Black Sea fleet. In the beginning, the Russian authorities built a shipyard in Kherson, however, this place for building large ships turned out to be unsuccessful, that is why, a new shipyard began to be built at the mouth of the Inhul, around which the city of Mykolayiv began to grow. The constant increase in the number of workers, who were involved in the construction of naval ships, barracks, administrative (military and civilian) buildings and residential buildings of the city, as well as the accumulation of the naval contingent – all this was accompanied by a high incidence of infectious and cold diseases, injuries, which required the establishment of medical aid. The move of the admiralty board and the Black Sea Fleet command from Kherson to Mykolayiv was the reason for the establishment of the main naval hospital and management of the fleet medical service in Mykolayiv. As for Sevastopol Naval Service, it was subordinated to Mykolayiv Headquarters for a long time. Gradually, from 1855 till 1898, Sevastopol Naval Hospital, which operated as a small infirmary, also ceased to exist.

The historical experience of the Ukrainian medicine in all its components is quite topical both in connection with modern reforms in the health care system, as well as with the development of military medicine, which became especially important under the conditions of the current Russian-Ukrainian war. In this aspect, the naval medicine service experience of not only military personnel, but also the civilian population, the practice of which was widespread in Mykolayiv, is interesting.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers. The history of the Black Sea naval medicine was studied by some modern researchers superficially. Thus, in the works of H. Turchenko and F. Turchenko (Turchenko & Turchenko, 2021), B. Zubov (Zubov, 1990), Yu. Kryuchkov (Kryuchkov, 1996), A. Sikvarov (Sikvarov, 2009), L. Levchenko (Levchenko, 2006) on the development of shipbuilding centres of the cities of Southern Ukraine, naval medicine is mentioned fragmentarily in the aspect of ascertaining the problem of the infectious diseases spread among the military and at shipyards, and naval medicine is also mentioned in the aspect of placement of numerous wounded and sick people at hospitals during the Crimean War.

In the monograph by O. Reyent and V. Volkovyns'kyi "Ukraine in the Crimean War" attention was focused on the role of M. Pyrohov in the formation of the military medical service during the defense of Sevastopol during the Crimean War, and initiation of the movement for the care of sick and wounded soldiers by the Sisters of Mercy. The authors noted a high death toll, human losses caused not only by gunfire and mine-explosive effects, but also by the spread of epidemics of infectious diseases and "the Russians' lack of any medical care for the wounded at the initial stage of the war" (Volkovyns'kyi & Reyent, 2006, p. 90).

A general development of naval medicine in the South of Ukraine was analyzed by M. Antonyady (Antonyady, 2010), S. Dobrzhansky (Dobrzhansky, 2020), and short essays on the history of Mykolayiv Naval Hospital were written by Ye. Razyнкyn and K. N. Ryzhanov (Razyнкyn & Ryzhanov, 2008), S. Chornyy and O. Vassel (Chornyy & Vassel, 2011). A. Kysel'ov, Yu. Huzenko and A. Rudenko did research on the histories of doctors' societies, in particular naval societies, which were established in the 19th – 20th centuries (Kysel'ov, Huzenko, & Rudenko, 2015). N. Lepisevich did analysis on the naval doctor N. Zakrevsky's literary heritage on the pages of the "The Naval Collection" (Lepisevich, 2012). It is the memoirs of an eyewitness to those events, Nykyfor Zakrevsky, who from May of 1829 till 1838 served as a naval doctor on various ships, at naval hospital, and then until the end of his life he worked as Sevastopol city doctor, that provided the opportunity to observe the formation process of naval medicine from the inside with all its shortcomings during

the terrible period of infectious diseases outbreaks, both in the army (including during the Crimean War) and among the civilian population.

The purpose of the article to do the research on the peculiarities of the naval medicine formation and development in the South of Ukraine on the example of the city of Mykolayiv, as a centre of shipbuilding and command of the Black Sea Fleet at the end of the 18th – the beginning of the 20th century.

The Results of the Research. In addition to numerous local population, the imperial government recruited people from the northern gubernias of the Russian Empire to construct a shipyard at the mouth of the Inhul River, around which a military settlement was established, which grew into the city of Mykolayiv. However, the recruited people had to pass hundreds of versts to the South, which was foreign for them, and roads that were bad in all seasons. Recruits did not have any adequate material support and a large number of them (30% – 50%) got sick and died on their way to the South (Malyarchuk, 1889, pp. 19–20). Working conditions, service and living conditions of soldiers and workers were also terrible in the town of Mykolayiv. These conditions caused increased morbidity and the need to organize the treatment of such a necessary and chronically insufficient workforce.

Initially, in 1789, medical assistance to the injured and sick at the shipyard was provided by a medical assistant and a doctor, who were sent from the nearest Bohoyavlensky (Epiphany) military hospital, which was located 12 versts from Mykolayiv (nowadays – the Korabelny district of Mykolayiv). The Bohoyavlensky (Epiphany) rear hospital was founded in 1788, during the Russo-Turkish war (1788 – 1791), where the wounded were brought from Ochakov across the estuary, and then the seriously ill and injured were sent from Mykolayiv in specially equipped carriages. In the 1790s, this hospital became a naval hospital, and in the 1810s it became the part of Mykolayiv Naval Hospital. The Ukrainian scholar, the founder of the national epidemiology and quarantine service, Doctor of Medicine Danylo Samiylovych Samoiloivych, was appointed the first chief doctor of the Bohoyavlensky (Epiphany) Hospital (a real surname is Sushkovsky (Borodiy, 1887, pp. 9–10)). In 1780, he defended his doctoral thesis at Leiden University (the Netherlands). For his scientific works, in particular on the treatment and fight against the plague (Самойлович, 1952а; Самойлович, 1952b), he was the only scholar in the Russian Empire who was elected an honorary member of 12 European academies, scientific societies and institutions. On this issue, a famous historian of Ukrainian medicine V. Plyushch wrote the following: “We do not know any another case in the history of medicine, when the Ukrainian, Russian or any other scientist was elected academician of so many academies” (Plyushch, 1970, p. 190). It is D. Samoiloivych who is considered the founder of one of the first scientific medical societies in the Russian Empire, “The Medical Meeting” society, which was founded “for the purpose of scientific development of medicine and health care topical issues” in the city of Kherson, in 1784 (Kotsur, 2011, p. 353).

At the end of 1789, hospital care was organized in Mykolayiv, albeit in the form of an ill-equipped primitive infirmary. In the documents of 1790, it was referred to as “a hospital for naval servants”, and in 1791 – “a preventive hospital for the mildly ill” (SAMR, f. 243, c. 36, pp. 113–125). After the move of the Admiralty Board and the command of the Black Sea Fleet from Kherson to Mykolayiv, the problem of the need to establish an additional hospital arose – “temporary infirmary for weak patients”, as well as a summer infirmary and a house for doctors and assistant doctors attached to it (SAMR, f. 243, c. 126, pp. 15–17).

In 1800, the Black Sea Medical Board was established in Mykolayiv as the part of the Black Sea Fleet command. The previously existing small naval infirmary in Sevastopol was

subordinated to the medical department in Mykolayiv. The first inspector of the Black Sea Medical Board and the chief doctor of Mykolaiv Naval Hospital (1798 – 1800) was Ostap Zveraka, a native of Poltava hubernia (Zmeyev, 1886, p. 116), who obtained the Degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh in 1779. After his service in Mykolayiv, O. Zveraka served as a doctor at Yelysavethrad General Hospital and taught students at the first medical and surgical school in Ukraine, in Yelysavethrad.

In 1801 – 1805, the Black Sea Medical Board was headed by Danylo Samoilovych. During this time, the scientist wrote several fundamental works on the epidemiology of the plague and the prevention of infectious diseases among the crews of sea vessels (Borodiy, 1987, 152).

The successor of D. Samoilovych in the position in the Naval Department was Doctor of Medicine Ivan Matviyovych Dahl (a father of an outstanding lexicographer, a writer and doctor Volodymyr Dahl). As a result of the reform of the medical service in the Black Sea Fleet, which began in the second half of 1805, the positions of a chief physician of Mykolayiv port, a manager (chief doctor) of Mykolayiv naval hospital, and medical inspector of the Black Sea Fleet were combined and represented by one person. Thus, the chief medical officer of the fleet began to simultaneously manage the naval and civilian medical affairs of the fleet and the city of Mykolayiv. He organized and was responsible for the state of treatment and health care of naval officers and their family members, who together made up the majority of the population of Mykolayiv (SAMR, f. 230, c. 3, p. 19).

As a result of the reform of the medical service in the Black Sea Fleet, the Black Sea Medical Administration was replaced by a medical expedition and the “Regulations for Medical Administration in the Fleet” were approved, according to which medical staffs were established for the sailing and rowing fleets and Mykolayiv Naval Hospital. It was I. Dahl who had to implement the reforms of the military medical service. The Bohoyavlensky (Epiphany) Hospital was attached to Mykolayiv Naval Hospital (it was considered a branch of Mykolayiv Hospital). As a result of all these measures, a naval hospital was formed in Mykolaiv in 1817 – 1819 as the main medical institution of the Black Sea Fleet.

After the death of I. Dahl (October 5, 1821), he was succeeded by Matvii Ivanovych Vrachko, Doctor of Medicine. Owing to new quarantine measures initiated by him in the fleet under the conditions of hostilities during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828 – 1829, as well as the creation of special hospital ships, the incidence of infectious diseases was reduced in a way. At the same time, owing to the efforts of Mykolayiv naval doctors, under the leadership of M. Vrachko, the city managed to avoid the spread of the plague (brought from the Balkans) that raged in the South (including the city of Odesa) in 1829 – 1830 and to reduce cholera incidence in 1830 – 1832, the epidemic of which broke out in the European part of the empire (Krylov-Tolstikov, 2016). Such results were achieved owing to the medical examination of Mykolayiv residents by naval doctors.

Joint efforts of the fleet commander and the medical service led to certain improvements in naval medicine, in particular: hospital facilities and premises were rebuilt; on the prescription of naval doctors, free dispensing of medicines for treatment of family members of lower ranks from the pharmacy of naval hospitals was introduced; there continued a systematic medical check up of the city residents; there were regulated payment rules for treatment of patients from civil departments at naval hospitals; the requirement to monitor the health of crew members, there was introduced the demand on the duty of military ships commanders to reduce and ease corporal punishments of lower ranks that were common at that time; there became systematic not only the smallpox vaccination of recruits, but also children

of lower ranks, etc. After navigation the transfer of ship doctors to naval hospitals entered into practice.

If there were certain changes in the rear naval hospitals, then on sea ships and at infirmaries, among the Russian troops, treatment of infectious diseases during the epidemic period was carried out in primitive ways due to the lack of necessary drugs. Patients, who suffered from typhoid fever, were given emetics and laxatives only, ordinary warm water was often used to wash abscesses, and lemon juice was used as vitamins (Zakrevskiy, 1861, p. 89). As for the organization of hospital ships, Nykyfor Zakrevsky (a naval doctor, after graduating from the medical faculty of Kharkiv University was sent to serve in the Black Sea Fleet, in Naval Crew 34) in one of his memoir articles, described the current state of affairs as of 1829: “the seriously ill were taken to the “Skoryy” frigate, specially designated as a temporary hospital; nothing was properly arranged on its board: ... there were no stoves at all; according to the number of patients, there were not enough mattresses, blankets, or warm robes. <...> necessary utensils, bandages and supplies were not provided”, there was no even hot water for bandaging (Zakrevskiy, 1861, p. 93). On this frigate, there was only one doctor, no medical assistant, and there were 80 patients infected with typhus. Such conditions of treatment caused the situation that “within one week –among 80 sick people on board of the “Skoryy” frigate – 60 people died, the rest were sent to the hospital” (Zakrevskiy, 1861, p. 94).

In 1838 – 1847, the naval medicine of Southern Ukraine was headed by an honorary member of the Medical Council, Doctor of Medicine Petro Aliman, who was the chief doctor of the Black Sea Fleet and the ports and the chief doctor¹ of Mykolayiv Naval Hospital. He was an experienced doctor and an organizer of the military medical service, because before that appointment he made a round-the-world trip as a ship doctor, and he was also the chief physician of Sveaborg, Arkhanhelsk and Kronstadt naval hospitals and a medical inspector of these ports. Owing to the naval administration a small city hospital was established in Mykolaiv in 1838.

In 1847 P. Aliman died in service, and instead of him August-Erich Kyber, Doctor of Medicine, was appointed, who had much practical experience, and participated in the polar expedition to the Arctic, and made a round-the-world trip with Baron F. P. Wrangel. August-Erich Kyber was a Member-Correspondent of the Academy of Sciences (Zakrevskiy, 1861, p. 89). At that time of his appointment, there was the period of a new outbreak of the cholera epidemic (1847 – 1848). Anti-cholera measures elaborated by P. Aliman and supplemented by A.-E. Kyber (*Ob'yavleniya shtaba*, 1847 – 1855) were taken at the Black Sea Fleet and the port. In the city, according to the order of the commander-in-chief of the the Black Sea Fleet and military governor, Admiral M. P. Lazarev, with the participation of naval officers and doctors, Precautionary committee was established to get rid of the epidemic.

In 1853, the Crimean (Eastern) War began. In June of 1854 the head of the Medical Service of the Black Sea Fleet A.-E. Kyber received the status of General-staff-doctor of the Fleet after another administrative reform of the naval medical service. He made a lot of efforts to develop the naval hospital and prepare it to treat wounded and sick naval servicemen evacuated from the Crimea (Naumova, 2010, p. 242). But on March 29, 1855, A.-E. Kyber died of typhus in Mykolayiv. Doctor of Medicine Mykyta Vasyliovych Maziukevych became the General-staff-doctor of the Fleet, the chief doctor of Mykolayiv hospital and the medical inspector of Mykolayiv port.

¹ In the beginning, the chief doctor was in charge of all matters at the hospital, and his deputy was the head doctor (he was in charge of the medical part of the hospital). Later, the position of the chief doctor was abolished, and during the rest of the pre-Soviet period, the hospital was managed by the head doctor, for a long period he was also the chief doctor of the fleet.

In the Crimean War, the archaic Russian Black Sea Fleet proved unable to counter the Allied steamships. As a result, the Russian fleet was sunk in Sevastopol raid, and the crews with ship's weapons took up the land defense positions of the city. Naval doctors began to serve in field hospitals and bandaging stations. In the theatre of war, hospitals were quickly overflowed with the wounded and sick. They began to be evacuated from the peninsula to mainland hospitals in southern Ukrainian cities (Mykolayiv, Kherson, Melitopol, Mariupol, Berdiansk, Henichesk, etc.). Transportation was carried out by carts, in the amount of more than 100 units, which were assembled into evacuation "transport trains" (Volkovyns'kyy & Reynt, 2006, p. 90). During the autumn-winter period of 1854 – 1855, the sick and wounded were transported "in open carts, the wounded and sick had no winter coats on and were taken from Simferopol to Perekop for 7 days; they had no place to stay for a night, in a field or in unheated Tatar dwellings, sometimes staying without food or boiling water for 3 days... there were not enough bandaging materials. Bandages were barely washed and applied wet" (Tarle, 1959, pp. 256–257).

The city of Mykolayiv was the main rear base of the Fleet medical service. Land evacuation of naval servicemen from the Crimea to Mykolayiv began in January of 1855, but severe winter conditions suspended the transportation of the wounded and sick until spring. In the summer of 1855, on the initiative of the General-staff-doctor of the Fleet, M. Maziukevych, Mykolayiv Naval Hospital was expanded from 600 beds to 2,447 beds, there were used nearby naval barracks and suitable buildings. During the period from March till November of 1855, 32 evacuation transports delivered 6,000 people. Transporting of the wounded and sick was accompanied by a naval doctor, an officer, a pharmacy and a servant. At the naval hospital, three patients had to lie down on two beds. Thus, the hospital managed to accommodate about 3,000 people at the same time (Rasporyazheniya, 1855, pp. 181–197).

In December of 1854, under the leadership of an outstanding scientist-surgeon Mykola Ivanovych Pyrohov, the Sisters of Mercy and caring nurses began to work in the "theatre" of war and at front-line hospitals for the first time. In some period of time, M. Pyrohov sent the units of nurses to rear hospitals. Thus, in 1855 – 1856, in Mykolayiv, 2–3 dozen of Sisters of Mercy (some of them were local women) cared for the wounded and sick (who fell ill with smallpox, scurvy, infectious diarrhea, cholera, and the majority – typhus) at temporary military and naval hospitals. The selfless and heroic work of the Sisters of Mercy, as recalled by M. Pyrohov and many of his contemporaries, improved the results of treatment and eased the plight of military personnel at hospitals significantly (Pirogov, 1856, pp. 165–197).

After the cessation of hostilities in the Crimea, all residents of Sevastopol, naval servicemen and naval hospital (the autumn of 1855) were evacuated to Mykolayiv. There was a significant overpopulation in the city. Due to a significant number of wounded, the rope factory in Mykolayiv was reorganized and adapted to a military hospital for 4 thousand wounded (Levchenko, 2006, p. 125). A large concentration of troops was also observed at the coastal area from the city of Mykolayiv to Ochakiv (it was the very place that the enemy was expected to land), who were in unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, which caused another outbreak of the epidemic of various types of typhus. The situation became especially complicated in the autumn and winter of 1855 – 1856, when hospitals were overcrowded with patients critically. The conditions of their accommodation were terrible. The naval department, which was materially better prepared for the war, helped temporary military hospitals of troops department with hospital supplies, and later with medical personnel. At hospitals mortality was very high: during the period from November 1, 1855 till May 1, 1856, 22,774 patients were located in three temporary military

hospitals, of them, about a half (9,682 people – 42.5%) died, and in January – March of 1856 at the naval hospital, there were 8,941 patients, 1,292 or 14.6% died (Sokolov & Kiyakovskiy, 1857, pp. 27–33). The above mentioned figures of mortality at these hospitals testify to the best conditions of treatment and care for patients in the naval hospital. But one should not forget that the lack of medicines and poor treatment conditions had another “invincible evil” – stealing and financial abuse, when “the sums given to hospitals were shamelessly embezzled by quartermasters, managers of medical units, and generals, and humble supervisors of hospitals”, which the command of the land and naval forces knew about, but could not do anything about it (Tarle, 1959, pp. 256–257).

Almost all doctors, medical assistants and sisters of charity, as well as the majority of the naval doctors and medical assistants assigned to them, fell ill in military land hospitals. In total, 9 naval doctors died in Mykolaiv during the war. In 1857, despite the enormous workload, Mykolayiv doctors M. G. Sokolov and F. S. Kiyakovsky, for the first time in medicine, studied and described the clinical and epidemiological characteristics of typhoid fever (and typhus) (Sokolov & Kiyakovskiy, 1857). But this work remained unnoticed in science.

After losing the war, losing the Black Sea Fleet and the right to have it in the future, the Russian Empire began to reform the naval department. The decrease in the number of sailors in Mykolayiv and the experience of the recent war contributed to the improvement of medical care. In the naval hospital, the amount of beds was reduced, and the other part was taken away for the treatment of naval officers and officials, their wives and children, family members of lower ranks. A female servant appeared at the hospital (only 100 beds).

From October of 1858, the “Statute on Naval Military Hospitals” came into force (Ustav, 1860, pp. 217–239), which significantly improved the medical and economic activities of naval hospitals: 1) the hospital management was divided into medical, economic and administrative departments; 2) the duties of a chief doctor, his assistant, senior interns, interns (separately for an intern on duty), supervisor and his assistants, pharmacist, supervisors were determined; 3) special attention was paid to organizing economic issues related to nutrition of patients, material support, laundry, heating and lighting of the hospital. In 6 years, in January of 1865, a new version of the Statute of naval hospitals was adopted, which detailed all the positions of the previous Statute, expanded the duties of the chief doctor and other officials, who were part of the management office of naval hospital, in addition, the position of prosecutor and medical assistants was introduced (Ustav, 1867, pp. 75–106). Civil servants were gradually replaced by trained servants. The Naval Department approved the system of overseas advanced training of naval doctors and the procedure for awarding them the academic degree of Doctor of Medicine (Pravila, 1860, pp. 34–43). Among the first doctors sent to overseas advanced training were Mykolayiv naval doctors V. Olevinsky and K. Filippovych, who later received the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

In April of 1859, the “Society of Naval Doctors in Mykolayiv” was established for the purpose of a theoretical, practical improvement and exchange of experience (the doctors of Sevastopol, who in 1890 established a similar “Society of Naval Doctors in Sevastopol” also became its members). Dmytro Akymovych Holubkin, a nobleman of Kharkiv gubernia, was elected the first chairman of “Mykolaiv Society of Naval Doctors”. During the Crimean War, he served as an assistant to the doctor of Sevastopol Naval Hospital, and then assistant to the chief doctor of Mykolayiv hospital; in 1857, he was appointed the chief of the naval medical department in Mykolayiv, and in 1863 – a chief doctor of Mykolayiv Naval Hospital

D. Holubkin was a Ukrainian patriot all his life. On October 3, 1863, at the meeting of the Society of Naval Doctors, his friend doctor Y. Fiodorovych handed over his last will: “his last thoughts were addressed to the Motherland, the memory of which he always carried on his chest. It was a small furl with the Ukrainian soil, with which he asked to be buried in the grave, saying before his death: “do not separate me after my death from my dear Ukraine!” (Fiodorovich, 1864, p. 96).

In 1871, the Russian Empire withdrew from the restrictive Treaty of Paris and began to develop the Black Sea Fleet, and accordingly, the medical service. In 1875, the staff of Mykolayiv Naval Hospital was expanded to 500 beds. At the hospital, they began to train sisters of charity of the Red Cross Society, some of whom remained to serve in Mykolayiv. Gradually, ambulatory care began to develop at the hospital. In 1870, with implementation of “Urban Provision”, significant development took at Mykolayiv city hospital, which received its main personnel from the Naval Department. Since 1875, the paramedic school, the activity of which was suspended during the Crimean War, but was closed in 1866, resumed functioning as part of the naval hospital. After three years of study, graduates of this school undertook to serve in the naval department for 10 years in a position equivalent to an officer rank (Prikazy, 1874, pp. 10–14).

After the Crimean War, the old premises of Mykolayiv Naval Hospital, which dated back to 1791, became unsuitable for operation. Therefore, in 1863, the project elaboration for the construction of a new hospital with 620 beds began, the developer of which was Academician K. Sokolov. In 1864, the hospital project with 11 buildings (7 for patients and 4 for the staff) was approved by the Naval Ministry (Otchet, 1864, pp. 181–183). In 1867, due to the delay in funding, the construction was stopped until 1872. In 1886 the construction of the hospital complex ended with the consecration of one of the largest hospital churches in the city. Mykolayiv Naval Hospital became one of the best not only in the city but also in the empire in terms of arrangement and organization of activities.

The next Russo-Turkish war of 1877 – 1878 the Russian Empire entered with the weak Black Sea Fleet, and therefore there were no intensive naval battles. During this war, Mykolayiv Naval Hospital operated almost as during peacetime. Only a few temporary military infirmaries operated intensively in the city, to which the sick and wounded from the theatre of war were transported by steamboats. It should be noted that the vast majority of patients in these infirmaries were infectious patients and thus, they were isolated from the townspeople. Therefore, owing to the efforts of naval doctors, who at the same time occupied leading positions in the city’s medicine, the epidemic did not break out in the city. After the end of the war, more than a third of the patients at the naval hospital did not belong to the naval department. At the beginning of the 1880s, the positions of an oculist and a consultant in surgery (as assistants to the hospital’s chief doctor) were introduced to the hospital staff. Such medical specialization (and the prosector) was a novelty in both Ukrainian and imperial medicine.

In addition, the hospital doctors became increasingly active in scientific and practical issues: laboratory, instrumental and functional research, implementing physical therapy methods, new medical technologies (Lister antiseptics, injections, X-rays, etc.). Doctors conducted microbiological studies to identify the causative agents of a number of diseases, the results of which were published in periodical departmental publications. In 1872 naval doctor Mykola Kovalyev-Runskyi (a graduate of the medical faculty of Kharkiv University) received a large silver medal at the Polytechnic Exhibition in Moscow for the medical airborne knapsack he designed, and at the International Statistical Congress in St. Petersburg – a praise for scientific research and medical, statistical work (Izvlacheniyе, 1875, pp. 609–612, 616–617).

A significant contribution to the development of domestic medicine was made by naval doctors within the framework of the activities of the Society of Naval Doctors in Mykolayiv, established in 1859 (*Kratkiy obzor*, 1860, pp. 511–514). At the meetings of this society, along with the issues of naval medicine (treatment and hygiene), the issues of organization and improvement of the city medicine, the sanitary and epidemic state of the city began to be analyzed and discussed considered more and more often. In particular, substantiated ideas were elaborated and submitted to the city authorities regarding the arrangement of the city water supply and sewerage systems, their construction projects; sanitary and hygienic conditions for using a special device for loading commercial steamships with bread (the so-called “harp”); measures against epidemics that broke out from time to time in the city; ideas regarding the formation and analysis of the city medical and sanitary statistics, etc. Therefore, the Society’s advice on medical issues was often decisive for the local authorities. For a long time, the laboratory of the naval hospital carried out chemical and bacteriological analyses for the needs of the city (duma) medicine. The naval hospital was the first one in the city to have an X-ray room, which was also used by the city hospital for several years. In addition, the Society of Naval Doctors constantly submitted its ideas to state medical authorities on various medical, public and social issues relevant at that time.

During the period of 50 years of activity of the Society of Naval Doctors (1859 – 1909), 546 meetings were held and 671 issues from almost all branches of medicine were considered. The heads of the Society were elected among the most prominent naval doctors (heads of the naval medical service of the Fleet and the city, mainly Doctors of Medicine) D. A. Holubkin, M. K. Taube, K. M. Fylippovych, V. G. Girgenson, A. O. Lavrentiev, M. G. Sofronytskyi, E. E. Kyber, M. M. Morachevsky, who made a significant contribution to the organization and improvement of naval medicine (*Protokol*, 1909, pp. 5–47, 52–53).

In general, the naval medicine of Mykolayiv consisted of the naval medical inspection of the port (with control rights of civil medicine), a naval hospital, infirmaries of naval crews and the reception room for the admiralty. Until the 1890s, this service practically replaced the city medical service, which was formed very slowly in the city (military governorate). Naval doctors were the first city district sanitary doctors, on their initiative and participation the first and the only outpatient facility for the poor operated in the city for a long time – “The First Private Doctor for Incoming Patients in the City of Mykolayiv, Kherson Province” (*SAMR*, f. 230, c. 10591, pp. 3, 5–5v, 10). Naval doctors took an active part in the development and implementation of anti-epidemic measures, medical and police control of prostitution and the fight against venereal diseases in the city.

Since the naval hospital had been the only medical facility in the city for a long time, there was a need to establish the city hospital for the civilian population, which grew dynamically with the development of the city. Only after the adoption of the City Regulations of 1870 did the city medicine begin to develop in Mykolayiv. In 1873, in the City Duma, the issue of “plans and estimates for the construction of the city hospital according to the new barracks system” was put on the meeting agenda (*Levchenko*, 2006, p. 125). Subsequently, a whole system of city medicine was formed: in addition to the city hospital, the duma employed district sanitary doctors and doctors for the poor (similar to district zemstvo doctors). This process began to develop more intensively after 1895 – 1896, when the command of the Black Sea Fleet was transferred from Mykolayiv to Sevastopol, and in 1900 the military governorship was replaced by the city administration. At the beginning of the 20th century industrial and commercial development of the city contributed to the growth of the medical

field. But the naval hospital and the local Society of Naval Doctors remained the most authoritative medical formations in the city and had a significant impact on the state of health care of its residents.

The paramedic school at the naval hospital constantly supplied the fleet of qualified specialists who, after serving the prescribed term, replenished the civilian medical staff of the city. Retired naval doctors, held key positions in the city medicine (city doctors, chief doctors, senior and junior interns of the city hospital), were active members of local self-government (the *duma* members, members of the board and executive commissions) and many city public organizations, they replenished the management personnel in the medical formations of other fleets of the Russian Empire. In particular, Mykolayiv naval doctor, Doctor of Medicine K. O. Rosenberger held the positions of a director of the Medical Department of the Naval Department and general-staff doctor of the imperial fleet for ten years (1856 – 1866); Doctor of Medicine A. O. Lippe was appointed a chief doctor of the naval hospital in Vladyvostok, etc.

During World War I, in Mykolayiv Naval Hospital tens of sisters of mercy among willing local women were trained, and naval doctors worked at the city's largest hospital (with 400 beds) for wounded and sick soldiers evacuated from the front. The chief doctor of the hospital, Mykhailo Kvitsynskyi, was appointed the head of the evacuation of the sick and wounded from the theatre of hostilities and the head of the city's sanitary welfare (SAMR, f. 229, c. 496, pp. 45–49v).

During the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, Mykolayiv Naval Hospital was a part of the Ukrainian Naval Forces. In 1918, when the city was occupied by the German allied troops, the paramedic school ceased to operate, and its premises, built in 1912 according to the project of a famous architect O. I. Dmytriyev, were used by the German troops as barracks. During this period, when different authorities ruled the city, the naval hospital provided medical assistance to both naval and land servicemen. After the final invasion of Mykolayiv by the Bolshevik troops, the naval hospital became the Soviet general military hospital.

The Conclusion. Thus, the birth of naval medicine in the South of Ukraine had its beginnings precisely in Mykolayiv, where a centre of practical and scientific medical professional elite of naval doctors was formed on the Ukrainian lands. The establishment of a naval hospital in Mykolayiv played a significant role in rescuing patients with infectious diseases and wounded servicemen during the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish wars, as well as reducing the spread of epidemics among the urban civilian population of Southern Ukraine. A whole galaxy of prominent Ukrainian doctors worked in naval medicine in the South of Ukraine (D. S. Samoilyovych, D. V. Volchanetsky, E. F. Zverako, S. A. Pavlovsky, M. I. Vrachko, D. A. Holubkin, A. V. Lysenko, V. A. Stradomsky, etc.), who made a significant contribution to world medicine, but their achievements are appropriated by Russia, identifying them as the Russian doctors. Mykolayiv naval doctors made a significant contribution to the development of naval medicine science and the development of medical and sanitary measures during epidemics both in the troops (including on sea vessels) and the civilian urban population. In general, their activity became an important component for the development of Ukrainian medical issue and medical science. Under modern difficult conditions, during the aggressive war launched by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, representatives of naval medicine in Mykolayiv provide professional medical assistance to the defenders of Ukraine and civilian population of Mykolayiv region.

Prospects for further research. The organization and activity experience of the naval medicine of the South of Ukraine with local civilian medicine can be promising for further research and implementation in the practice of the national health care system.

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**“WHAT BELONGS TO SOLDIERS, PASSES BY THEM”:
ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME CORRUPTION IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY
IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. *The paper presents a thorough study of Russian military presence in Right-Bank Ukraine as a powerful means of political support of the autocracy in the 19th century which resulted in negative social and economic transformations. The study of legal acts and archive sources of the period suggests the understanding of Russian Emperor Alexander the First’s role concerning optimization of the system of regular troops supply introduced by Ekaterina the Empress*

and struggle against the officials' malversation throughout the tsar's overall reformative activity in the first decade of the century. **The Research Methodology.** The scope of relevant general scientific and specific methods was applied to complete the issued objectives. Under the overall perspective of dialectical approach, biography analysis, historical and genetic method served the tools of the research. Structural and systemic approach towards data interpretation provided unbiased treatment of documented facts and their adequate incorporation into the text of the paper: **The Scientific Novelty.** The paper ponders on the economic relationship between the Russian military and society. It has been the first practice to analyze the top imperial authorities' efforts initiated by the Emperor Alexander the First to put things in order in the system of supply to the regular troops stationed in Right-Bank Ukraine and provide them with the necessities. The study proves that the process in question went hand in hand with corruption combats and malversation among officers and quartermasters. The authors ground their argument on archival documents and prove that such authoritative actions resulted in minimal success and temporary improvement of the military and civil local bureaucratic system which failed to thoroughly influence the situation. The total autocratic control over the gross, high-powered, military and bureaucratic mechanism turned it into a functional tool meant to be applied in the Russian Empire's politics on the annexed territories. **The Conclusion.** The obtained data and their analysis verify the assumption that the Romanovs' aggressive policy of the early 19th century gave rise to the potentially dangerous phenomena in the state structure which ruined its basic constituents like army and civil administration. The Russian state colonial policy meant to enrich the autocracy transformed into the robbery of the annexed territories by the Russian officials. The lack of effective state control and anachronistic serfdom constituted a heavy obstacle towards reforms of any kind.

Key words: Right-Bank Ukraine, Russian Army, military, civil, provision.

“ТЕ, ЩО НАЛЕЖИТЬ СОЛДАТАМ, НЕ ПОТРАПЛЯЄ ДО НИХ”: СПРОБИ ПРИБОРКАННЯ КОРУПЦІЇ У РОСІЙСЬКІЙ АРМІЇ НА ПОЧАТКУ XIX ст.

Анотація. Мета статті – комплексне вивчення факту російської військової присутності як політичної опори самодержавства у Правобережній Україні впродовж XIX ст., унаслідок чого край зазнав негативних соціально-економічних перетворень. Вивчення і аналіз законодавчих актів і архівних періоджерел уможливило окреслити досліджувану проблематику та бачення російського самодержавства щодо питань модернізації катериненської системи забезпечення регулярних військ і боротьби зі зловживаннями інтендантства. **Методологія дослідження.** Корпус релевантних засальонаукових і спеціальних історичних методів та методик залучений до виконання завдань дослідження. Метод діалектичного вивчення історичного процесу, біографічний та історико-генетичний методи уможливили розгляд визначеної проблематики в динаміці, розвитку і суперечностях. Структурно-системний метод дав змогу виділити об'єкт дослідження та вивчити його в межах раціонального пізнання, уникаючи тенденційності інтерпретації емпіричного матеріалу. **Наукова новизна.** Стаття спрямована на розкриття стосунків між російським мілітарним чинником і місцевою спільнотою в економічній площині. Уперше проаналізовано спроби найвищого імперського керівництва з ініціативи імператора Олександра I впорядкувати систему забезпечення регулярних військ, розташованих на Правобережній Україні, та постачання їм найнеобхіднішого. Доведено, що цей процес відбувався паралельно із намаганням покласти край корупції та зловживанням з боку офіцерів і квартирмейстерів. Такі висновки ґрунтуються на архівних документах, аналіз яких засвідчує, що усі намагання самодержавства мали мінімальний успіх і тимчасове поліпшення у роботі військового й цивільного чиновництва, що загалом суттєво не вплинуло на ситуацію. Аналізовані явища засвідчили тотальний імперський контроль над розгалуженим і громіздким військово-бюрократичним механізмом, який виступав дієвим інструментом впливу й впровадження російської імперської політики на анексованих територіях. **Висновки.** Отримані результати та їхній аналіз підтверджують припущення, що агресивна політика Романових початку XIX ст. дала поштовх вплив на такі її базові компоненти, як армія та цивільна адміністрація. Російська державна охв потенційно небезпечному явищу у державній структурі, що мало руйнівний колоніальна політика спрямовувалася на збагачення самодержавства, а тому результатом усіх реформ було пограбування анексованих територій російськими чиновниками. Брак ефективного державного контролю і анахронізм кріпацтва становили основну перешкоду на шляху будь-яких реформ.

Ключові слова: Правобережна Україна, російська армія, військо, цивільні, забезпечення.

The Problem Statement. The whole history of the Russian Imperial Army, except for short periods of reforms and preparations for campaigns, presents a lengthy story of military conflicts and provocations, conquests and invasions, with the overall purpose of expanding the Empire, followed by enforcing imperial rule and laws on the annexed territories. The state colonial policy defined the army objectives and functions whereas positioning and settling of the armed forces in the newly-acquired provinces faced the challenges the top authorities could hardly foresee. The Emperor's Army had always had difficulties in either establishing the right governing or providing the military with the required supply. The problem deepened as both civil and military officials could hardly overcome the national impact determining the relations between the oppressed nations and their oppressors. Besides, the army was multinational, too. The commanders had to "strengthen the national cohesion of a continually expanding heterogeneous Empire" (Cadiot, 2009).

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The existing literature analysing the Russian Army of the beginning of the 19th century focuses mainly on its structure (units, commanders, hierarchy), composition (peasants, rural dwellers), strategies and military doctrines, officers training, governing reforms etc. (see, for instance, Keep, 1985; Pintner, 1987; Hartley, 1999; Summerfield, 2005). But the living standards, specifics of dwelling and housing, issues with food and clothing allocation, options of rest and vacation still lack scholars' attention. Hence, the scope of the present research goes beyond the narrowed insight into the military component of the army but seeks to shed light on the non-military things of everyday importance.

The Russian Empire had always justified its aggressive foreign policies and indecent relations with its closest neighbours by "geopolitical competition with the West and fears of Western encirclement" (Lellon, 2020). Besides, such invasive foreign policy was (and still is) used to cement the monarch's domestic power (ibid.). In the light of this situation, an everyday life of the military on the controlled or annexed territories was of equal importance with the wartime readiness strength.

The "business of war" (Torres-Sánchez et al., 2018) developed alongside with the military campaigns. The current army needs resulted in the formation of new relations between the state, the military, and the entrepreneurs. For the Russian Imperial Army, the complications arose from the fact that in its provision it depended on the traders and their military counterparts running their business on the annexed territories. The national, social, cultural, and religious factors influenced the officers' and soldiers' well-being (very often it was not "well"). The territories conquered by the tsarist Russia differed in all the aforementioned ways but the problems they faced remained the same: in every sphere where civil and the military bureaucracy collaborated, corruption was in a full swing. Ukraine was not an exception.

The problematic mechanism of necessities supply to the Emperor's army on the annexed territory of Right-Bank Ukraine has been known to be accurately mirrored in the archival documents and literature. Empirical data and a new focus of interest considering the phenomenon in question constituted the key objective of the present paper. Illegal and ambiguous aspects of the army provision had a negative impact on almost all the social strata and economic conditions of the territory. This thorough revision of the available documents and analysis of relevant historical facts sheds light on one of the least investigated aspects of the Russian military history, and, moreover, on an everyday life outside of the military sphere.

There is no surprise in the fact that the phenomenon of corruption so characteristic of the Russian state system (Schulze, Sjahrir, and Zakharov (Schulze et al, 2016, p. 138) use a clear

classification of the degree of corruption in Russia – “Corruption is rampant”) penetrated the Imperial Army, like any other structure where bureaucracy plays first fiddle and wants to be paid for it. It is most often practiced when the military has to deal with civilians. Here, the principle of “low risk, high profit” arises from the nature of cooperation: unarmed civilians could not resist armed forces whom the tsar himself allowed to appropriate everything so that their needs should be satisfied, especially on the annexed territories. But it did not mean that the lowest military rank – soldiers – enjoyed abundance of food, forage, ammunition, and other provisions. This horn of plenty usually passed by them. Officers, quartermasters, sometimes hand in hand with local authorities used to falsify the true scopes of bargains, prices, thus acquiring lucre additionally to their quite decent salary.

History repeats itself, and the situation, though quite common and by no means surprising, still reveals the state of things in the present-day Russian Army (Mathers, 1995). The problem of military corruption in the former empire has not abandoned the agenda of scholarly research yet.

Methodology of any historic research requires the selection of reliable sources with adequate analysis. According to Colapietro (Colapietro, 2016), it is a process of interpreting the past based on evidence available in the present where some abstract definitions get their pragmatic clarifications. This combination of awareness and consciousness enables a historian to balance between the significance of the research itself and the personal view and conclusions arising from the broad context and individual background. Thus, a philosophy of history is viewed as a philosophy of contexts (Esposito, 1984, p. 6). This generalized approach determines the vision of our reception and rendering of the problem in question. Within this frame, sources may be differentiated into two groups: *primary* (original documents or their copies, archives resources, statistical data derived from documents and other reliable sources) and *secondary* (theoretical works reasoning on historic documents, analytical publications speculating on the data and the results, etc.). Like most researchers of Russian history, we consider “Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii” (PSZ) [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire] a key primary source and rely on it in most cases of research. The scope of secondary sources varies in chronological ranges, objects of description but covers the similar sphere of concepts. Here, we find it relevant for the historical research to follow the *dialectal approach* the application of which enables the researcher to follow the issue in its origin, development, contradictions, complications, and current reception. Such multiple instrumentation allows various angles from which the topic is viewed. Taking into consideration the aspects of the subject (state military investment, entrepreneurs’ business, provincial management, local economies, national mentality, etc.), the valid survey is meant to be grounded on qualitative, quantitative, and reliable data. Following these guidelines, the present study tends to give a scientific and systematic analysis of the Emperor’s Army and the Russian military and their influence on the social life in Right-Bank Ukraine, the problems of this army provision and corruption and a key destructive factor in warfare.

Apart from scrutinizing the details of entrepreneurship as a phenomenon and its collaboration with the managerial classes, on the one hand, and specifics of Russian bureaucracy with its total corruption, mishandling and lack of professionalism, the research is bound to compare the existing examples of such enterprise relying on the European and world practices described in the leading publications in the field. According to Parrott (Parrott, 2012), such studies take the state out of the centre of the picture and place the nation and its role in the state there instead. The collapse of multinational states (what the world has

been observing recently) has grown from the deep-rooted problems one of which constitutes the objective of the present research.

The Purpose of the Research. The paper aims at representing the objective, unbiased view of the problems in providing the Russian Imperial Army with the necessities on the annexed territory of Right-Bank Ukraine; considering the relevant available documents and theoretical sources in reflecting the multifaceted influence of the analyzed processes on the social and economic life of the invaded region.

The Results of the Research. The situation in the Russian Imperial Army during the described period was by no means novel and striking. The history of Russia of the early 19th century differed little from those of most European (and not limited to) countries. The military campaigns served the tool of state expansion, influenced economic development and social intercourse. The scale of warfare grew steadily (Parrot, 2012) resulting in penetration of the army into all spheres of state economy. Thus, as soon as tsarist Russia totally annexed Right-Bank Ukraine and the Russian administration settled down in the conquered provinces, a new system of trade and marketing relations between local manufacturers and entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and quartermaster institutions, on the other, originated and began to develop gradually. It acted as a mechanism whose main functions consisted in purchasing and providing the Russian military with the necessities. The legally affirmed concept of “regular troops provision” served the driving force of such contacts to grow and thrive. It consisted in the duty charged upon the local governing authorities to provide the military with proper accommodation, food-stuffs and forage, fuel and lighting.

The relations between the army and the civilians, especially on the annexed or invaded territories, are traditionally both political and military, humanitarian. At the beginning of the 19th century, the key roles of such relations in Right-Bank Ukraine were performed by regular regiments of the Russian Army, their local troops and units as consumers, whereas merchants, landowners and state peasants were providers. The officials from purveyance and commissariat institutions, sometimes local public officials coped with intermediary function. (In present-day terminology, this is termed “civil and military cooperation” and “civil affairs” and is widely used by NATO and the armed forces of many countries. According to Rana (Rana, 2004, p. 574), such relations are meant to facilitate unity of effort between military forces and the relevant civilian entities.

Beginning in 1796, the Russians tried hard to form a system of regular provision for their troops on the newly occupied territories but it failed to be as easy as they had expected. The Polish landlords’ overt hostility and their unwillingness to cooperate with the invaders brought over the obstacles in purchasing food-stuffs and material resources. Besides, the Russian provincial and governor’s councils sought to establish the market prices for food-stuffs and forage through district courts, administrative-police officials and inform the Purveyance department about it, thus, trying to influence price formation.

Considering the almost constant invasions the Russian Empire sustained in the 18th cent., the battalions’ and regiments’ commanders practiced some financial independence in supplying their units with the necessities. Such lack of control caused the growth of the regiments’ expenditures, for example, amendments for unreal food-stuffs purchase for the soldiers, selling of the unaccounted remnants of powder and lead, payroll processing and food provision for the dead or killed (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXIII. Law № 17049), pp. 338–339). Military officials’ corrupt behaviour might result in misappropriation of funds in exchange of kickbacks (Schulze et al., 2016, p. 146) or, in contract with public officials, they provided

a noncompetitive market environment for merchants and landlords participating in tenders and auctions.

In an attempt to put an end to it, Ekaterina the Empress issued some laws in November, 1794, in which the commanders' responsibility and accountability were enhanced. The reports about the purchase of wheat, hay and oats, as well as sending the special semiannual record to the general-purveyance-master with indication of purchase rates and the money amounts spent were meant to eliminate thefts (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXIII. Law № 17266), p. 589). But such actions could not eliminate corruption or its determinants in a separate sphere as this deep-rooted phenomenon overflowed the whole system of administration.

The Russian troops could hardly arrange their positions on the annexed territories when the commanders and quartermasters initiated the wholesale traditional misuse, that is purposeful rise of the forestalling prices for food-stuffs and forage (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXIV. Law № 17350), pp. 725–726). The legislation itself set the colonels to illegal actions. For instance, the decree from the Military Board of January, 1800, which allowed the regiments' commanders to contract upon the food-stuffs prices on their own and just inform the purveyance commissioners where to purchase (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXVI. Law № 19261), p. 22). Such situation satisfied practically everyone but for the state. All those involved received their own profit while the state suffered from the annual rise of expenditures.

During the described period, the officials from Purveyance department supplied the necessary food-stuffs for the Russian Army through storage of provisions in the so-called “purveyance stocks” by means of target purchase from the local landowners and state peasants (SVP, 1879, p. 2). Such first stocks began to appear in Right Bank Ukraine in February, 1800, and used to locate in state or landowner's estates because there was lack of well-built and well-equipped state buildings (State Archives of Rivne Region – SARR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 1, p. 77). The regiments were able to replenish the current needs for cash from special funds controlled by the commanders. In order to avoid the military officials' financial misuse, unjustified high purchase prices frequently resulting from the contract with police administration, district officials and landowners, the Senate endowed province governing bodies with the function to inform the commanders about the prices every six months. The latter, in their turn, were to send special records about purchase expenditures to the Accounting Expedition of the Military Board (Russian State Military-Historical Archives – RSMHA, f. 43, d. 1, c. 147, pp. 1–3).

Though, this well-designed system failed to be effective. The reported data concerning the prices of wheat and forage for the army handed over by the province and district authorities to the Purveyance department did not coincide with those mentioned in the reports of regiments commanders. In Saint Petersburg, the prices were concluded to be artificially raised; stealing of state finance by local authorities disguised by proper troops provision became obvious (Nikolaichuk, 2017). Alexander the First made an attempt to put an end to this embezzlement. “I could hardly cope with my indignation to know about the misuse on the part of Purveyance Commissioners and regiments' Chefs in purchasing at the prices so high and burdensome for the exchequer, [...] which are untruthful representation of certified prices [...] and proved the suspicion of the Civil Authorities complicity, and that Provincial Officials and Courts afforded to profiteer and appoint the price, thus, violating their posts and oaths” (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXVII. Law № 20120), p. 25).

It is worth mentioning that the tsar used to threaten only civil provincial and district authorities with prosecution whereas the military avoided suspicion. It suggests an idea that he did not receive objective information from his surroundings and the officials. In fact, the

higher military command had been robbing the army suffering from weak central control. A well-provided high readiness army was rather imaginary than real. Earl A. Vorontsov wrote to Alexander the First in 1801, “It is impossible to think about the continuous perfection and proper conduction of military affairs in the state as far as the state should not be overburdened and both people and money should not be depleted. Striking misuse and embezzlement in the military aspect have been deeply rooted in the institutions [...], and what belongs to the soldiers of the Guard and the Army passes by them” (Ratch, 1864). Thus, the fact that “the military drifted away from civil control” (Lennon, 2020) did not make the army stronger and effective.

Meanwhile, the key objectives of the governing bodies were clearly defined both by the state legislation and current orders of the army commanders, newly appointed governors and quartermaster officials of higher ranks. The tsar made the commanders observe the strict execution of the before issued principal rules and decrees. Firstly, it was control over the proper amount of all kinds of provision in the main stocks and robbery avoidance; secondly, there should be timely necessities delivery to the troops; thirdly, honest financial agreement with the providers; fourthly, flexible policies concerning providers in case of poor crop and other casualties (RSMHA, f. 44, d. 193, c. 143, pp. 13–14).

The arranged economic system was bound to work well as there was nothing complicated in it. Nevertheless, poor interaction between different institutions resulted in mess and misuse. For example, the intensive displacement of the troops in 1795–1799 caused misunderstanding where to deliver provision and where the required regiments stayed (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXIV. Law № 17835), pp. 492–493). In view of this, corruption served an accurate reflection of the Russian society and politics of the time (Lennon, 2020).

Alexander the First knew both what amount of budget money is spent on maintenance and provision of the troops and the approximate sums of despoliation. Thus, he decided to put an end to the outdated system of purchase (Metternykh, 1880). Auctions and open bidding were meant to perform the key role in this mechanism. The decree on the rules concerning pricing goods provision was issued in October of 1802 (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXVII. Supplement № 20484a), pp. 12–13). All the process components were to be observed by civil governors whereas the Purveyance Commissions conducted the overall control (Skrypnyk, 2015). It demonstrated a definitely new stage of development of commodity-money relations between the society and the military forces as one of the powerful state institutions.

The tsar intended to strengthen control as he suspected misuse and price raise by the officials from the province boards and Treasury houses in the three Right-Bank provinces, thus he ordered to check the ways the purchase for the troops was going through. It might seem strange but no infractions were found. Hence, Kyiv Province Board sent “Report” to Kyiv military governor where it proved that all the operations were legal. The commander of Sever Dragoon Regiment Major General Esipov wrote, “[...] the prices are reasonable, hay and forage are of good quality [...]”, the Commission of Kyiv purveyance storehouse stated the condition of storage stocks and the quantity of purveyance in them meet all the requirements (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 533, d. 1, c. 113, pp. 1–1v, 8, 14). The situation was the same in the provinces. The corporate contradictions and intrigues were obvious, whereas the purposeful escalation of the process failed to reach the goal. It was far from the much-desired “issue from improving synergy between military and civilian efforts in multinational interventions” (Rana, 2004, p. 586) originally planned by the Imperial authorities to maintain and strengthen their positions in the newly-acquired provinces.

In spite of definite achievements, the provision storage company of 1803 demonstrated that the well-designed system in the majority of the western imperial provinces like the Baltic, Belorussian, and Right-Bank Ukrainian was paralyzed. The problem resulted from the local gentry who sabotaged or ignored participation in auctions or deliberately raised prices for food-stuffs (Reshetchenko, 2015). At that time, the authorities had to appeal to the purveyors' and entrepreneurs' services and hold special tenders in the provincial Treasury Houses, limiting the price choice in the way that caused gradual increase of state expenditure (PSZ, 1830 (Vol. XXVIII. Law № 21188), pp. 173–174). For the military, it did not matter much where to buy, the only thing they cared for was a reasonable price. That's why, the regiments' inspectors and commanders expected to deal with favourable prices and delivery terms and used to send their purveyance masters and officials to participate in the tenders announced by the provincial authorities (CSHAUK, f. 533, d. 1, c. 521, pp. 3–8).

The monarch clearly saw that all the efforts directed at the management and modernization of purveyance and storage system on the territories might prove fruitless without a logistics component. Among numerous definitions of logistics, the one offered by Paparone and Topic (Paparone & Topic, 2014) quoting Admiral Henry Eccles seems to be the most capacious and objectivized: it is the bridge between military operations and a nation's economy. In its ideal realization, it covers planning, organizing, maintaining goods and equipment, storage and delivery, testing and documenting, transportation and coordination. In the described situation, vast amounts of food and material resources had to be quickly and timely transported from one place to the other. The only way out of the situation was a large-scale mobilization of the rolling stock alongside with its owners (Skrypnyk, 2014). By that time, Kyiv had become an important basic point for storage of fireproof stocks and cannons requisite for the troops along the western borders (PSZ 1830 (Vol. XXIX. Law № 22417), pp. 965–967). The present-day interpretation allows to differentiate between two types of logistics involved here (Pawelczyk, 2018, p. 87): *in-service logistics* dealing with receiving, procuring, storing, distributing, and providing materials as well as ensuring the weapons system, and *consumer logistics* relating to functions of supply and support of armed forces like collection of the products, storage, transport, maintenance, operation and even disposal of the material.

The Emperor himself was concerned about the army's well-being, as far as the Imperial authority and power on the vast invaded territories depended on the logistics and provision of military goods. Thus, a number of decrees and laws were issued to meet the demands of the armed forces, to manage effective logistics and to regulate military and civil relations.

The tsar initiated new rules which did not only stimulate one of the most significant categories participating in the tenders and auctions but changed the aspect of trade and commercial relations between the military and local merchants into effective. Hence, the contracts for small arms transportation from Kyiv Arsenal to regiments and other units all around the province territory soon became rather profitable. Gradually, a peculiar market of specific military services regularly used by the Russian military till the end of Napoleonic wars was formed.

The Conclusion. The research background and the analyzed facts make it possible to conclude that Emperor Alexander failed to completely alter or significantly update the existing way of purchases and supply of the troops in Right-Bank Ukraine within a short period of time. Nevertheless, he succeeded in improving it by making it governed centrally and by severely strengthening the discipline among the commanders and officials. The situation became better due to the implementation of drastic decrees and resolutions whereas their

application was scrupulously observed in the provinces. It resulted in positive influence on the combat capability of the regular troops and their moral characteristics. Alongside with it, a logistics system of military transportation was actually formed from scratch. Here, peasants were actively forced to participate and the local merchants were attracted by profitable contracts. The only problem seeking solution was the tense relations with local Polish gentry unwilling to collaborate with the new authorities. It is worth emphasizing that this very social stratum of Right-Bank Ukraine owned almost all land resources and could influence price formation. Such conditions made the authorities search compromises and agreement with them, often failing to benefit the state interests but gaining a situational positive result of providing the stocks with corn, purchasing fodder, firewood, and ammunition.

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EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN FORTIFICATION IN 1850 – 1914

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to do research on the issues of the European fortification evolution during the period of understanding and giving up the dominant ideas of the bastion and polygonal defense systems of fortresses to the completion of preparations for World War I in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries. The research methodology is based on the use a set of methods: dialectical, analytical, historical, biographical, comparative. This methodological approach allowed to analyze and reveal the factors that influenced the evolution retrospectively (exhaustion of bastion defense system and solid fortress fence, the emergence of high-explosive bombs and the implementation of shooting from closed positions), new ideas for defense and fundamental changes in fortifications, use of concrete and reinforced concrete, machine guns), location, types and features of long-term fortifications and discussions around the principles of defense, creation of new infrastructure with a network of railways, highway and railway bridges. The scientific novelty of the obtained results consists in a comprehensive analysis of periodization of the European fortification evolution during the period under analysis. The main differences and borrowings among different national schools of fortification science, interaction within military and political coalitions, the impact of financial opportunities on projects and changes in political conditions (especially on the example of the Austro-Russian relations), as well as military intelligence activities, in particular “Riddle’s case”.*

The Conclusion. Under the influence of turbulent changes in the scientific and technological revolution in 1850 – 1914, the evolution of the European long-term fortification took place. There was a complete rejection of the bastion and polygonal defense systems, a solid fortress fence. New ideas for defense and principles of fortification change survived a few short, but intense periods. In 1850 – 1870 it was necessary to replace the solid fortress fence with a belt of forts, located at the distance of 600–800 m from each other. In 1870 – 1880 interim batteries appeared, in 1880 – 1886 the offensive period was characterized by the location of forts at the distance of 5–8 km from the core of the fortress, which were higher the ground level, with the use of *poterne* for protection of soldiers and warehouse. In 1886 – 1899 the use of high-explosive bombs led to an intensive search of shelter, which culminated in the last stage, in 1899 – 1914, in the appearance of concrete and reinforced concrete fortifications, armored rotary towers, etc., which was also encouraged by the introduction of firing from closed artillery positions.

Key words: fortification, bastions, *tenaille*, forts, high-capacity bombs, shrapnel, concrete, reinforced concrete, reserved towers, defensive of *Halychyna*, *tete-de-pons*, Przemysł, Mykolaiv, Verdun, Namiur, Antwerpen.

ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ ФОРТИФІКАЦІЇ У 1850 – 1914 рр.

Анотація. Мета статті – дослідити проблеми еволюції європейської фортифікації у період від осмислення і відходу панівних наполеонівських ідей до завершення підготовки до Першої світової війни у другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** полягає у використанні сукупності методів: діалектичного, аналітичного, історичного, біографічного, порівняльного. Застосований методологічний підхід дав змогу ретроспективно проаналізувати і розкрити чинники, які вплинули на саму еволюцію (вичерпання можливостей бастионної системи оборони і суцільної фортечної огорожі, поява фугасних бомб і реалізація стрільби із закритих позицій), нові ідеї побудови оборони і принципи зміни фортифікації в означений період (використання бетону та залізобетону, мітральєз і кулеметів), розташування, типи і особливості довогочасних укріплень та дискусії навколо принципів оборони, створення нової інфраструктури з мережею залізниць, залізничних і шосейних мостів. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів полягає у комплексному аналізі процесу періодизації еволюції європейської фортифікації в цей період. Досліджено основні відмінності і запозичення між різними національними школами фортифікаційної науки, взаємодію у рамках військово-політичних коаліцій, вплив фінансових можливостей на реалізацію проєктів та змін політичної кон'юнктури (передовсім на прикладі австро-російських відносин), а також діяльності військових розвідок, зокрема “справи Редля”. **Висновки.** Під впливом бурхливих змін науково-технічної революції у 1850 – 1914 рр. протікала еволюція європейської довогочасної фортифікації. Відбулася повна відмова від бастионної та наступної полігональної систем оборони і відхід від суцільної фортечної огорожі. Нові ідеї побудови оборони і принципові зміни фортифікації пережили кілька короткочасних, але інтенсивних періодів. У 1850 – 1870 рр. відбувалася заміна суцільної фортечної огорожі поясом фортів, розташованих на віддалі 600–800 м один від одного. У 1870 – 1880 рр. з'явилися проміжні батареї, наступний період (1880 – 1886 рр.) характеризувався розташуванням фортів на віддалі 5–8 км від ядра фортеці на підвищеннях з використанням *потерн* для захисту як особового складу так і матеріальної частини. Застосування фугасних бомб зумовило у 1886 – 1899 рр. інтенсивні пошуки захисту, які вилилися на останньому етапі (1899 – 1914 рр.) у появі бетонних та залізобетонних укріплень, броньованих поворотних башт тощо, до чого підтиховувало і запровадження стрільби із закритих артилерійських позицій.

Ключові слова: фортифікація, бастиони, *теналі*, форти, фланкування, фугасні бомби, шрапнель, бетон, залізобетон, броньовані башти, оборона Галичини, *тот-де-пони*, Перемисьль, Миколаїв, Верден, Намюр, Антверпен.

The Problem Statement. After several centuries of use and improvement of the *bastion system* of fortresses defense and its continuation, i.e. *the polygonal system*, from the middle of the 19th century, there were fundamental changes in the long-term fortification systems, which continued until the beginning of World War I. The reasons for these changes, their

periodization and consequences remained unresearched. This process was stimulated by the scientific and technological revolution. The unresearched details of the European fortification evolution in 1850 – 1914 remain an important scientific issue, elucidation of which is the objective of our research.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. In European historiography there was no focus on the coverage of the European fortification evolution which took place in 1850 – 1914. In fact, only in the first research papers of the prominent fortification engineers: the French general J. Benoit (Benoit, 1921, pp. 8–41, 113–137; Benua, 1922, pp. 1–27) and the Russian general of the Ukrainian origin K. Velichko (Velichko, 1922), written after the end of World War I, there was analysis of this issue in order to justify the national schools traditions of fortification science. In further research papers there was focus on advantages and disadvantages of individual fortification objects mainly. The lack of analysis of the European fortification evolution determines **the topicality** of our research, which aims at filling in this gap not only in Ukrainian, but also in European historiography.

The purpose of the article is to do research on the issues of the European fortification evolution during the period of understanding and giving up the dominant ideas of the *bastion* and *polygonal* defense systems of fortresses to the completion of preparations for World War I in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The Results of the Research. Napoleon, a recognized genius of offensive maneuver warfare, defined the importance of fortresses as follows: “*A fortress is the only means of stopping, creating a problem, weakening, disturbing the winner. Fortresses create a convenient field of action for weaker armies in order to hold back and stop the enemy, and if there is an opportunity to attack the enemy, finally to buy time and wait for help*” (Napoleon, 2003, pp. 713–714).

From ancient times, fortresses were built with a continuous front of a circular defense. From the second half of the 15th century, with the appearance of fire artillery the introduction and improvement of the bastion defense system perfected a circular defense of fortresses. *The bastion fronts*, reinforced by *ravelins*, *tenaille* and *cavaliers*, made it possible to reduce the thickness of curtains, removing the main defensive load from them and thereby reducing garrisons of fortresses. The French marshal Sebastien de Vauban le Pretre (1633 – 1707) was the most outstanding fortification engineer of that time, who built 33 fortresses and modernized more than 300, taking part in 53 sieges (Alent, 1805, pp. 45–526; Auger, 1998; Auger, 2007; Barros, Salat, & Sarmat, 2006; Blanchard, 1996; Blomfield, 1938; Bornecque, 1984; Vauban and the French, 2009; Virol, 2003; Voban, 1912, pp. 445–448; Halévy, 1924; Herbert & Rothrock, 1990; d’Orgeix, Sanger & Virol, 2007; Duffy, 1985; Lazard, 1934; Langins, 2004; Le Brun, 2016; Mary, 2007; Monsaingeon, 2007; Paddy, 2006; Parent & Verroust, 1971; Parent & Verroust, 1982; Prost, 2007; Pujo, 1991; Jean-Denis, 2010) suggested three methods of *engineering successive attack* of fortresses (Vauban, 1793; Vauban, 1829; Vauban, 1841; Voban, 1744), which allowed to invade any fortress protected by a bastion front.

S. de Vauban also conducted research and testing of powder mines at training grounds and improved them for a long time (Barros, Salat & Sarmat, 2006; Herbert & Rothrock, 1990).

S. de Vauban’s successors tried “to save” the bastion system, they gave an impact to the evolution of fortification, which consisted in introducing fundamental changes from the middle of the 19th century.

The last major improvement of the bastion system was carried out by the French engineer Major-General Louis de Cormontagne (1696 – 1752). He supported the idea of big bastions with the second lines of defense. Big *ravelins* were to cover the *curtains* completely. In

polygonal structures with eight or more sides, ravelins were protruded far forward, so that when stormers reached the crest of *glacis*, ravelins could fire on them from the rear, to force the enemy to take two ravelins before storming the bastion. The stone masonry in front was covered with soil, which dampened the impact force of the nuclei. Later, it was recommended to place a separate ravelin, called a *lunette*, near the sole of *glacis* on the capital of bastion. Later, this idea of ravelin protruded towards the sole of the *glacis* was developed by Henri Jean Baptiste Bousmard (1749 – 1807), a French émigré in the Prussian service who headed the defense of Danzig in 1807. L. de Cormontagne developed the analysis, according to which the term of possible defense of this or that fortress was determined in case of a correct engineering attack according to Vauban. After this term, the surrender of fortress was not considered a war crime. The majority of L. de Cormontagne's provisions were top secret, classified and published according to Bayard's manuscripts already in Napoleon's time (Quevres, 1806; Quevres, 1808; Quevres, 1809).

The French Major-General of Cavalry and military engineer Marquis Marc René de Montalembert (1714 – 1800) in his treatise "Perpendicular Fortification, or Experiment in the Study of Different Ways of Fortifying a Straight Line, Triangle, Square, and All Polygons" (1776) rejected the idea of bastions in favour of a polygonal system (i.e. *tenaille* system) (*tenaille* (in French *tenaille* – tongs) – fortifications located at an incoming angle (most often obtuse up to 180 degrees) so that the terrain in front of them can be provided with cross defense. In the bastion system, *tenailles* were located in front of curtains, as a rule, continuing the lines formed by facades of neighbouring bastions, while reducing the risk of destroying curtain by artillery fire and serving to conduct rifle fire in defense of ditch. *Tenailles* were covered with *ravelins* (there was *poterne* in the center for access to ravelin). If there was a gate in the curtain, then a gap was made in *tenaille*, through which entrance road passed (Zuborowski, 1978, p. 263; Rüstow, 1843). The core of fortress consisted of a number of casemates with 1 – 2 tiers of guns. The stonework was covered with ground counterguard – *a kuivr-fas*, which had the second ditch in front. The ditch was flanked by casemates, which were located at incoming corners of counterguard and were covered by a parapet of a *reduit* or *lunette* on incoming bridgehead. The principle of defense was reduced to maintaining such fire that would not allow the enemy to place breach-batteries. In his ideas, M. de Montalembert completely rejected ground fortifications in favour of high casemate batteries with 4–5 tiers of guns, the masonry of which was protected only by cannon fire. 348 guns could, in his opinion, defend anything on the 450–460 m front. M. de Montalembert's work faced harsh criticism by opponents. Responding to them, he wrote 11 more volumes in which he developed his ideas, including the rejection of ground fortifications (1786 – 1793) (Vvon, 2003; Montalembert, 1776; Montalembert, 1786 – 1793).

In 1803, the English officer Henry Shrapnel (1761 – 1842) created the first projectile (a card grenade), which was named *shrapnel* in his honour (Hogg, 1970, p. 180; Nilus, 1904, p. 401; Sweetman, 2015, pp. 365–386). Open bastion sites became too vulnerable. A leading Austrian military fortification engineer Archduke Maximilian d'Este (1782 – 1863) suggested replacing bastions with casemate towers, erecting 32 such casemate towers around Linz in 1818 – 1836 (Hoyer, 1819; Zastrow, 1854, pp. 268–271). In 1850 – 1853, such Maximilian Tower was erected in Lviv on Kalicha Hora, which cost 150,000 of Roman gold (it has been preserved in the Lviv Citadel to this day).

The French divisional general Francois Nicolas Benoit Haxault (1774 – 1838), a participant in the siege of Antwerp (1832) and Zaragoza, in 1815 – 1830 built a belt of

19 fortifications with 10 forts at the distance of 600–800 m (i.e. effective artillery fire) from each other, abandoning a solid fortress fence. The Haxo casemate was built with a thick soil embankment, which absorbed the impacts of projectiles of vertical, direct and ricochet fire) (Truttman, 2000).

The main defense was in ditches, fortified with brick walls-escarpments and provided with *caponirs* placed at the bottom of a ditch or on the *glacis* at an angle to the ditch (oblique *caponir*). Ordinary caponiers provided fire in two flanking directions, and oblique – also along the front. Such a *polygonal front* provided a strong frontal defense and protected against *enfilade fire* (i.e. flank fire along the longest axis). In 1836 – 1851 the polygonal system largely replaced the bastion system (Bellamy, 1990). In the caponiers, light artillery was replaced by mitrailleuses, and from the end of the 19th century – machine guns.

The scientific and technical revolution, first of all appearance of steam engines and railway transport, called for the need for defense of bridges and development of special fortresses for their cover (*tete-de-pons*), which were transformed into main fortification complexes.

Defensive structures of the land front of Sevastopol, the construction of which began already after the landing of the allies and was carried out under difficult conditions without sufficient material support owing to a brilliant organizer, engineer-lieutenant colonel (in the future – an engineer-general) Eduard Johann von Totleben (1818 – 1884), somewhat fall out of the general process of defense fortification evolution. E. Totleben constructed the planned and erected new bastions from materials which were at hand, sometimes covering them with almost field engineering items during the defense – separate batteries, *redoubts* and *lunettes* adapted to the peculiarities of the terrain, as well as providing *mine galleries* against the enemy's attempts to blow up these fortifications. After the fall of Sevastopol, while dealing with fortifications of Mykolaiv, Major General E. Totleben developed the idea of a system of forts as the main strongholds, with intermediate artillery positions, to which railway tracks were to be brought (Brialmont, 1884; Weigett, 1861; Werner & Werner, 2017; Horev, 1955; Zverev, 1956; Zurnal wojennych dejstwij, 2010; Zurnal wojennych dejstwij, 2016; Lagowski, 1939; Lampert, 1990; Oettingen, 1894, pp. 403–408; Rieger, 1885, pp. 68–75; Skrickij, 2006, pp. 258–303; Stade, 1869; Tarle, 1943; Schilder, 2020).

In European fortification, the first evolutionary period of 1850 – 1870 was spent in discussions and attempts to introduce the Haxo system, i.e. the rejection of fortress fences in favour of a belt of individual forts located at the distance of 600–800 m from each other. A vivid example was the belt of forts in Lyon built by Hubert Rio de Fleury (1779 – 1866) in 1854, in which there were used the Haxo casemates.

In 1870 – 1880, while there were tests of rifled guns, which provided a greater accuracy and penetrating ability of projectiles, to which rifles gave a greater stability in flight, huge 10-inch (254-mm) guns began to be installed in forts. Initially, breech-loading models won the competition with muzzle-loading models, but at the end of the period, the first ones ousted muzzle-loading models equipment (Parkes, 1973, pp. 54–62). Fortification began again with filling the gaps between forts with installation of separate batteries (Velichko, 1922, pp. 8–9).

The following period of 1880 – 1886 was characterized by the placement of the outer line of forts on higher ground levels of 5–8 km from the core of the fortress. Fortifications were built of brick and natural stone with soil filling to reduce the force of a shot. Using tethered aerostats and airplanes, the enemy could easily detect the placement of batteries and fire shrapnel at their stationary positions on *barbets* (open areas). Therefore, *poterne*-caves, which previously served for personnel shelter and preservation of ammunition, began to be

used for placement of guns. In such *poterne*-caves with the length of 20–25 m, the width of 230–240 cm, the height of 220–230 cm with a rounded vault, connected to each other by transitions, it was possible to roll guns in case of fire (track width 1610 mm), and close the entrance with a wooden shield that protected against shrapnel. This kind of protection for fortress batteries was considered the most promising (Brunner, 1909; Velichko, 1910, pp. 46–47; Mondésir, 1909; Olejnikov, 2017; Staveshagen, 1910).

In 1886–1899 a new turn in fortification evolution was caused by the appearance of fougasse, high-explosive (from *fougasse* – force of impact into the obstacle) bombs (bombes torpilles), filled with a large amount of explosive substance, which, upon impact, blew away brick or stone masonry along with eathern covering. Since 1899, the era of concrete and later reinforced concrete fortifications began (Velichko, 1922, pp. 9–10).

During this period, the Belgian engineer Henri Alexis Brialmont (1821 – 1903) made speeches in the military press actively, advocating for armored tower observation points and rotating gun turrets that could be made. He managed to implement his ideas in the fortifications of Antwerp, Liège and Namur, and later in the Chataljin Line in European part of Turkey and, partially, in Romania (Brialmont, 1863; Brialmont, 1885; Brialmont, 2010). The installation of armored towers spread rapidly in Germany and, partly, in France. The others treated this innovation quite cautiously, the Russian engineers led by K. Velichko opposed armored towers strongly (Velichko, 1887; Velichko, 1888; Velichko, 1890; Velichko, 1892).

The period of years of 1899 – 1914 marked the last stage of the evolution of a long-term fortification before World War I. This was the period of construction of powerful concrete and reinforced concrete forts (solid concrete on channels at least 11 feet (335.28 cm) thick with lateral retaining walls with stone covering and solid foundation retaining walls not less than 6 feet (182.88 cm) thick; at the end of the 19th century, brick and stone masonry began to be reinforced with layers of sand and concrete layers of 1 – 2 m) with armored rotary towers located on higher ground levels, underground galleries with electric lighting, water supply and ventilation, which received a new impetus after the use of poisonous gases by the Germans. Two-story concrete barracks with kitchens, bakeries, showers, operating rooms, tanks and cisterns, as well as central heating machines were installed (Velichko, 1922, p. 64). The space between forts was covered by wire fences and field fortifications. K. Velichko, the leader of the Russian fortifiers, advocated strong strongholds (forts-redoubts, in fact caponiers for fortress artillery), which were to be covered from the front by infantry field positions, emphasizing the need for flanking gaps and wire fences (Velichko, 1922, pp. 13–29). The Germans came to similar ideas as early as during World War I. The French took a more measured position, using the latest achievements of the German, Belgian and Russian schools of fortification. The Austrians were not fond of armored towers either, but they used the peculiarities of terrain and outer slopes of hills much better than the others.

The latter was facilitated by the introduction of firing practice from closed artillery positions (Tkachuk, 2021, pp. 46–48). In 1882, the Russian artilleryman Colonel Carl Hook published the work “Closed Firing of Field Artillery”, in which he suggested using geometry of angles at target points, which could be in any direction relative to the target. The use of geometry of angles would make it possible to place artillery behind the slopes of the hills, hiding it from enemy observation. At that time, there was no azimuth instrument that would allow this to be done. But as early as in 1890, the German designers made a richtfläche (an open gun sight, fixed and aligned relative to the barrel, which rotated and was capable of measuring large angles). The first firing from closed positions was used by the British field artillery on October 26, 1899 during the Boer War, and later

during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 – 1905, both sides used such firing using rangefinders and panoramas and telephone communication. From 1908, the Russian artillery began to use the new German Hertz panoramic sight, which had graduations with a five-minute interval in decidegrees and mils (4320, 4000 or 6000/6300/6400 to circle). In 1908 – 1909, in maneuvers, the major European armies tested the effectiveness of firing from closed artillery positions using advanced observation posts connected with batteries by field telephones. In the course of these checks, it became clear the need to change the positions of artillery batteries quickly in order to avoid the possibility of covering them with shrapnel fire. But not only field artillery batteries, but also stationary fortress batteries were to be placed not on the tops of hills, but on their opposite slopes. At the same time, casemates for placement of personnel and ammunition were arranged in bunkers built into slopes of these hills and reinforced with stone or brick masonry and covered with ground and concrete layers on top. Such batteries were connected with front command and observation points (COP) by an underground telephone cable, which increased reliability of communication significantly. The COP itself could be placed in well-disguised concrete or armored posts closer to the enemy. To cover such batteries, infantry positions with machine gun nests were deployed on the frontal slopes. One of the first fortresses that met the latest requirements for the use of firing from closed artillery positions was the Austrian *tete-de-pons* of Mykolaiv, which covered the bridges across the Dniester (Voitovych, 2022, pp. 18–42).

In 1772, having received Galicia after the first division of *Rzech Pospolita*, which became part of the Habsburg Empire as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, Austria had to solve the problem of defending this flat territory with small rivers. The best of the Austrian generals of the 19th century, Field Marshal Count Joseph Radetsky's opinion (1766 – 1858) was the following: due to the lack of natural boundaries, it makes no sense to defend the territory of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and its capital, Lviv. He suggested the idea of concentrating the army on the southern slopes of the Carpathians before the exits from the mountain valleys, covering the Danube basin and relying on long-term fortifications, which would allow to stop the enemy for a certain period of time and focus on necessary directions of the forces superiority (Radetzky, 1858, pp. 423–451). Field Marshal Archduke Johann von Habsburg (1782 – 1859) suggested the idea of building a fortress in Przemyśl (Schlosser, 1981, pp. 281–305), and the above mentioned leading Austrian fortifier Major General Archduke Maximilian von Habsburg-d'Este suggested building fortifications in Lviv and Stryi (Hilbrand, 1975, p. 168). A heated debate among the Austrian military authorities regarding the defense of Galicia continued until 1850, when the Central Fortification Commission, chaired by *Feldzeichmeister* Heinrich Hermann von Hess (1788 – 1870) (a former chief of staff in the Italian Army of Field Marshal Radetsky, an authoritative general, later a field marshal) (Wurzbach & die Freiherr von, 1862, pp. 415–423) accepted a compromise option on the forward line of defense along the Dniester with the construction of flanking fortresses in Kraków, Przemyśl, and Załuszczyky and an intermediate *tete-de-pons* (a bridgehead fortification) in Rozvadów near Mykolaiv. Lviv was located a 3–4 day walk from the border, that is why, it was considered as an auxiliary point of fortifications between the Sian and the Dniester. Except of the citadel, the construction of which began in 1849, no new fortifications were planned there (Djedyk, 2013, pp. 20–30). Work on the construction of fortifications was stopped at the beginning of April of 1856 after signing the Peace of Paris.

In 1874, *Feldzeichmeister* Franz von Jon (20.11.1815 – 25.05.1876), Minister for Military Affairs (1867 – 1868) and Chief of the General Staff (1869 – 1875), rejected the idea of defense in *Prykarpattia* at all, suggesting the idea of using this territory as a springboard for an offensive.

In the autumn of 1877, the idea of an offensive from the Carpathian bridgehead was supported by the next Chief of the General Staff, Field Marshal-Lieutenant Anton von Schönfeld in the suggested war plan against Russia, predicting the success of such offensive due to a faster deployment of mobilization, which was facilitated by the constructed network of railways (Djedyk, 2013, pp. 27–28). But there were numerous cavalry units at the disposal of the Russian command, first of all the Cossacks, who with their raids could nullify the Austrian advantage in deployment at the expense of the railway network, destroying bridges and stations. Taking into account the experience of the British in protecting railway stations during the Anglo-Boer War of 1898 – 1902, there were developed projects of typical blockhouses to protect railway stations and tunnels with walls up to 50 cm thick, designed to protect against carbines and machine guns fire that were in service with the Russian cavalry (Baczkowski, 2002, pp. 111–122; Bogdanowski, 1966, pp. 72–96; Suchoń, 2009, pp. 51–59; Suchoń & Olesiak, 2019, pp. 89–107).

Russia spared no money to spread its influence on the Slavic population of Austria-Hungary, supporting various Slavophile currents, especially among the Galician Ukrainians, who called themselves *the Ruthenians* and supported the Russophile direction. Gradually, these currents transformed into open muscophilism. The leaders of the Muscophiles were priests who had a significant influence on the rural and bourgeois elite, therefore, the Russian intelligence found confidants among this elite easily and received sufficiently detailed information about the construction and condition of fortifications on the territory of Eastern Galicia (Hajsenjuk, 2017, pp. 90–149; Sukhyj, 2003). The Russian intelligence managed to force the head of counterintelligence of the Austrian General Staff, Colonel Alfred Redl (1864 – 1913), to work for it, taking advantage of the latter's fascination with handsome young men. A. Redl photographed and gave the Russian intelligence the mobilization plan of the Austro-Hungarian Army (Plan "R"), as well as other documents, including the plans of the Galician fortresses (Voitovych, 2021, pp. 56–59; Markus, 1984; Mil'shtejn, 1966, pp. 47–56; Moritz & Leidinger, 2012; Rauchensteiner, 2003, pp. 244–245). Thus, the lieutenant colonel of the Russian General Staff, Count Serhiy Pototsky (1877 – 1954), relying on information from military intelligence, noted that the double tet-de-pon of Mykolaiv, having 27 fortifications along an eight-kilometer arc, was weaker in the right flank ("because the forest prevents from observation and shelling") (Potockij, 1911, p. 75). But in 1913 – 1914, the chief of the Austrian General Staff, General Franz Konrad von Getzendorff, managed to carry out a number of modernizations, in particular the construction of *Lysa hirka* fort (Tarandov) in the tete-de-pons of Mykolaiv, which the Russians discovered only during the hostilities in September of 1914 (Baczkowski, 2004, pp. 111–112). In new forts, firing from closed artillery positions was to be used, which was the latest innovation in Europe. They were covered by a three-row line of field fortifications, in the system of which there were three batteries of 8-cm (actually 76.5-mm) M.17 Guns made by the Skoda company with a firing range of 6.7-kilogramme grenades up to 7 km; machine gun nests; observation posts and dugouts connected by underground tunnels and communication passages. The majority of these objects were built of stone or had reinforced concrete floors, they were reinforced by ordinary earthen trenches (Juschenko, Petryk & Piniak, 2021, pp. 7–45).

The Conclusion. Thus, it can be stated that the evolution of European long-term fortification took place in 1850 – 1914 under the influence of rapid changes of the scientific and technical revolution, invention of steam engine and later – electric engine, development of railways and other factors. There was a complete rejection of the bastion and subsequent polygonal defense systems and rejection of solid fortress fence. New ideas for defense

construction and fundamental changes in fortification survived several short-lived but intense periods. In 1850 – 1870, a solid fortress fence was replaced by a belt of forts located at the distance of 600–800 m from each other. In 1870 – 1880, intermediate batteries appeared, the following period of 1880 – 1886 was characterized by the location of forts at the distance of 5–8 km from the core of the fortress with the use of poternes to protect both soldiers and objects under conditions of possible shrapnel attacks. In 1886 – 1899 the use of high-explosive bombs led to an intensive search of shelter, which culminated at the last stage in 1899 – 1914 in the appearance of concrete and reinforced concrete fortifications, armored rotary towers and other improvements, which were prompted by the introduction of firing from closed artillery positions. This evolution of a long-term fortification spread in all European countries, which soon converged on the battlefields of the world war. The war confirmed the importance of tete-de-pons, the importance of flanking wire fences and the space between fortifications, and the need to cover the forts and artillery positions with infantry field fortifications. Despite the use of 420-mm howitzers, the reinforced concrete forts of Verdun and other fortresses fulfilled their task, and the armored rotary towers on higher ground levels also demonstrated their feasibility, being used during subsequent periods of fortification development. In general, the study of a long-term fortification evolution in 1850 – 1914 needs further development using preserved plans of fortresses on various fronts and their defense materials, which have become more accessible in recent years.

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**CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENTISTS OF SAINT VOLODYMYR UNIVERSITY
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSIOLOGICAL SCIENCE IN THE SECOND
HALF OF THE 19th – THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the main directions of development of physiology as a science and academic discipline, to summarize the priority achievements of prominent scientists-physiologists of St. Volodymyr University in the context of world physiological science development in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century. The research methodology is based on the integrated use of the principles of historicism, science character and*

objectivity, as well as general scientific, interdisciplinary and special historical methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time on the basis of previously unknown archival documents, important facts on the biography and scientific activities of domestic physiologists of St. Volodymyr University have been analyzed. It has been proved that one of the important factors in the development of physiological science was its international nature, which contributed to the expansion of the interaction of domestic and foreign scientific experience on the performance of sectoral research work. **The Conclusion.** Successful cooperation of scientists of the Russian Empire with the English, the Holland, the Italian, the German, the Hungarian, the French and the Czech researchers ensured the implementation of research based on the systematic exchange of information about physiological processes in plants, animals and a human body that accelerated the receipt and increased effectiveness of the research results introduction in practice. Accumulated experience in research and training systems at St. Volodymyr University were important not only for the development of domestic and world achievements in physiology, but also in biochemistry, ecology, embryology, entomology, cell engineering and the others. This accumulated experience contributed to the efficiency growth of the domestic scientific research, which was not inferior to foreign study in its achievements. Owing to significant achievements, domestic scientists-physiologists increased their international prestige and confirmed that domestic physiological science took an honorable place abroad.

Key words: development, human physiology, plant and animal physiology, Cathedra of Physiology, Cathedra of Anatomy, scientific school, St. Volodymyr University.

ВНЕСОК УЧЕНИХ УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ СВЯТОГО ВОЛОДИМИРА У РОЗВИТОК ФІЗІОЛОГІЧНОЇ НАУКИ У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ – НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ ст.

Анотація. Мета статті – розкрити основні напрями розвитку фізіології як науки та навчальної дисципліни, узагальнити пріоритетні здобутки видатних учених-фізіологів Університету Святого Володимира у контексті розвитку світової фізіологічної науки у другій половині ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на комплексному використанні принципів історизму, науковості і об'єктивності, а також загальнонаукових, міждисциплінарних та спеціальних історичних методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі невідомих раніше архівних документів, відображено важливі факти з біографії та наукової діяльності вітчизняних учених-фізіологів Університету Святого Володимира. Доведено, що одним із вагомих чинників розвитку фізіологічної науки став її інтернаціональний характер, що сприяв розширенню взаємодії вітчизняного і зарубіжного наукового досвіду щодо виконання галузевої науково-дослідницької роботи. **Висновки.** Плідне співробітництво вчених Російської імперії з англійськими, голландськими, італійськими, німецькими, угорськими, французькими, чеськими науковцями забезпечило виконання досліджень на основі систематичного обміну інформацією про фізіологічні процеси у рослинах, тваринах та організмі людини, що прискорювало надходження і підвищувало ефективність впровадження результатів наукових досліджень у практику. Нагромаджений досвід виконання наукових досліджень та системи підготовки фахівців в Університеті Святого Володимира, мали значення не тільки для розвитку вітчизняних і світових здобутків у фізіології, а й у біохімії, екології, ембріології, ентомології, клітинній інженерії та ін. Це сприяло зростанню ефективності виконання вітчизняних наукових досліджень, які за своїми досягненнями не поступалися зарубіжним. Завдяки вагомим здобуткам вітчизняні вчені-фізіологи підвищили свій міжнародний авторитет та підтвердили, що вітчизняна фізіологічна наука займала почесне місце за кордоном.

Ключові слова: розвиток, фізіологія людини, фізіологія рослин і тварин, кафедра фізіології, кафедра анатомії, наукова школа, Університет Святого Володимира.

The Problem Statement. Under the conditions of new civilizational challenges, the level of a human being health determines the future development, the capacity of spiritual and cultural growth of the nation. Undoubtedly, human health is also a determining factor in the economic development of the country, the growth of the well-being and standard of living of

its citizens, social and economic security, culture and prosperity. Under the conditions of a prolonged economic and energy crisis in Ukraine, reduction of raw resources, socio-political complications, global climate changes, man-made disasters, solving the problem of harmony of physiological laws of a human life as the basis of health protection is gaining more and more topicality. World practice proves that targeted influence on physiological processes occurring in a human body, ensures the growth of his or her health and longevity, as well as vitality and labour productivity. In addition, optimization of physiology of plants and animals requires significant attention, since a rational combination of plant and animal industries is the basis for a sustainable agricultural production, which is necessarily related to food security of the country and growth of its competitiveness under the conditions of the world market. Taking into account the scale of research, in the context of European integration, the direction of covering the history of development of physiology is updated, as a science and educational discipline, in the Ukrainian lands in the second half of the 19th – at the beginning of the 20th century. Discoveries and achievements in this important field are one of the main factors in the further development of regional aspects of the history of science and technology in Ukraine, establishment of specialized research and educational institutions, scientific potential formation of the nation.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. Modern researchers of the history of science elucidated the main tendencies in the development of physiology in the Russian Empire, to which the Ukrainian lands belonged, in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries (Demkovich & Shevchuk, 2020; Samoilo, 2005; Shulha, 2020; Sorokina, 2012). The scholars highlighted the main milestones of establishment of anatomy and physiology departments at the University of St. Volodymyr, on the basis of which physiological science was started (Musijenko, Ostapchenko, Taran, & Bacmanova, 2020; Suhanov, 1884; Vladimirskii-Budanov, 1884; Zhmudskiy, 1959). The scholars analyzed certain aspects of development of plants and animals physiology on the territory of Ukraine (Borodai, 2012; Kovalenko, 2014; Kovalenko & Hloba, 2021; Morhun, 2001a, 2001b). A number of scientific works are dedicated to well-known scientific schools and individual physiologists who expanded pedagogical and scientific activities at St. Volodymyr University (Babskyi, 1956; Spivko, 1955; Voroncov, 1947). However, until now there has not been presented a comprehensive scientific and historical analysis of the development of physiology as a science and educational discipline at the University of St. Volodymyr, the significance of cooperation achievements of domestic and foreign physiologists to the development of research practice at branch departments has not been elucidated, taking into account a personal contribution to the development of main theoretical and methodological provisions, elaboration of educational and methodological manuals and textbooks, etc.

The purpose of the research is to elucidate the main directions of development of physiology as a science and academic discipline, to summarize the priority achievements of prominent scientists-physiologists of St. Volodymyr University in the context of world physiological science development in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The Results of the Research. Let us consider the history of physiology emergence as a science and educational discipline in the global dimension. Back in 1542, this term, as a process of functioning of human organs, was first used by the French doctor J. Fernel in the publication “*De Naturali Parte Medicinæ*” (Lemoine & Pradeu, 2018, p. 236). Physiological and embryological science was initiated by the English anatomist and naturalist V. Harvey, who formalized the statement about the large and small circles of blood circulation in a

human body in 1628. In the middle of the 17th century the English philosopher F. Bacon for the first time theoretically substantiated the experimental method of physiological research of plants, and the Dutch naturalist Jan Baptista van Helmont did experimental research and discovered the water theory of plant nutrition. At the end of the 17th century the Italian physiologist, Professor of the University of Pisa, G. Borelli, applied the laws of mechanics to do research on the mechanism of respiratory movements in animals. At the beginning of the 18th century the scientific achievements of the English physiologist and chemist, a member of the London Royal Society and the Paris Academy of Sciences S. Gales, were of great importance, who is considered the founder of plant physiology. While studying the process of transpiration, he found out the rate of water evaporation in plants, measured the growth of their shoots and leaves, and determined the pressure of plant sap. When studying respiration of plants, he found that they absorb carbon dioxide from the air. In 1718, he found out the effect of solar heat on the rise of plant sap in plants, determined the norms of blood pressure in animals. He summarized the results of many years of research on plant physiology in the book “Vegetable Statics” in 1727, on animal physiology – in the book “Haemastatics” in 1733 (Kogan, 2004, p. 46).

In the middle of the 18th century physiological research expanded owing to the development of Chemistry, Physics, and Mathematics. The French entomologist and naturalist, a member of the Paris Academy of Sciences R. Réaumur and Italian zoologist and entomologist, a member of the London Royal Society and the Italian Academy of Sciences L. Spallanzani discovered the chemical mechanism of digestion. etching. The French chemist, a member of the London Royal Society, French and Italian Academies of Sciences A. Lavoisier recreated the patterns of breathing and oxidation processes. L. Galvani, Italian physician and physicist, Professor at the University of Bologna, for the first time described a bioelectric phenomenon in a human body. Discovery of the French physiologist and mathematician, a member of the French Academy of Sciences R. Descartes was improved by the Czech anatomist and physiologist, Professor of the University of Vienna J. Prohaska. They used the reflex principle to explain activity of a body as a result of persistent external stimuli occurring through the central nervous system (Kogan, 2004, p. 47).

The study of physiological processes that took place in neuromuscular tissues was of significant importance to the formation of physiology as a science. For this purpose, the German physiologists – E. du Bois-Reymond, Professor of Friedrich Wilhelm University and K. Ludwig, a founder of Leipzig Physiological Institute, Professor of Zurich, Marburg and Vienna Universities, invented the induction apparatus, the kymograph and the float manometer for measuring blood pressure, as well as the blood clock for calculating the rate of blood circulation, etc. The French physiologist, president of the French Academy of Medicine and the French Academy of Sciences E. Marais designed a special device for recording the movement of chest. The Italian physiologist, Professor of the University of Turin A. Mosso developed equipment for the study of blood supply to organs and fatigue, weighing table to find out the redistribution of blood, developed a method of neuroimaging for monitoring the functional state of a person. The study of electrical phenomena in a human body, which was started by the Italian physiologist, a member of the Royal Society of London A. Volta and a medical physicist, Professor of the University of Bologna L. Galvani, was actively continued by E. du Bois-Reymond and L. Herman (Samoilov, 2005, pp. 25–26).

Thus, the development of plant, animal and human physiology took place in separate directions. Instead, at the end of the 18th century it was established that plants and animals have common

features, in particular, embryogenesis and osmotic phenomena. In 1820, the French botanist and physiologist R. Dutrochet emphasized the integrity of physiology, which dealt with doing research on functioning of the entire living world. In 1830, the German physiologist, Professor of Louvain and Liège Universities, a member of the Paris Academy of Sciences T. Schwann developed cellular physiology. In 1839, in the book “Mikroskopische Untersuchungen über die Übereinstimmung in der Struktur und dem Wachstum der Tiere und Pflanzen” T. Schwann summarized his research on the functioning of plant and animal cells. In the second half of the 19th century a significant contribution to the formation of modern physiological science was made by a German botanist and biologist, Professor of the University of Prague J. von Sachs, who specialized in the study of seed plants physiology (Lemoine & Pradeu, 2018, p. 237).

It should be noted that foreign scientists used radioactive radiation in physiological science. In particular, the French physicists A. Becquerel, Pierre and Marie Curie, who for the discovery of radioactivity became the first laureates of the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1903. Experimentally the scientists proved that radioactive radiation was of great physiological and biochemical activity. For example, it destroyed body tissues, killed bacteria, cured diseases, and in small doses – activated physiological processes in plants. In 1913, the Hungarian chemist D. Hevesi was the first one who suggested using the method of labelled atoms in biology and medicine, and became a laureate of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1943. His discovery consisted in the use of isotopes as radioactive indicators, to determine physiological and biochemical processes in plants, animals and a human body. For example, to determine the paths of radioactive phosphorus and permeability of erythrocyte membrane (Kovalenko, Borodai & Shchebetiuk, 2021, p. 300). Owing to these discoveries, there was a deeper and more detailed study of the processes of entry and distribution of nutrients in plants and animals, their assimilation during metabolism in a human body. Opportunities were created to elucidate new ways of improving physiological and biochemical processes in plants and animals in order to increase their productivity and obtain quality food products.

In the Russian Empire, the formation of physiological science took place in the first half of the 18th century due to establishing of specialized faculties and departments in higher education institutions. In particular, the Department of Anatomy and Physiology was established at St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, headed by the Swiss physiologist, academician of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, a member of Bologna, Berlin, and Paris Academies of Sciences D. Bernoulli. A medical faculty was established at Moscow University, at which Professor S. G. Zabelin conducted lectures on Physiology. As early as in 1776, a separate department of physiology operated at the medical faculty, which was headed by Professor M. I. Skiadan. It should be noted that the publication of branch manuals and the defense of theses were of great importance to the development of plant, animal and human physiology. In particular, in 1783, the Ukrainian botanist and phytotherapist, Doctor of the University of Strasbourg N. Maksymovych-Ambodyk compiled the first anatomical and physiological dictionary and studied the metabolism of plants. In 1794, the extraordinary Professor of physiology and dietetics of Moscow University F. I. Barsuk-Moiseev, who graduated from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, was the first one who defended the thesis on respiratory processes in animals. In 1836, a scientist-physiologist, Professor of Moscow University, a founder of experimental medicine A. M. Filomafitsky published the first manual on human physiology (Shulha, 2020, pp. 37–38).

Discoveries in organic chemistry, namely the law of conservation and transformation of energy, the cellular structure of the body, the theory of evolutionary development of the

organic world, etc., were of significant importance in the formation of domestic physiology. A special role belongs to the studies of the Russian scientist-naturalist, a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences, Russian and St. Petersburg Academies of Sciences M. V. Lomonosov, who studied at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He focused on the importance to the study the regularities of chemistry in revealing the physiological processes of both plants and human beings (Kovalenko, 2014, p. 69). In 1862, I. M. Sechenov, a member of the St. Petersburg and Russian Academies of Sciences, the founder of the physiological science school, was the first one who recorded electrical phenomena in a human central nervous system, thoroughly did research on the process of its inhibition. His student, later Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR O. O. Ukhomsky, laid a solid foundation for the doctrine of the dominant, as the principle of activity of nerve centers. S. P. Botkin, a founder of scientific medicine, Professor of the St. Petersburg Medical and Surgical Academy, a member of the Belgian Royal Academy of Medicine, as well as the founder of science about higher nervous activity and digestive processes, a member of the US National Academy of Sciences, Russian, St. Petersburg and French Academies I. P. Pavlov formalized the concept of nervousness. They convincingly proved the importance of a nervous system in the regulation of physiological processes that constantly occur in a body of human beings and animals. Their studies of a nervous system influence on a vital activity of an organism initiated a traditional direction of the Soviet physiology (Sorokina, 2012, p. 53).

A significant contribution belongs to Professor I. P. Pavlov, who determined the regularities of digestive glands activity, mechanisms of their nervous regulation, the formation and action mechanisms of digestive juices. The scientist discovered the formation and inhibition basics of conditioned reflexes, established the world-renowned scientific school, whose representatives developed the main areas of human and animal physiology. In particular, one of the founders of evolutionary physiology, Professor of the Military Medical Academy, later academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR L. O. Orbeli developed the adaptation-trophic theory of sympathetic innervation, proved the trophic influence of the nervous system, laid the foundation of evolutionary physiology. One of the most talented students of I. P. Pavlov – a physiologist, academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR K. M. Bykov discovered the influence of the large hemispheres of brain on functionality of organs, the formation of conditioned reflexes from interoceptors. The author of classic studies of reflex regulation of pulmonary blood circulation, the founder of one of the mechanisms that regulate blood flow to the heart, V. V. Parin initiated the use of methods of mathematics, cybernetics, radio electronics in physiological practice (Samoilov, 2005, pp. 25–26).

In the second half of the 19th – at the beginning of the 20th century, on the Ukrainian lands, the discoveries gained significant importance and world recognition, when physiological science was formed as an educational discipline at the first specialized departments at the natural and medical faculties of the leading universities of Lviv, Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv. These studies were very successful because they were conducted under the guidance of experienced scientists, who completed foreign internships in the world-renowned physiological laboratories and had recognized international experience in their implementation. In Kyiv region, the development of physiology began in 1840 owing to the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of St. Volodymyr (USV) on the basis of Vilnius Medical and Surgical Academy which belonged to the university. The Department of Human Physiology of the USV was headed by a graduate of Vilnius Medical and Surgical Academy, an experienced doctor of medicine E. E. Miram, who defended his doctoral dissertation on the topic “On Nasal Bones”

in 1842. He gained tremendous global experience in Germany, France and England, visiting the authoritative physiological laboratories of J. Müller in Berlin, K. Bernard in Paris and M. Foster in England (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sierkov, 1959, pp. 98–99).

In 1841, at the Department of Anatomy of the USV, field research was carried out under the leadership of a graduate of the University of Derpt, Professor of anatomy O. P. Walter, who had completed an internship being on a foreign assignment in Germany. In particular, he gained extensive international experience while working in the physiological laboratory of the famous German physiologist, a member of the Swedish and Danish Royal Academies of Sciences, as well as the Russian and Prussian Academies of Sciences J. Müller in Berlin. His branch discoveries consist in establishing the reaction of vasoconstrictor nerves and determining their sympathetic signs in animals, which he carried out much earlier than the French physiologist K. Bernard. In 1862 – 1867, working at the Department of Anatomy of the USV, O. P. Walter systematically did research on the role of animal warmth and published a significant number of scientific works in this direction, both in Kyiv publications and abroad. Among them, the book “*Thermophy-siologische Untersuchungen*” published in German, in Berlin, in 1865. Lectures on the role of animal warmth in physiology, prepared and published by him in 1866 – 1867, were also of great importance to the students of the University of Warsaw. It should be noted that in order to elucidate this topic, the scientist combined various researches. In particular, he studied the warmth of various animals, both warm-blooded and cold-blooded. In addition, he determined the effect of temperature on the activity of heart, blood pressure, neuromuscular system, sense perception organs and central nervous system (Zhmudskyi, 1959, pp. 424–426).

A student of O. P. Walter – V. O. Betz worked at the Anatomy Department, who became interested in working in the anatomical theater while being a student. In 1860, V. O. Betz was sent on a foreign mission to Vienna, where he conducted research in the laboratories of famous Austrian physiologists, based on the results of which he published fundamental scientific works in 1862. In particular, V. O. Betz did the research paper “*On Sugar Test in Urine by the Brücke Method*” under supervision of Professor of anatomy, a member of the Russian, Prussian and Hungarian Academies of Sciences J. Hirtl and a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences, Prussian, Bavarian and Turin Academies of Sciences E. Brücke. Under supervision of K. Ludwig, Professor of medicine of Leipzig, Zurich, Marburg and Vienna Universities, V. O. Betz did the research on the mechanism of blood circulation in liver, which was published in German. At the USV, the research paper was submitted to the Medical Faculty as a doctoral dissertation on the topic “*On the Mechanism of Blood Circulation in Liver*”, for which he was awarded the scientific degree of Doctor of Sciences. Of paramount importance were his studies of the structure of brain and spinal cord, the development of method for making thin, total, consecutive and serial sections of brain and spinal cord, and especially cortex of large hemispheres. His discovery of pyramidal cells in cortex of large hemispheres was named in his honour as “*Betz cells*”. He was the first one who introduced the term “*brain architectonics*” and substantiated the idea that pyramidal cells are motor cells of cerebral cortex (Suhanov, 1884, pp. 205–206).

In 1865, V. B. Tomsy headed the Department of Human Physiology at the USV. After graduating from the University of Prague, he worked as a medical examiner and assistant in pathological anatomy. In 1859, he was an assistant to K. Ludwig at the Vienna Military Medical Academy. One of the greatest achievements of V. B. Tomsy is the establishment of a physiological laboratory at the USV. In fact, he was the first scientist who started developing

experimental physiology in Kyiv. In 1883, he was elected Professor of physiology at the Medical Faculty of the Czech University in Prague. Among his scientific publications, it is necessary to single out the works on physiology of lymphatic vessels, on lymph formation, on anatomy of beginning of lymphatic vessels and lymphatic pathways of spleen, on innervation of blood capillaries, on physiology of the core of sympathetic nervous system, on the problems of blood circulation in skin, on physiology of brain legs, on anatomy and physiology of skin. Based on the results of the above-mentioned studies, in 1883, V. B. Tomsy published the textbook on physiology for students of the USV (Spivko, 1955, p. 137).

One of V. B. Tomsy's talented students was O. L. Rava, who graduated from the medical faculty of the USV in 1876. Already in 1883, he defended his doctoral thesis on the topic "On Innervation of Blood Circulation in Lungs", in 1885 he worked as a private associate Professor at the Department of Human Physiology at the USV. Back in 1879, O. L. Rava wrote the first scientific work "Cranium Sutures" together with V. O. Betz. In 1884, O. L. Rava continued his research on the splicing of nerves for different purposes and with different functions, the results of which he published in the book "On Innervation of Blood Circulation in Lungs". His discovery about the possibility of central nervous apparatuses and peripheral organs that do not belong to them to be innervated by their artificial connection with nerve conductors. Conversely, the ability of peripheral organs to receive impulses from nerve centers, which they are not subject to innervation, received a worldwide recognition. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of these publications for the development of human physiology, because in modern publications, in particular in the scientific works of V. O. Samoilov, T. S. Sorokina, these studies are not given due attention (Samoilov, 2005; Corokina, 2012).

M. O. Rohovych was another talented student of V. B. Tomsy, who in 1879 graduated from the Medical Faculty at the USV and was a Doctor at the Faculty's surgical clinic for a year. As early as in 1884, he was a candidate for a scholarship to the University council to obtain the title of Professor. In addition, his scientific work "On the Consequences of Removing Thyroid Gland of Animals" was published in "The University Bulletin". M. O. Rohovych carried out the experimental part of his doctoral dissertation on the topic "Theory of Pseudomotor Action of Vasodilator Nerves" in the laboratory of R. Heidenhain, a German physiologist, a member of the German Academy of Naturalists "Leopoldin", a foreign member of the Royal London Society. The results of doctoral dissertation are known among wide circles of physiologists and received world recognition, and the phenomenon he studied was named in his honour as "Rohovych's contracture" (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sierkov, 1959, p. 107).

The contribution of a talented scientist-physiologist S. I. Chiriev should be singled out. Although he called himself a student of E. du Bois-Reymond, the influence of I. M. Sechenov's ideas can be traced in all his research activities. Firstly, while studying at the St. Petersburg Medical and Surgical Academy, he studied Physiology Course conducted by I. M. Sechenov. Secondly, his work as a private associate Professor at the Department of Physiology of St. Petersburg University took place under the leadership of I. M. Sechenov. In particular, S. I. Chiriev's activities focused on the study of electrical phenomena in nerve and muscle tissues, histology and physiology of sense perception organs, in particular eye-sight, and physiology of blood circulation. Since the scientist was a clinical Professor at Kyiv Military Hospital, he published many works on clinical medicine. While working at the Medical Faculty of the USV, he expanded its physiological laboratory significantly by using equipment for electrophysiological research. In 1908, according to the design of H. Lipman, the French physicist, a winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics, he developed

laboratory equipment – capillary electrometer for physiological studies with photographic registration of electrometer readings. With its use, he studied electromotive characteristics of brain, skeletal muscles, and heart (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sierkov, 1959, p. 109). The scientific works of S. I. Chiriev were published in “Izvestia of Academy of Sciences”, “The University Bulletins” mostly, as well as abroad, in particular in France. The scientist developed the molecular theory of bioelectric potentials, which was formulated by E. du Bois-Reymond, but he did not recognize nerves and muscles impulses (electric signals). In his doctoral dissertation on the topic “Dependence of Heart Rate on Intravascular Pressure Fluctuations” he made a world discovery and described the sensitivity of nerve endings for the first time (Chiriev, 1876, pp. 32–34).

While working at the Medical Faculty of the USV, S. I. Chiriev developed research on electrophysiology, in particular, determined electromotor properties of nerves and muscles. He published a number of works on the anatomical substrate of higher mental processes. His idea that various external influences on human and animal sense perception organs stimulate certain centers of cerebral cortex, but remain subconscious until they enter into a physiological connection with centers of consciousness, received world recognition. In 1899, he published the original textbook “Human Physiology” on the basis of lecture notes for students of the USV, the first part of which included a short course in Physics, and the second – in Physiology (Chiriev, 1888). In addition, S. I. Chiriev conducted lectures at Kyiv Society of Naturalists and Doctors. Thus, the scientist made a significant contribution to the development of physiological science not only at the USV, but he was also a significant figure in the history of domestic physiology.

Significant contribution of a talented physiologist V. M. Velyky should be noted, who graduated from the Natural Science Department of Physics and Mathematics Faculty of St. Petersburg University and worked as a private Associate Professor at the Department of Physiology under the leadership of I. M. Sechenov. Together with I. P. Pavlov, he determined the significance of the reflex effect on blood circulation, and proved the effect of excitatory and depressor nerves on lymph circulation. V. M. Velyky became famous owing to the research on lymphatic hearts and their innervation, in particular innervation of salivary glands, excitability of the spinal cord, histology of nervous tissue in general and, in particular a spinal cord of lower vertebrates. As a private Associate Professor, he conducted lectures at the Department of Physiology of Natural Sciences Department of Physics and Mathematics Faculty at the USV and at Kyiv Women’s Medical Institute (Voroncov, Nikitin, & Sierkov, 1959, p. 111).

In 1910, on the recommendation of S. I. Chiriev, the Council of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences elected the talented scientist V. Yu. Chagovets to the position of the Head of Physiology Department. As early as in 1873, he entered the Military Medical Academy in St. Petersburg, at which Physiology Course was conducted by Professor I. R. Tarkhanov. During this period, he began the first experimental studies, in particular determined the change in electrical potentials of muscles under the influence of various medicinal substances, determined the formation mechanism of electrical potentials in living tissues. His research focused on the theory of electrolytic dissociation by the Swedish physicist and chemist S. Arrhenius, a laureate of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry, the results of which confirmed the possibility of significant potentials arising during diffusion of electrolytes. The significance of scientific activity of V. Yu. Chagovets consisted in the fact that he calculated the magnitudes of potentials, under the condition of creation in a muscle or nerve due to excitation, an

increased concentration of carbonic acid and other products of enhanced metabolism. Based on these studies, he formulated the diffusion theory of bioelectric potentials and the theory of electrical stimulation of living tissues (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sierkov, 1959, p. 113). In 1896, V. Yu. Chagovets developed the basic principles of the theory of biopotentials and electrical stimulation and published them in "The Journal of the Russian Physical and Chemical Society". A year later, the German physicist and chemist, a winner of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry V. Nernst formulated a somewhat similar theory of irritation, which was fundamentally different from V. Yu. Chagovets's theory. In particular, V. Nernst believed that the irritating factor is not the electric charge of membrane, but concentration near membrane of those chemical substances that are moved by electric signals. On the other hand, V. Yu. Chagovets gave paramount importance to membrane potential in the irritating effect of electric signals (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sierkov, 1959, p. 115). Nowadays, his point of view regarding the mechanism of electrical irritation is generally accepted in physiological science.

In 1903, V. Yu. Chagovets defended his doctoral thesis on electrical phenomena in living tissues. In 1900–1906, he published two parts of the book on this topic. The first of them focused on the creation mechanism of bioelectric potentials, the second one – on the effect of electric signals on irritation of nerves and muscles. The scientist presented the creation of electrical potentials in living tissues as the result of metabolic products diffusion such as carbonic acid (Chagovets, 1903). It should be noted that in physiology it was the first attempt to give a physico-chemical explanation of biological potentials, at the same time a physico-chemical basics of modern electrophysiology was created. In the second part of the book, he discussed the mechanism of electrical stimulation of living cells in detail. Having analyzed the contemporary data on nerve irritation by capacitor discharges, short impulses of a direct signal and signals of various durations, he claimed that all the regularities that had been empirically established by the Dutch physicist L. Hoorweg (1892) and the French physiologist J. Weiss (1901) were just another formulation of the condenser law (Chagovets, 1906).

According to a personal file of V. Yu. Chagovets, it can be stated that in 1909 he submitted applications for participation in contest for vacant Professor positions at Tomsk and Kharkiv Universities and won in both attempts. Preferring his native land, the scientist began scientific activity at Kharkiv University as Professor of the Department of Pharmacology (State Archives of Kiev – SAK, f. 18, d. 2, c. 275, pp. 9–10). In 1910, he continued working at the Medical Faculty of the USV as the Head of the Department of Physiology. It should be noted that these data were not mentioned in the previous publications of researchers of the history of science, instead, the data play an important role in forming a holistic view of the scientist's personality, his patriotic views.

At the time when V. Yu. Chagovets competed for the post of the Head of the Department of Physiology of the USV, he had already received world recognition in electrophysiology as the "Russian Helmholtz". Therefore, having acquired the status of the Head, he tried to use his knowledge as effectively as possible to expand practical research on the basis of the physiological laboratory reconstruction at the USV. For example, he made efforts to obtain a significant sum of money at that time – about 20 thousand krb. for the purchase of the latest equipment abroad: string galvanometers, kymographs, electrical measuring devices, optical devices, etc. He expanded the physiological laboratory significantly: he organized a vivarium, built an operating theatre and clinics for experimental animals based on the model of Pavlov's laboratories. Owing to his efforts, the physiological laboratory at the USV became one of the best in the Russian Empire (Voroncov, Nikitin & Sierkov, 1959, p. 112).

By involving students and employees of the Medical Faculty at USV, V. Yu. Chagovets expanded electrophysiological research significantly. In addition, he was interested in solving the problem of blood circulation, physiology of digestion. The physiological laboratory carried out original research in these directions, the results of which were published in scientific publications. It should be noted that the main interests of the scientist were focused on the development of electrophysiology. In particular, in addition to the study of electrical stimulation of living animals, he found out the effect of electrical phenomena in stomach tissue. Based on the results of these studies, he recommended using an electrogastrogram as a method of studying a secretory activity of stomach. In addition to working at the USV, V. Yu. Chagovets worked in other educational institutions in Kyiv. In particular, he conducted lectures on human and animal physiology at the Women's Medical Institute and at the Agronomic Department of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute (SAK, f. 18, d. 2, c. 275, pp. 10–11). The fact should be emphasized that the scientist made a significant contribution to the development of physiological science of farm animals, which contributed to acceleration of the first special textbook preparation and organization of the first Specialized Department at Kyiv Veterinary and Zootechnical Institute.

A talented scientist – I. V. Belgovskiy, who expanded his professional activity at the USV, contributed to the development of physiological science of farm animals. Back in 1897, he graduated from Kharkiv Veterinary Institute, in 1901 – Novo-Olexandria Institute of Agriculture and Forestry. Since 1902, he worked as a veterinary teacher at Kyiv Polytechnic Institute. It is important that in 1907 he defended his Master's Degree thesis in agronomy at the Natural Science Department of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the USV. In 1908 he was elected a private associate Professor at the Department of Agronomy. In 1913 he was awarded the scientific degree of Doctor of agronomy (SAK, f. 18, d. 2, c. 17, pp. 12–14). In 1903 and 1909, the scientist improved his profession skills owing to a scientific mission abroad (Central State Archives of the Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine – CSAHAAU, f. 166, d. 12, c. 439, pp. 4–5). In 1912, I. V. Belgovskiy began doing the research on local sheep breeding in the Caucasus, based on the results of which he published the book “Materials to the Study of Rennet Digestion in Ruminants”. In addition, he performed important operations on the formation of a small ventricle from rennet (Belgovskiy, 1912). The technique he developed for an exceptionally complex operation of ruminants received great scientific interest. In addition, the scientist determined the continuity of rennet secretion in ruminants and its specific reaction to some feeds, clarified the problems of feeding farm animals. In 1915, based on the results of his research, I. V. Belgovskiy published the book “On the Question of the Role of Organic Acids in the Process of Peptic Digestion”.

It is necessary to note a high level of conducting lectures on branch disciplines at the Science Department of Physics and Mathematics Faculty at the USV. In particular, a wide range of interests of Professor S. M. Khodetskiy included the study of plants for ecologically balanced agricultural production (Kovalenko, 2014, p. 63). Professor K. A. Purievych determined the efficiency of conversion of organic acids in plants and the coefficients of solar energy utilization in the process of photosynthesis. This contributed to the fact that many of Physics and Mathematics Faculty graduates became well-known specialists later. Among them are a botanist, plant physiologist M. H. Kholodny, an agrochemist and plant physiologist E. V. Bobko.

A significant contribution to the development of physiology was made by V. K. Zaleskiy, a student of V. I. Palladin, Professor at Kharkiv University, the Head of the Department

of Plant Physiology at Novo-Olexandria Institute of Agriculture and Forestry, a plant physiologist and biochemist. His main research was devoted to the synthesis of protein substances, determining the role of phosphorus and iron in plant metabolism. The scientist proved the possibility of the formation of protein substances by plants from nitrates and carbohydrates without solar energy. The activity of a botanist, plant physiologist E. P. Votchal is of great importance, who in 1898 founded and headed the Department of Botany and Plant Physiology of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute (Kovalenko, 2014, p. 109). His main scientific works contain the results of research on the electrophysiology of plants. He is one of the founders of agricultural plants physiology, in particular, he developed the basics of field physiology. He established a scientific school of the Ukrainian botanists-physiologists, among whom are the scientists of the Natural Science Department of Physics and Mathematics Faculty at the USV. Among them is V. V. Kolkunov, the founder of ecological physiology of plants, since 1910 – Professor of the Department of Agronomy. He was one of the first to determine the anatomical and physiological patterns of agricultural plants resistance to drought and developed the anatomical and morphological theory of their drought resistance, which was based on the study of their anatomical adaptations to stressful weather conditions. He found out a number of regularities in the structure and properties of plants according to anatomical parameters: the diameter of epidermal cells and the length of stomata (Boiko, 2011, p. 2).

O. V. Baranetskyi, Doctor of Botany, a corresponding member of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences played a major role in the development of physiological science. In 1866, he graduated from the Natural Science Department of St. Petersburg University. From 1873 he worked as an extraordinary Professor, from 1877 – as a full Professor at the Department of Botany, from 1898 – as a lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine, from 1903 – as a dean of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the USV. His main research is devoted to osmotic phenomena and guttation of plant cells, photosynthesis processes in plants. The scientist established a laboratory of physiology and anatomy of plants at the USV, in which he did research on thickening of parenchyma walls and the structure of wood cells under the influence of mechanical deformations. In addition, he invented and improved physiological devices – osmometer, auxanometer, etc. In 1897, together with the Russian Doctor of botany A. S. Famintsyn, he proved the symbiotic nature of plants (Brayon, 2003). Attention is drawn to the activities of a scientist-botanist and plant physiologist S. M. Bogdanov, who became a well-known specialist not only in the Russian Empire, but also abroad. As early as in 1878, he studied at the Natural Science Department of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the USV. In 1880, for writing a scientific paper on Chemistry on the topic “Chemical Study of Blue and Variegated Clays Found in Kyiv Outcrops” he was awarded a gold medal. He also received the Candidate’s Degree of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics in the field of natural sciences without submitting a thesis. In 1885, he worked as a private associate Professor, in 1891 – as a full Professor and Head of the Department of Agronomy at the USV. As early as in 1889, he organized an agronomic laboratory at the department, where he carried out chemical, physical and physiological research (Kovalenko, 2014, p. 93). The scientist was the first one to connect his theoretical research in the field of botany and plant physiology with practical use in agriculture. In particular, the theoretical conclusions he made about water regime of plants were of exceptional importance to the development of world physiological science (Demidenko, Boiko, Tsimbal & Kovalenko, 2020, p. 734).

The microbiological studies of A. V. Krainsky were important for the development of plant physiology, who in 1903 graduated from the Natural Science Department of the Faculty

of Physics and Mathematics at the USV. In 1909, as a private Associate Professor at the Department of Agronomy, he researched physiology of nitrogen-fixing microorganisms extensively. In 1912, the scientist received a scientific mission to Holland, where he worked in the laboratory of an outstanding Dutch microbiologist M. Bayerink. Already in 1914 in the scientific work “Die Actinomyceten u ihre Bedeutung in der Natur”, which was published in German in “Centrallblat f. Bakteriologie”, he highlighted the results of microbiological research. In particular, he provided detailed information about morphology, physiology, systematics and ecology of actinomycetes, supplementing this information with numerous data from his own observations (Kostenko & Siropol, 2019, pp. 150–151).

Thus, in the development of physiological science at the University of St. Volodymyr in the second half of the 19th – at the beginning of the 20th century we will highlight several scientific and organizational stages. Their substantiation is based on the analysis of the directions of physiological research, the interrelationship of achievements owing to the cooperation of domestic and foreign physiologists, and the availability of a material and technical base for physiological practice. In particular, in 1840 – 1864, specialized departments were established and Physiology was established as an educational discipline under the influence of the authoritative European laboratories of M. Bayerink in Holland, K. Bernard in France, J. Müller in Germany, M. Foster in England, and the others. Preference is given to the study of animal warmth, the effect of temperature on heart activity, blood pressure, neuromuscular system, sense perception organs and a central nervous system. The study of blood circulation mechanism in the body started. Chief focus was on the study of photosynthesis process in plants. In 1865 – 1883, physiological laboratories were established, experimental direction in physiological science was facilitated. Priority research was carried out on physiology of lymphatic vessels, lymph formation, anatomy of the beginning of lymphatic vessels and lymphatic channels of spleen, innervation of blood capillaries, physiology of the nucleus of sympathetic nervous system, physiology of brain, anatomy and physiology of skin. Osmotic phenomena in plant cells were analyzed. The first branch textbooks and study guides were written for the USV students. In 1884 – 1917, the formation of electrophysiology took place, in particular the study of electrical phenomena in plants and nervous and muscle tissues of animals. Chief focus was on histology and physiology of sense perception organs, physiology of blood circulation and digestion. Environmental physiology of plants, physiology of nitrogen-fixing microorganisms, the basics of field physiology, anatomical and physiological regularities of plant resistance to drought were developed. There was significant influence of the Russian scientific schools of I. P. Pavlov, V. I. Palladin, I. M. Sechenov and the others on the expansion of physiological research in the Ukrainian lands.

The Conclusion. One of the important factors in the development of physiological science at St. Volodymyr University in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries was its international nature, which contributed to the expansion of domestic and foreign scientific experience interaction in doing research. Successful cooperation of scientists of the Russian Empire with scientists of England, Holland, Italy, Germany, Hungary, France, and the Czech Republic ensured implementation of research based on systematic exchange of information about physiological processes in plants, animals and a human body, which accelerated income and increased the effectiveness of the results implementation of scientific research into practice. In particular, domestic physiologists used textbooks and manuals written by foreign scientists, and underwent foreign internships in world-renowned European physiological laboratories. Discoveries in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Mechanics,

Microbiology, Radiology, etc., played a significant role in the formation and development of domestic physiology. In particular, in organic Chemistry, namely the discovery of the law of conservation and transformation of energy, the cellular structure of organism, the theory of evolutionary development of the organic world, etc. Certain regularities determined by domestic researchers contributed to the development of world physiology as a science and educational discipline, the positioning of their achievements and immediate international recognition. Accumulated experience of conducting scientific research and the system of training specialists at St. Volodymyr University were important not only for the development of domestic achievements in physiology, but also in biochemistry, ecology, embryology, entomology, cellular engineering, etc. This accumulated experience contributed to the increase in the efficiency of domestic scientific research, which was not inferior to foreign ones in terms of its achievements. Owing to significant achievements, domestic physiologists increased their international authority and confirmed that domestic physiological science occupied an honourable place abroad.

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**FORMATION OF MYRON KORDUBA AS AN INTELLECTUAL:
STUDENT YEARS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research consists in the attempt to reconstruct the intellectual biography of M. Korduba when being a student. The research methodology is based on the traditional combination of principles peculiar to historiographic works (historicism, objectivity, holism and systematicity, as well as a value approach to the object of study) and general scientific (comparison, generalization, analysis and synthesis), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and psychological) methods of scientific research. The scientific novelty of the article: on the basis of a wide range of sources (scientific works, journalistic articles, artistic works, review, epistolary and memoirs) to carry out a comprehensive reconstruction of M. Korduba's intellectual biography. The period of his student years is under analysis. The Conclusion. In the conducted research it has been convincingly proved that the years of study at Lviv and Vienna Universities became the period of M. Korduba's rapid formation as an intellectual. Owing to his extraordinary talents and persistent,*

purposeful work, in a short period of time, a young man formed his own scientific style, mastering the profession of a historian perfectly. However, having obtained a doctorate diploma in the field of the Ukrainian Middle Ages, the historian-beginner did not shut himself up in the silence of libraries and archives. Feeling the needs of his people, M. Korduba immerses in the whirlpool of a public life actively, cooperating with youth associations and editorial offices of the leading Ukrainian periodicals (“Dilo”, “Bukovyna”, “Zoria”, etc.). Even at that time, his voice was noticeable in the polyphony of issues public discussion important for people. As a result, gradually, after his studies, M. Korduba became one of the most active figures of the national revival in the western Ukrainian lands.

Key words: M. Korduba, intellectual biography, student years, scientific work, public and journalistic activity, artistic creativity.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ МИРОНА КОРДУБИ ЯК ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛА: СТУДЕНТСЬКІ РОКИ

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції інтелектуальної біографії Кордуби-студента. **Методологія** спирається на традиційне для історіографічних праць поєднання принципів (історизму, об'єктивності, холізму і системності, а також ціннісного підходу до об'єкта вивчення) та загальнонаукових (порівняння, узагальнення, аналіз і синтез) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний та історико-психологічний) методів наукової праці. **Наукова новизна** статті: на підставі широкого кола джерел (наукові праці, публіцистичні дописи, художні твори, рецензійні огляди, епістолярій та мемуари) здійснити комплексну реконструкцію інтелектуальної біографії Кордуби-студента. **Висновки.** Проведене дослідження переконливо довело, що роки навчання у Львівському та Віденському університетах стали періодом стрімкого формування Кордуби-інтелектуала. Завдяки небуденним природним талантам і наполегливій цілеспрямованій праці молода людина в короткому часі сформувала власний науковий стиль, досконало опанувавши фах історика. Втім, здобувши докторат у галузі українського середньовіччя, початкуючий історик не замкнувся у тиші бібліотек та архівів. Відчуваючи потреби свого народу, М. Кордуба активно занурюється у вир громадського життя, співпрацюючи з молодіжними товариствами та редакціями провідних українських часописів (“Діло”, “Буковина”, “Зоря” та ін.). Уже тоді його голос стає помітним у поліфонії суспільного обговорення важливих для народу проблем. У підсумку, завершивши навчання, М. Кордуба поступово стає одним із найбільш активних діячів національного відродження на західноукраїнських землях.

Ключові слова: М. Кордуба, інтелектуальна біографія, студентські роки, наукова праця, громадсько-публіцистична діяльність, художня творчість.

The Problem Statement. Strategies for construction of an intellectual biography involve an essential focus on the years of study, as the period of the most dynamic process of worldviews and professional interests formation in the life of every person. Such research focus is fully justified concerning an outstanding Ukrainian humanitarian Myron Korduba (1876 – 1947), who, owing to the intellectual environment of Lviv and Vienna Universities, got the opportunity to turn his natural gifts into an extraordinary talent of a historian-researcher. Despite the conviction of scholars, who do research on M. Korduba's biography, in the correctness of this thesis, to this day the period of M. Korduba's professional formation is one of the least known in his biography. Most of all, researchers briefly mention purely professional moments of the historian's intellectual development, completely neglecting other aspects of his creative interests. It is clear that such approach significantly impoverishes our ideas about the richness of the spiritual world of M. Korduba when being a student, making it impossible to create a complete panorama of his intellectual biography. Taking this into consideration, we will try to reconstruct the scholar's intellectual formation process during his years of study at the Universities, taking into account all possible cognitive perspectives.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers. The issues of M. Korduba's student years were analyzed to one degree or another by the majority of the researchers of his work. However, as it was mentioned above, such analysis was superficial mostly, limited to mentions of the main dates and events. Oleh Pih and Yuriy Polishchuk wrote about the future historian's studies at the University in details (Pih, 2012, pp. 10–18; Polishchuk, 2019, pp. 130–135). Vitaly Telvak and Vasyl Pedych analyzed this issue in their book about the Lviv M. Hrushevsky historical school briefly (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, pp. 54–107). However, the aforementioned researchers focused on the issues of M. Korduba's professional formation only, leaving out of sight other important aspects of his intellectual searches. This superficial analysis of M. Korduba's student years determines the topicality of our research.

The purpose of the research consists in the attempt to reconstruct the intellectual biography of M. Korduba when being a student.

The Results of the Research. M. Korduba became a student of the Faculty of Philosophy at Lviv University in 1893. In the history of the main higher school of the capital of the Kingdom of Galicia and Volodymyria, the period of the last years of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries was special, because a powerful group of outstanding intellectuals was formed there, who were prominent figures of the German, Polish and Ukrainian historiography. In fact, the young man attended their lectures and seminar classes, mastering the secrets of the historical profession. As evidenced by the certificate of classes attended by M. Korduba at Lviv University, during the period of 1893 – 1895 academic years, he attended, among other things, the lectures conducted by L. Finkl (“Introduction to General History” and “The Era of the Crusades”), O. Ohonovsky (“History of the Ukrainian Literature”), T. Wojciechovsky (“History of Poland, Lithuania and Russia in the 14th – the 15th Centuries”, “History of Austria in 1804 – 1867”, “History of the Slavic Peoples until the Year of 1000” and “Latin-Polish Paleography”), I. Sharanevych (“History of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy” and “History of Slavic Peoples and States in the Territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the Middle Ages”), B. Dembinsky (“Review of History from the Collapse of the Roman Empire till the 13th Century” and “History of Political Theories”), O. Baltser (“The Most Important Periods in the History of Polish Law”). He also attended courses on Geography by A. Rehman and Philosophy by V. Didushytsky and V. Skursky. Along with this, M. Korduba worked at scientific seminars on Austrian History by I. Sharanevych, on the History of the Polish System by O. Baltser, and on General History by B. Dembinski (Telvak & Polishchuk, 2020, p. 160).

But Mykhailo Hrushevsky became a real mentor to a young scholar. As it is known, he began his scientific and pedagogical career at Lviv University in October of 1894 as the head of the Department of World History the focus of which was a special analysis of the past of Eastern Europe, and actually it was the first Department of History of Ukraine in our intellectual culture (Telvak, 2017, pp. 28–35). The acquaintance of a young Professor and his future student took place in the residence of the latter's distant relative O. Barvinsky on October 17, 1894. M. Korduba recalled this significant meeting with M. Hrushevsky in his creative biography: “The first impression of the person did not correspond to the image created in my imagination at all. Not tall, thin, with an unusually bushy beard, M. Hrushevsky did not look like the types of University Professors I was used to meeting in Lviv at all. I was introduced to the Professor as his future student, and the very title of “fellow”, the way he addressed me, sounded unusual to me from the mouth of a University Professor and confused me” (Korduba, 1916, p. 796). Like other Ukrainian students of Lviv University, who looked

forward to M. Hrushevsky's arrival in order to study the Ukrainian past professionally, M. Korduba also enrolled in all the courses conducted by a young Professor.

According to the dean's catalogue, during the period of the academic year of 1894–1895, the historian-beginner attended the lecture courses "History of Rus", "Historiography of Rus, the Ancient Period", "History of Order and Mode of Life of Velyky Novgorod", as well as the scientific seminar "Historical Exercises" (Telvak, 2021, pp. 204–205). The impressions of M. Hrushevsky's lectures, which M. Korduba shared in his memoirs, were somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, true admiration was caused by the disciple's erudition of the V. Antonovych school, and his fluent command of modern historiographical practices. "The citations of a whole mass of works from the Russian historical literature sounded as if it were the discovery of America for us, the existence of which we had not yet had the opportunity to learn, because the rich Russian literature was completely ignored by the Polish professors and the University library management, – M. Korduba recalled the lectures of M. Hrushevsky. – The background of the first course of lectures was a basic discussion of the entire Norman issue with a full scientific apparatus, and we all immediately became staunch anti-Normanists" (Korduba, 1916, p. 796). On the other hand, students repeatedly pointed out the shortcomings of M. Hrushevsky, the lecturer, who neglected a rhetorical aspect of his lectures. On this occasion, M. Korduba wrote: "He taught us in a strict manner, maybe a little being hard on us. He spoke very quickly, without pausing for a moment, and those of us, the listeners, who recorded his lectures, often fell into a frenzy, unable to keep up with the Professor (Korduba, 1916, p. 796).

M. Hrushevsky recognized M. Korduba's thirst for knowledge immediately, that is why, he invited him to a closer circle of his students, whom he also taught at home during his spare time (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, pp. 54–107). This form of classes was called *privatissima*, i.e., private classes. Recalling such informal gatherings, M. Korduba wrote that at them "lectures on the abstracts about the latest scientific publications were conducted and discussed, there were communications, analysis of reasons and more extensive works, which M. Hrushevsky, after correction, published in "The Notes" or in the review folder, or in "Miscellaneous", or finally among the articles" (Korduba, 1935, p. 404).

In 1895 after two courses of study in Lviv, M. Korduba moved to the University of Vienna to continue his studies. It was a common educational practice at that time, when students studied at several universities, forming professional competencies according to their own preferences. At that time, famous Austrian and German intellectuals conducted lectures at the capital University, and the Ukrainian student was particularly impressed by the lectures of H. Zeisberg, O. Huber, M. Budinger, F. Tomashek, V. Penk, V. Zimmerman, E. Milbacher and N. Yodl. In the Austrian capital, a young historian also met such famous Slavists as V. Yahych, L. Niederle and J. Irechek (Telvak & Polishchuk, 2020, pp. 157–163).

M. Korduba completed his studies at the University by writing a doctoral dissertation on the topic "History and Relations in the Principality of Galicia until the Middle of the 13th Century". The scholar's supervisor was M. Budinger, a specialist in medieval Austrian history. The promotion of a young historian to the Doctor of Philosophy was held on May 18, 1898 successfully. It should be noted that modern researchers of the Lviv school of the Ukrainian studies proved that M. Hrushevsky contributed a lot to the preparation of this work, who consulted the student on various issues in his letters constantly (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, p. 98). In the scientific review there was a quite favourable analysis of M. Korduba's doctoral research. In their review, J. Irechek and V. Yahych mentioned an appropriate professional

education of a young scholar and noted that the reviewed work “contains a thorough analysis of the research issue” (Telvak & Polishchuk, 2020, pp. 157–163).

In general, during his student years, M. Korduba wrote several serious scientific research papers. They are dominated by the issues of the European and Ukrainian Middle Ages: in addition to the aforementioned doctoral dissertation, there should be mentioned the studies on the first Slavic state Samo (Korduba, 1896a) and a successful attempt to reconstruct Prince Danylo’s participation in the Battle of Kressenbrunn (Korduba, 1896b). From the section of institutional history, there should be mentioned the massacre concerning the Ukrainian youth society “Sich” (Korduba, 1898a). The scholar’s interest in the Ukrainian pysanka painting – the section of Ukrainian ethnography, to which he would devote many innovative works during later years – dates back to his student days. In 1896, a young historian developed a special questionnaire regarding the collection of materials about Easter eggs (pysanka) from the Ukrainian regions of Austria-Hungary, distributing it to the public by means of “The NTSh Notes”. After all, in the creative output of M. Korduba, the student, we can see a number of popular scientific works on the history of Ukraine.

The formation of M. Korduba as a scientific reviewer falls on his student years. The available sources allow us to state confidently that his Lviv mentor was directly involved in this important direction of a young historian intellectual activity (Telvak, Pedych & Telvak, 2021). It was M. Hrushevsky who involved a younger colleague in reviewing the novelties of historiographical literature published in the “The NTSh Notes” and reformed by him. M. Korduba described this process of involvement in detail: “The Professor dragged us, his students, to the review department. At once it seemed strange to us, because we did not feel to be ready to discuss or even criticize the works of learned specialists. But quickly M. Hrushevsky was able to dispel doubts and lack of confidence. He handed out a book to be discussed and told us to read it. Then he advised me to compare what I had read with one or another older work on this topic, and during our conversation I asked him about the results of comparison, impression the new book made, etc. After listening to the oral essay patiently, he made his notes here and there, advised to focus on one or another point of view, and said: “Now, fellow, try to write all that”. That’s how he made of us, 18–20 year old boys, reviewers, and that’s how the first student reviews were published in “The NTSh Notes” (Korduba, 1916, p. 796).

M. Korduba had a great taste for scientific and critical work, because during his student years he wrote more than forty reviews. A young historian was interested in this work, had a certain idealistic zeal, as evidenced by the letter to his Lviv mentor: “I will gladly take up further work in the review department, which only the Honorable Mr. Professor will determine, because I consider work for the common good to be the best goal of life” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 93). We would like to note that the review component will continue to dominate the historian’s work quantitatively. During his student years, M. Korduba, the reviewer, cooperated with the Ukrainian periodicals (“The NTSh Notes” and “Zoria”) actively, as well as with the authoritative Polish magazine “Kwartalnik Historyczny”. It is noteworthy that the fact of the student’s cooperation with the latter surprised M. Hrushevsky frankly. Being convinced of the need to devote all his strength and time to the development of his native culture, Lviv Professor emotionally asked his student: “I saw your review in Kwartalnik; why are you publishing your reviews there?” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 113). In response, M. Korduba explained that for cooperation with the Polish magazine, he receives this periodical, which is expensive, for free.

The reviews issues of the scholar-beginner are impressive with the diversity of topics and immersion in different historical eras, which illustrates his extraordinary erudition. Thus, we see reviews of works by the classics of contemporary European historiography: K. Lamprecht, J. Burkhard, H. Zeisberg, K. Gebler, O. Redlich, and the others. There were also many reviews of the Slavistic and Ukrainian studies novelties. In particular, M. Korduba reviewed books by K. Grot, I. Filevych, A. Kraushar, D. Yavornytsky, R. Kaindl, F. Vovka, and the others. At the suggestion of M. Hrushevsky, starting from his student days, M. Korduba conducted annual comprehensive bibliographic paper “Reviews of Western European Literature on Cultural and Political History, History of Literature”, which played an important role in the review department of “The NTSh Notes”. In these reviews, a young historian, fluent in many European languages, reviewed the works of English, Italian, German, French, Russian, and Hungarian researchers critically.

Owing to his active immersion in critical and bibliographic work, it was at the student bench that the stylistics of M. Korduba-the reviewer, took place. In our opinion, he was good at a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the reviewed text, focused on finding its strong and debatable sides. Despite his youth, M. Korduba is extremely confident in polemics with famous authors, often using irony in relation to controversial issues. In particular, in the review of D. Yavornytsky’s well-known “History of the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks”, the student openly criticizes the narrative style of his senior colleague: “The author limits himself to gathering facts, and this is far from the entire task of the historian. And the very way of telling a story in the form of a memoir is completely inappropriate in this work” (Korduba, 1895b, p. 41). Along with this, M. Korduba also notes the shortcomings of the architectonics of the reviewed book – its excessive documentary material: “This was in fashion in the last century, but nowadays it is impossible. Due to such interpretation, the author becomes boring – what can be said in several lines covers several pages” (Korduba, 1895b, p. 42).

It was also important that in his criticism the scholar-beginner tries to proceed from the position of the Ukrainian historical interest, resolutely defending the right of our people to an independent historical existence. The latter is especially striking when M. Korduba criticizes the traditional view of the Polish historians on the key events of the Ukrainian past. For example, in the review of A. Kraushar’s work, the Polish historian, “Kartki historyczne i literackie”, the historian accused the researcher of emotions excess when interpreting the documents of B. Khmelnytsky period: “In the end, we would draw the author’s attention to the fact that when he tried to explain the documents against the background of contemporary events, he should have used a cold mind rather than a fantasy. Such calling of B. Khmelnytsky’s movement as “scenes of the wildest animal passions” has already gone out of fashion, especially in scientific publications that claim to be scientific” (Korduba, 1895a, p. 39).

Evidently, M. Hrushevsky was of a high opinion of his student’s critical talent and diligence, because he asked him to review the most difficult to understand historiographical novelties of a theoretical and methodological nature. In the letters of Lviv Professor to Viennese student, the issue of writing critical reviews for “The NTSh Notes” is constantly present. Lviv historian, in order to support his disciple financially and “tie” him to the bibliographic department of “The NTSh Notes”, even paid for his review work in advance. However, when M. Korduba prepared to obtain a doctorate diploma, M. Hrushevsky dismissed the student from work in the bibliographic department of “The NTSh Notes” temporarily: “Now you must study for doctorate, so I don’t give you any orders concerning writing reviews; obtain your doctorate diploma first” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 134).

M. Korduba's research activity, as well as his cooperation with the Shevchenko Scientific Society, became the basis for electing a young historian to be a member of the most authoritative Ukrainian scientific institution. On the recommendation of M. Hrushevsky, this happened in 1895. Despite the fact that at the end of the 19th century the scholar was far from Lviv, in Vienna, every time when he came to visit his parents, he participated in the meetings of the historical section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Thus, in 1896, M. Korduba made a speech under the title "The First Slavic State". Therefore, one should fully agree to the opinion of O. Pih, "that cooperation with the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv not only expanded scientific opportunities, promoted intellectual education, popularization of scientific ideas and research of the scholar, but also influenced his worldview formation" (Pih, 2012, p. 16).

The formation of M. Korduba as a fiction writer, is also connected with the period of University studies. Actually, his first published works were fiction stories. During his student period, the historian published ten works ("Brus (From the Life of a Village Teacher)", "The Dull. Social Model", "The Future Generation", "Withered Roses", etc.), which were published on the pages of the authoritative Ukrainian magazines "Sunday", "Zoria", "Bukovyna", etc. Their content is marked by a considerable humanistic pathos, which shows the author as a supporter of the ideals of the individual intellectual development freedom. For example, let's cite the short story "The Dull", which appeared on the pages of the Viennese Almanac "Sich". In it, a young writer reflects on a difficult fate of a travelling bookbinder. The latter is the son of a village priest, who grew up as a boy immersed in the world of his own fantasies, little understood by those around him. Despite his originality, they tried to teach him according to usual educational patterns, which caused a dislike for reading and science in general. Realizing the futility of their own efforts, village teachers, instead of finding an individual approach to the child, attached the offensive nickname "the dull" to the boy and made the child learn the craft profession he did not like. However, upon closer acquaintance, a young man turns out to be an emotionally developed and intellectually meaningful person, who was prevented by patriarchal stereotypes from realizing his life dreams. At the end of the story, M. Korduba, on behalf of the main character, painfully asks: "I couldn't sleep for a long time last night. The thin face of the bookbinder kept staring into my eyes. I asked myself: Why is a man whose development does not follow the average pattern condemned to be a scum of society? But I couldn't find an answer to this question" (Korduba, 1898b, p. 85).

In turn, the largest literary work of his student days – the novel "The Future Generation" – was marked by a considerable public pathos. In it, the author created a frankly caricatured image of a "hero" of his time, for whom the highest goal of life is banal careerism. The writer shows how, in their pursuit of career ladders, young people disregard moral laws openly, cynically treating the others as a means to achieve their own goals. M. Korduba ironically called such youth the "future generation". It should be noted that other literary works of a young historian are imbued with a similar public pathos.

In general, M. Korduba's contemporaries reacted to his early pen tests quite favourably. This is evidenced, for example, by Ivan Franko's review of the short story "Bobo", submitted by a young historian to the periodical "Zoria" literary contest. Describing the short story, Kameniar, among other issues, noted: "In the short story "Bobo" (the author – Myron Korduba), the commission sees good work of the author-beginner. Good knowledge of life can be seen there, and the type of "a priest-aristocrat" family is derived quite faithfully and plastically. This story, with some amendments, can be published" (Franko, 1895, p. 219).

The formation of M. Korduba as a public figure also takes place during his student period. It should be noted that he was interested in public work since his youth. Thus, for demonstrating his pro-Ukrainian views, he had to give up going to the Ternopil gymnasium, where he studied during the period of 1885 – 1891, and he finished the Lviv Academic Gymnasium. While studying at Lviv University, a young man became one of the leaders of the Ukrainian student community, taking an active part in its life.

But M. Korduba's public interests were the most fully manifested during his years of study at the University of Vienna. Among the Ukrainian student organizations, that operated in the capital of the Danube Monarchy, a young historian gave preference to one of the oldest – the "Sich" society, established in 1867 (Korduba, 1932, p. 28). M. Korduba immersed in the society's work with considerable energy. Soon he joined its board. The scholar-beginner devoted a lot of time to scientific popularization lecture activities of the society. As the historian's friend of those times, Zenon Kuzel, recollected, M. Korduba's public lectures "About Easter Eggs in Galician Volyn" and "History as Art" were very popular among the Ukrainian community of the Austrian capital (Kuzelia, 1908, pp. 471–472).

M. Korduba's energetic activity at the forum of Vienna "Sich" society was duly appreciated by his colleagues at the University, because on November 7, 1897, he was elected the head of the institution. A young head of the society had a lot of responsibility, because that year the "Sich" society celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. That is why, the newly elected head had to arrange various actions, the most important of which was the publication of the jubilee almanac, which contained historical, fictional and poetic texts by invited authors. On its pages, M. Korduba published the above-mentioned study of the history of "Sich". Heading the society, a young scholar lobbied for the appointment of his teacher M. Hrushevsky as an honorary member of the "Sich" society. Lviv Professor accepted this high honourable appointment with much gratitude: "I received a diploma from the "Sich" and I am grateful, and I thank you, because I guess you were the initiator of it" (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 133). It should also be noted that being interested in practical politics, M. Korduba attended a special course of Political History in Vienna under the guidance of M. Budinger in 1897 – 1898.

At that time an important component of M. Korduba's social activities was cooperation with the Ukrainian magazines of Austria-Hungary. It was during his student years that the historian began writing articles as a regular correspondent to such authoritative periodicals as Lviv "Dilo" and Chernivtsi "Bukovyna". Being in the capital and having a peculiar view of current politics, the scholar-beginner became the Viennese correspondent of the above mentioned periodicals. The journalistic posts of M. Korduba, signed under the pseudonym "xyz", made up a kind of thematic cycle "Letters from Vienna". In the thematic cycle, the author expressed his own critical observations regarding the policy of the Governor of Galicia, Count Badeni, and also informed about the reception of the behind-the-scenes parliamentary struggle in the Austrian, German, Czech and Polish press (xyz [Korduba, M.], 1897). The popularity of a young journalist's articles among readers is to some extent evidenced by the fact that they were published on the front pages of the periodical "Dilo".

The Conclusion. Thus, according to the above mentioned facts, the student years became the period of a rapid formation of M. Korduba, the intellectual. Owing to his extraordinary natural talents and persistent, purposeful work, in a short period of time, a young man formed his own scientific style, mastering the profession of a historian perfectly. However, having obtained a doctorate diploma in the field of the Ukrainian Middle Ages, the historian-beginner did not shut himself in the silence of libraries and archives. Feeling the needs of his people,

M. Korduba immersed in the whirlpool of a public life actively, cooperating with youth societies and editorial offices of the leading Ukrainian magazines (“Dilo”, “Bukovyna”, “Zoria”, etc.). Already at that time, his voice was noticeable in the polyphony of public discussion of issues important for people. Gradually, after completing his studies, M. Korduba became one of the most active figures of the national revival in the western Ukrainian lands.

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**THE UKRAINIAN COOPERATOR MYKOLA LEVYTSKY
AND THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT
(the end of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the activities of a renowned Ukrainian cooperator Mykola Levytsky in the international arena. The methodology of the research is based on a general scientific synthetic method and a special historical chronological method. Due to the specified research methods it was possible to single out and systematize the data on the international activities of Mykola Levytsky and to elucidate the issue of a cooperative activist's work in the international arena. The scientific novelty of the research consists in summarizing and highlighting the international contacts of the Ukrainian cooperator Mykola Levytsky with the representatives of other countries and his activities outside Ukraine. The Conclusion.* 1. Mykola Levytsky had a great authority among the international public. The paramount reason for this authority was a large scale of his cooperative work, as well as M. Levytsky's cooperative views, which envisaged broad international cooperation in the field of cooperative movement. 2. In general, the cooperator's relations with foreign countries were informative in nature. M. Levytsky was renowned in the international arena, his experience was studied and respected, and the international public was ready to take advantage of his potential in the field of organizing cooperative societies. Information concerning Mykola Levytsky's activities covered Eastern and Western Europe and North America. Economic and organizational work in the field of cooperation was directly carried out by him in Eastern Europe. He took part in international cooperative congresses in the countries of Western Europe regularly. 3. Mykola Levytsky strove for the establishment of the Ukrainian cooperation as an independent subject of the international cooperative movement. He substantiated the drastic need for the Ukrainian cooperation national centres establishment actively, which could be independent of the imperial cooperative structures of Russia, and Mykola Levytsky took practical measures to establish them.

Key words: cooperation, cooperative movement, international relations, workshops father, Mykola Levytsky.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КООПЕРАТОР МИКОЛА ЛЕВИТСЬКИЙ ТА МІЖНАРОДНИЙ КООПЕРАТИВНИЙ РУХ (кінець XIX – перша третина XX ст.)

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати діяльність всесвітньовідомого українського кооператора Миколи Левитського на міжнародній арені. **Методологія дослідження теми** спирається на загальнонауковий синтетичний та спеціальний історичний проблемно-хронологічний метод. Вказані методи дослідження уможливили виокремлення та систематизацію даних щодо міжнародної діяльності Миколи Левитського, а також розкриття проблеми роботи кооперативного діяча на міжнародній арені. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в узагальненні і висвітленні міжнародних контактів українського кооператора Миколи Левитського із представниками інших країн та його діяльності за межами України. **Висновки.** 1. Микола Левитський мав великий авторитет серед міжнародної громадськості. Причиною цього був великий масштаб його кооперативної роботи, а також кооперативні погляди, які передбачали широке міжнародне співробітництво у сфері кооперативного руху. 2. Зв'язки кооператора із закордоном мали загалом інформаційний характер. Левитського добре знали на міжнародній арені, вивчали і шанували його досвід, були готові скористатися його потенціалом у сфері організації кооперативних товариств. Інформація про діяльність Миколи Левитського охоплювала Східну і Західну Європу та Північну Америку. Господарсько-організаційна робота у сфері кооперації безпосередньо здійснювалася ним у Східній Європі. У країнах Західної Європи він регулярно брав участь у міжнародних кооперативних конгресах. 3. Микола Левитський прагнув до утвердження української кооперації як самостійного суб'єкта міжнародного кооперативного руху. Він активно обґрунтовував необхідність створення національних центрів української кооперації, незалежних від імперських кооперативних структур Росії, та вживав практичних заходів із їх заснування.

Ключові слова: кооперація, кооперативний рух, міжнародні зв'язки, артільний батько, Микола Левитський.

The Problem Statement and Analysis of Publications. The issue of the Ukrainian cooperation participation in the international life was brought up in historical research papers periodically. There are modern scientific works that focus on the issue of the Ukrainian cooperative organizations establishment in the international arena (Visyn, 2010, pp. 221–230; Danylenko, 2010, pp. 229–242; Kramar, 2009, pp. 59–69; Zhurba, 2001, pp. 61–74), a wide range of cooperation of the consumer cooperation system of the UkrSSR with foreign partners (Aliman, & Onipko, 2011; Onipko, 1987, pp. 106–113; Onipko, 2009a, pp. 52–57; Onipko, 2009b, pp. 172–179; Onipko, 2013) and activities at foreign markets of agricultural cooperation (Raku, 2008, pp. 262–265; Romanyuk I. M., & Romanyuk B. I., 2010, pp. 228–230). However, our point of view is that the issue of international activity of the Ukrainian cooperative movement cannot be considered fully covered. At the same time, we draw attention to a well-known figure of Mykola Levytsky, who was called a workshop father, in the international arena a hundred years ago. The research was done on his attitude towards the role of various states of the world in the historical fate of Ukraine (Danylenko, 2020, pp. 84–90). At the same time, despite a rather extensive historiography of his activities (Faresov, 1899; Bozhko, 1909; Pozharskyi, 1918; Mykola Vasylovych Levyts'kyi, 1918, pp. 1–3; Savich, 1918, pp. 1–2; Vysochanskyj, 1925; Bachynskyj, 1927, pp. 23–53; Pavlykovskyi, 1928; Kokorina, 1961, pp. 300–327; Marochko, 1995; Panteleimonenko, 1999, pp. 130–136; Aliman, 2003, p. 7; Vovchenko, 2007; Kostyk, 2008, pp. 125–128; Chorna, 2013, pp. 394–398; Rekrut, & Stepchenko, 2014, pp. 376–386; Rekrut, 2019, pp. 50–56; Helei, 2016, pp. 62–64; Piatnytskova, 2017, pp. 29–39; Piatnytskova, 2019, pp. 98–107), the issue of a famous cooperator's contacts with the representatives of other countries and work abroad was not

considered specifically. Hence, we are **aimed** at analyzing the activities of the Ukrainian cooperator Mykola Levytsky in the international arena.

The Results of the Research. A typical phenomenon of the period of the Ukrainian cooperation emergence and formation, which fell in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century, was wide international contacts of cooperative activists. The cooperative movement sought its place in cross-border ways of economic cooperation boldly under the conditions of global changes in the world order that took place during the above mentioned period (Zemzyulina, & Tsybmal, 2020; Bondarenko, 2020). Hence, it is no coincidence that all prominent Ukrainian cooperators cooperated with foreign partners, including Mykola Ballin, Viktor Kozlov, Mykola Ziber, Serhiy Borodayevsky. Mykola Levytsky was no exception. As a result of intensive organizational work on the manufacture cooperatives establishment, he became famous at the end of the 19th century quickly, as news travelled fast across the territory of the Romanov Empire, and easily crossed its borders. The scope of the Ukrainian cooperator's activity was truly impressive. There were up to a hundred cooperative societies founded by him every year. Over a decade of public work, from the mid-1890s to 1905, M. Levytsky established more than 500 craft and workers' cooperatives and more than 200 agricultural cooperative societies (Institute of Manuscripts V. I. Vernadskiy National Library of Ukraine (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU), f. 290, No 2423, pp. 3, 4). In such a large-scale activity, there was manifested the aspiration to bold predictions, projection and struggle for a socially just future of the humanity based on the cooperative management, characteristic of his era (Smolii & Yas, 2019; Kornovenko & Pasichna, 2021).

Mykola Levytsky ranked himself to be the Ukrainian cooperator. Hence, his public work in the Romanov Empire, and later in the Soviet state, which were located outside of Ukraine, should be also considered as an international activity. In addition to the Ukrainian lands, M. Levytsky worked in Chisinau, Rostov, Samara and Saratov (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 14, 30), Nyzhniy Novhorod, Kovrov, Tambov, Moscow and St. Petersburg (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, pp. 3, 5, 6, 10). Every year, he covered up to 30,000 versts in cooperative affairs "... my apartment is in Yelysavethrad ... and I live mostly in a train carriage", – M. Levytsky said in this regard (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 547, p. 11).

M. Levytsky's cooperative work consisted both in organization of cooperative societies, as well as educational and explanatory events, propaganda events, speeches, interviews in the press, and representation of cooperation interests to the state authorities. He was a welcome guest in various circles of educated public. He was regularly invited to have talks and deliver speeches on cooperative issues. It is known that university and high school students from Warsaw, Moscow and St. Petersburg were the listeners of Mykola Levytsky's speeches (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 14–15, 18–19, 26).

The government institutions involved Mykola Levytsky in the development of cooperative legislation. In 1899, at the invitation of the Minister of Finance, he participated in elaboration of the law on manufacture cooperatives (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 862, p. 1). In 1902, the Act "Regulations on Labour Cooperatives" was adopted – the first legislative act in the Empire, which affirmed the right to existence of a manufacture cooperative (Gessen, 1902).

Mykola Levytsky also participated in the elaboration of a model statute for labour workshops (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, p. 1; Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 2164, p. 24). M. Levytsky, representing the interests of a manufacture cooperative, met with the Minister of Internal Affairs V. K. Pleve, the Minister of Finance

V. I. Kokovtsov and his deputy V. I. Tymyriazev (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 290, No 4623, p. 46). There were also meetings with the Minister of Agriculture and State Property A. S. Yermolov, as well as the Minister of Finance S. Yu. Witte (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 290, No 2423, p. 4).

M. Levytsky also gained a certain trust from the Russian monarch. At the beginning of 1903, Emperor Nicholas II, based on the report of the Minister of Finance, ordered to give him 5 thousand rubliv in order to carry on the work concerning labour cooperatives establishment (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, p. 10).

The struggle for recognition of the Ukrainian cooperation as a full-fledged participant in the international cooperation was a crucial area of Mykola Levytsky's activity. In order to achieve the above-mentioned goal, M. Levytsky justified the drastic need to create national cooperative centres that would not depend on the imperial cooperative system. On behalf of the cooperative society of Ukraine, for a long time, M. Levytsky asked the Ministers of Finance and Internal Affairs in St. Petersburg for a permission to establish all-Ukrainian cooperative centres – the “Southern Cooperative Bank” and “Dnipro Union of Consumer Societies” (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 882, pp. 1–6).

The enormous volume of M. Levytsky's organizational work could not fail to cause a public outcry and increased attention to his person. The local and imperial press, as well as European magazines, wrote about the workshops established by him (Bachynskyj, 1927, pp. 47–50; Kostyk, 2008, pp. 126–127). The workshop agreement, elaborated by Mykola Levytsky on the establishment of manufacture cooperatives, gained general knowledge and considerable attention. The agreement was translated into a number of European languages: English, German, Serbian, French and Ukrainian in Galicia of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. M. Levytsky's activities earned recognition not only in the circles of enthusiasts interested in cooperation, but also in academic science. During the years of 1895 – 1900, in Germany, at the University of Leipzig, a prominent scholar-economist, Professor Karl Bücher analyzed the activities of peasant manufacture cooperatives, which were established by M. Levytsky, in lecture courses on Economic Theory, and included questions about them in examination cards (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 5–6).

M. Levytsky received letters of support for his work from various countries around the world. Those who supported him in his activities were from Spain and Germany (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, pp. 3, 5, 6, 10, 10.), Sweden (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 2, 8). There were also appeals for help concerning cooperatives organization in Sweden and Norway (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1103, p. 22), France, Germany, England, as well as in Slavic countries (Ya. D., 1923, p. 14). Thus, in 1903, the workers from the city of Glasgow, England, appealed to M. Levytsky, they expected to receive help in organizing a cooperative for the production of tobacco (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, pp. 3, 5v., 6, 10, 10v.). In 1912, the Ukrainian workers in Canada – “carpenters, painters, shoemakers, tailors” – appealed to M. Levytsky as the “father of workers” with a request to help in cooperatives establishment. At the same time, the international recognition of his merits was emphasized. “Your glorious work for a better life of the workers”, – wrote the Ukrainians of Canada, – “is known all over the world, and the entire powerful working class glorifies you all over the world” (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1684, p. 1).

M. Levytsky evaluated his activities on the international arena the following way: “... my work and communication and propaganda spread throughout Europe, America (North and South), as

well as Asia. There was almost no such country ... from which I wouldn't have received letters and questions ...". The publicity in the international information space was so strong that once the Ukrainians, who went abroad in order to earn money, recognized M. Levytsky by a portrait they had seen in America (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 2, 8).

The vivid evidence of widespread recognition of Mykola Levytsky's cooperative work was an invitation for Mykola Levytsky to take part in the international cooperative forums. In 1896, he participated in the International Cooperative Congress in Paris (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 2099–2100, cards 2–3). In 1898, "at the invitation of ... Serbian comrades" he took part in the Serbian Cooperative Congress (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 61, p. 4). M. Levytsky was also a participant in the international cooperative forums in Italy in 1907, Switzerland and Austria in 1909, and Belgium, Germany and England in 1910 (Ya. D., 1923, p. 14), Sweden in 1927 (Onipko, 2013, p. 148). M. Levytsky was also supposed to attend the International Cooperative Congress in Budapest, in 1904. However, due to the lack of funds for the trip, he sent only a congratulatory telegramme to the Congress (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 290, No 4623, p. 48).

The international public was interested in the circumstances of M. Levytsky's life and work sincerely. In particular, the Austrian, French and other foreign press representatives were concerned about a difficult state of health of the cooperator (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, p. 11).

Owing to the international recognition under the difficult conditions of the Civil War, Mykola Levytsky managed to avoid death. At the beginning of February of 1919, he was brought before a military field court by the administration of the Volunteer Army of General A. Denikin, and he was threatened with the death sentence. However, the Bilohvardiytsi were afraid of the international resonance, and were forced to release a renowned cooperator (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 550, p. 9–10).

One of the reasons for Mykola Levytsky's international authority was his views on the national issue and the world progress of the humanity. He was noted for his frankness about his nationality and the self-determination of the Ukrainian people. Such position, although it was not an exotic phenomenon in Ukraine (Kalishchuk, 2019), however, it was a rather brave act under the conditions of noticeable conformist attitudes among the intelligentsia of that time (Avtushenko, & Buhlai, 2021). At the same time, M. Levytsky was an active supporter of cooperation and friendship among peoples. He was convinced that the main condition for the national development is the widest possible mastery of the achievements of civilization, striving for the best world examples of culture and values. In 1909, in his speech at the Ukrainian Enlightenment and Economic Congress in Lviv, M. Levytsky heralded the following: "... let the national culture live and grow, built on the basis of common human universal ideas..." (Bryk & Kocyuba, 1910, p. 7). That is why, M. Levytsky advocated respect for other peoples "... for me, a convinced Ukrainian and a passionate, with all the strength of my soul, desire is to see my people, my Ukraine free, politically independent from anyone and sovereign, ... nevertheless, for me, all people are brothers primarily", – said Mykola Levytsky (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 121, p. 4). At the same time, he believed that the movement towards consolidation and cooperation was characteristic of nations. M. Levytsky said that the defining feature of his contemporary era was the aspiration of "cultured peoples and all mankind... towards unity" (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 122, pp. 1–2). And the most important area of cooperation between nations can only be the cooperation, since "Cooperation", – M. Levytsky pointed out, – "has already become ... the standard by

which the degree of cultural development and progress of the people in general is measured and shown..." (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 38, p. 1). He believed that participation in the cooperative work "is the duty of every person, who wishes happiness for the humanity in general, and in particular for the nation to which he belongs" (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 141, p. 1). Hence, according to M. Levytsky, the cooperative issue was naturally connected with wide international contacts, with the aspiration to cover the widest area with his activities, an effort to gain and share the experience of cooperative work. At the same time, M. Levytsky went to the world community with the best hopes and intentions, which led to a positive attitude in return.

The public celebrated the jubilee dates of Mykola Levytsky's activities during his life. Thus, in 1918, the 40th anniversary of M. Levytsky's cooperative work was solemnly celebrated (Yuvylei M. V. Levyts'koho, 1918, pp. 22–25). The 45th anniversary of activity in the field of the cooperative movement was not forgotten either (Ya. D., 1923, pp. 13–14). In 1928, celebrations were held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the cooperative work of Mykola Levytsky in the premises of the higher educational and scientific institution of the Ukrainian cooperation – Kyiv Cooperative Institute (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1103). In 1929, the 70th anniversary of his birth was celebrated (Semydesyatylitnij yuvilej, 1929, p. 35). The jubilee dates of M. Levytsky's life and public work attracted attention of significant figures of the cooperative movement, renowned representatives of the world public, which proved the international recognition of his activities. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of cooperative work, congratulations were sent to Mykola Levytsky by the Central Union of German Consumer Societies (Khronika, 1918, p. 144). In the 1920s, the world-famous Norwegian Slavic scholar Olaf Brock, congratulating M. Levytsky on one of his anniversaries, wrote the following: "I see You as one of the greatest supporters and leading people of progress" (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1886, p. 1). On the occasion of Mykola Levytsky's 70th birthday, a famous pianist Liubka Kolessa sent her congratulations from Lviv (Semydesyatylitnij yuvilej, 1929, p. 35).

The Conclusion. Mykola Levytsky had a great authority among the international cooperative community, was a renowned and respected person abroad. The paramount reason for this was a large scale of his activities in the field of cooperation, due to M. Levytsky's views on cooperative work, which involved extensive international cooperation. In general, the cooperator's relations with foreign countries were informative in nature. M. Levytsky was renowned in the international arena, his experience was studied and respected, and the international public was ready to take advantage of his potential in the field of organizing cooperative societies. The area of awareness of Mykola Levytsky's activities covered at least Eastern and Western Europe and North America. The economic and organizational work in the field of cooperation was directly carried out by him in Eastern Europe and in the countries of Western Europe, he took part in international cooperative congresses regularly.

Mykola Levytsky played an important role in the establishment of the Ukrainian cooperation as an independent subject of the international cooperative movement. He substantiated the drastic need for the Ukrainian cooperation national centres establishment actively, which could be independent of the imperial cooperative structures of Russia, and took practical measures to establish them.

M. Levytsky cannot be considered as a figure of the international cooperative movement, i.e. he was not the organizer and head of its financial and economic structures or ideological and theoretical centres. However, M. Levytsky's influence on the development of cooperation

was quite noticeable in the world. He was a prominent and recognized practitioner of cooperative activity abroad, was respected by the world cooperative community, and was an example to follow.

The Prospects for the Further Research. In general, Mykola Levytsky's cooperative work is not researched by scholars sufficiently. This aspect can be especially applied to the activities of cooperative work during the period of the 1920s – 1930s, which is a promising subject for further research.

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**EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE RURAL POPULATION OF EASTERN GALICIA
IN JULY – SEPTEMBER OF 1914 (ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS
OF THE UKRAINIAN-LANGUAGE PRESS)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze an everyday life of the rural population of Eastern Galicia at the initial stage of World War I based on the materials of the Ukrainian-language press (July – September of 1914). **The Research Methodology.** The article has been written according to the problem-chronological method, which made it possible to elucidate the core aspects of the issue under analysis in development, logical sequence and interconnection. The analysis of the research material is based on historicism, scientific objectivity and systematicity, which involves the knowledge of historical phenomena taking into account a concrete historical approach, the use of reliable facts, the study of events as interconnected and interdependent parts of large socio-political systems and subsystems in the entire complex of their peculiarities and manifestations. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that,*

on the basis of the Ukrainian-language press analysis, there has been done a comprehensive special research of Eastern Galicia rural population daily life under the conditions of the initial stage of World War I, as an important factor that influenced the Ukrainian national identity formation significantly. **The Conclusion.** It should be mentioned that the beginning of the summer of 1914 was met with joyful expectations of a rich harvest by the rural population of Eastern Galicia, which was supposed to improve their material situation. Some pieces of news about the probable beginning of great European war upset the public mood from time to time, but the majority of farmers continued to live by preparing for the harvest. At the beginning of August of 1914, after the announcement of general mobilization and the introduction of martial law, the mood of the rural population changed radically. At the same time during the harvest, people began to make caches of household items and grain in the gardens just in case of war, and some families began to get ready for leaving their homes. Despite the efforts of the Austrian authorities and the Greek Catholic clergy to calm the rural population, people continued to prepare for the worst. It should be noted that life experience did not let the Galician farmers down, because at the end of September of 1914, they had to live under the conditions of the Russian occupation.

Key words: World War I, Eastern Galicia, rural population, everyday life, the Ukrainian-language periodicals.

ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ СІЛЬСЬКОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ У ЛИПНІ-ВЕРЕСНІ 1914 р. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ УКРАЇНОМОВНОЇ ПРЕСИ)

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз повсякденного життя сільського населення Східної Галичини на початковому етапі Першої світової війни за матеріалами україномовної преси (липень-вересень 1914 рр.). **Методологія дослідження.** Архітектоніка статті побудована згідно з проблемно-хронологічним методом, що дало змогу розкрити вузлові аспекти задекларованої теми в розв'язку, логічній послідовності та взаємозв'язку. Опрацювання дослідницького матеріалу відбувалося на засадах історизму, наукової об'єктивності й системності, що передбачає пізнання історичних явищ з урахуванням конкретно-історичного підходу, використання достовірних фактів, вивчення події, як взаємопов'язаних і взаємозалежних частин великих соціально-політичних систем та підсистем у всьому комплексі ознак та виявів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі опрацювання матеріалів україномовної преси, здійснено цілісне спеціальне дослідження повсякденного життя сільського населення Східної Галичини в умовах початкового етапу Першої світової війни як важливого чинника, що істотно вплинув на формування української національної ідентичності. **Висновки.** Можемо констатувати, що початок літа 1914 р. сільське населення Східної Галичини зустрічало радісним очікуванням доброго урожаю, що мав полішити його матеріальне становище. Поодинокі вістки про імовірний початок великої європейської війни час від часу збурював суспільні настрої, та більшість аграріїв продовжували жити підготовкою до жнив. Після оголошення загальної мобілізації на запровадження військового стану на початку серпня 1914 р., настрої сільського загалу радикально трансформувалися. Одночасно із збором урожаю, люди про всяк випадок почали робити на городах сховки домашніх речей та зерна, а окремі родини – готуватися покинути свої домівки. Попри намагання австрійської влади та греко-католицького духовенства заспокоїти сільський загал, люди продовжували готуватися до гіршого. Зазначимо, що життєвий досвід не підвів галицьких землеробів – уже наприкінці вересня 1914 р. їм довелося жити в умовах російської займанщини.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, Східна Галичина, сільське населення, повсякденне життя, україномовна періодика.

The Problem Statement. In 2014, with the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war, in the Ukrainian society, there was initiated a discussion about what everyday life should be under the conditions of an armed conflict, and how to make it so that it does not affect the national unity radically. The answers to these questions should be sought in our past. World War I had quite a significant impact on an everyday life of the rural population of Eastern Galicia, exacerbating its socio-political, socio-economic, cultural and educational, spiritual

aspects as much as possible. Adaptation to life under the conditions of wartime hardship crystallized in the Galician peasantry those national markers that allowed them not to dissolve in the multinational empire of the Habsburgs and, at the same time, to develop certain styles of communication with Transdnieper Ukrainians who were subjects of the Romanov empire. The Ukrainian-language press of the period under analysis is a kind of mirror in which the entire palette of components of an everyday life was reflected, and enabled researchers to reconstruct military everyday life.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The Ukrainian-language press of the period under analysis is an important source of an everyday life reconstruction. In the columns of newspapers professional journalists and amateur correspondents wrote about facts, events, phenomena that, from their point of view, reflected the spirit of time. The periodical “Dilo” played a significant role in informing the general Ukrainian population of the region about the events that took place and their consequences. Correspondence sent by rural residents of Eastern Galicia to their relatives living in the USA, published on the pages of the American Ukrainian-language magazine “Svoboda”, made it possible to be eyewitness of the war.

Visions of World War I events on the territory of Ukraine are represented by numerous scientific works of several generations of the Ukrainian historians. For the first time in the Ukrainian historiography, the scientific understanding of World War I events on the territory of Eastern Galicia was carried out by direct eyewitnesses of the events of that time: M. Hrushevsky, D. Doroshenko, I. Krypiakevych, and K. Levytsky (Hrushevsky, 1967; Doroshenko, 1969; Petrovych, 1915; Levytsky, 1928). Short historical essays of Eastern Galicia past written by the Soviet researchers only outlined the Bolshevik interpretation of the region’s history through the prism of the working masses position at the beginning of the 20th century (Kompaniiets, 1960; Khonihsman, 1973).

Since the mid-1990s, the attention of domestic historians to the Ukrainian dimension issue of the Great War has increased. This increase is evidenced by the works of O. Reyent (Reyent, 2003; Reyent, 2004), O. Mazur (Mazur, 1998; Mazur & Pater, 2007), S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2018; Orlyk & Orlyk, 2019; Orlyk & Mekheda, 2020) and the others. A historical retrospective of the events on the territory of Eastern Galicia based on the publications of the periodical “Dilo” is elucidated in the publication of V. Vyzdryk and K. Kurylyshyn (Vyzdryk & Kurylyshyn, 2020). The results of the latest research on the key issues of the Ukrainian context of World War I are presented in the historical essays “The Great War of 1914 – 1918 and Ukraine” (Reyent, 2014).

Despite a significant number of scientific works on the history of Eastern Galicia during World War I, the everyday life issue of the region’s rural residents during the period mentioned above is without proper analysis.

The purpose of the article is to analyze and elucidate the features of socio-political, socio-economic, cultural and educational aspects of an everyday life of the rural population of Eastern Galicia under the conditions of the initial stage of World War I of 1914 – 1918.

The Results of the Research. The study of an everyday life of the rural population of Eastern Galicia necessitates the concepts outlining with the help of which the process of scientific knowledge took place, since the concept is a form of thinking that holistically and generally reveals the essential defining features of the studied objects and phenomena. The Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Modern Ukrainian Language outlines the definition of the word *daily* (everyday life) as something ordinary, mundane, which takes place every day (Yeroshenko, 2012, p. 789). In our research, we will adhere to the definition of “everyday life” as forms of behaviour, survival

and adaptation strategies used by people under specific socio-political conditions, introduced to the scientific community by Sh. Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, 2008, p. 7).

We use the definition “peasantry” to nominate a social group in which the family is the main social unit, the social status of this community is quite low, it is dominated by a rural way of life and a family household, in which simplicity and respect for traditions are inherent in family and group interests (Orlova, 2002, pp. 291–292).

At the beginning of the summer of 1914, the rural population of Eastern Galicia lived in anticipation of harvesting, which promised a rich harvest. People rejoiced at poured ear of grain, as during the previous few rainy years there was poor harvest, which undermined the well-being of rural families significantly (Pavliuk, 1914, p. 3). At the same time, the news reached the peasant population that all was not well in the world. It is worth noting that the Galician peasants differed from their Dnieper counterparts mentally by a higher level of literacy. Eastern Galician national press served not only as a source of information, but it also taught a Ukrainian-Galician to self-organization, to understanding the social values of the national factor (Hyrych, 2013, p. 48).

At the beginning of July, on the pages of the Lviv periodical “Dilo” there began to be published analytical articles, in which the authors emphasized that the Ukrainian issue was actively discussed in European politics at that time, and the Russian Empire made considerable efforts to divert attention from the Ukrainian issue. Therefore, the authors of the publications called on the inhabitants of the region not to play along with supporters of the Russian tsar (Uhorshchyna, Rosiia i ukrainska sprava, 1914, p. 1).

Public memorial services for the Archduke F. Ferdinand, who was killed on June 28, 1914, which took place in almost every parish of the region, gave rise to rumors about the probable beginning of a great war in Europe, somewhat increased the degree of social tension (Zboriv, 1914, p. 1). The editors of the magazine “Dilo” reacted to such news with a long article, in which they called on the population to refrain from spreading all kinds of alarming news, and also not to succumb to provocative calls of various types of agents (Vid suboty donyni, 1914, p. 2).

Anxiety especially intensified in the villages, when the military units located in the region began to recall their soldiers from the holidays granted during the harvest (Vizvanie zhovniriv, 1914, p. 6).

Therefore, at the end of July, the editors of the periodical “Dilo” frankly informed their readers that the society “stands before the outbreak of war”, and warned the Ukrainian public of possible restrictions in the delivery of correspondence and railway transportation (Pered vybukhom viiny, 1914, p. 1).

But the general military mobilization announced by Tsar F. Joseph I on July 31, 1914 “electrified” the rural population of the region mostly (Zahalna mobilizatsyia, 1914, p. 1).

General mobilization was announced on Friday, and on Saturday, in many villages, men who were to be called up for military service went to church for confession, after which they received a blessing from the priest. In particular, in the village of Rodatychi of Horodotsky district, mobilized men said goodbye to their neighbours, and accompanied by women’s crying and lamentation, went to the railway station where they got on the train that transported the military (Lyst z sela Rodatychi, 1915, p. 2).

When the rosaries of the Austrian army stretched through the Galician villages on their way to the Russian border, people brought them bread, milk and other food, hoping that their relatives would also be given something to eat.

Simultaneously with mobilization of men, the official authorities announced mobilization of horses. Farms that rented military horses were ordered to return them to military units. In addition, animals on military registration were subject to mobilization, in accordance with the law of December 21, 1912. In addition, the Lviv Governorate prohibited peasants from taking out horses outside povit (*Zahalno-ievropeiska viina*, 1914, p. 1; *Zaborona v spravi evidenciynih koney*, 1914, p. 6).

The Austrian government undertook to pay monetary compensation to the farms from which the military took away horses and carts, which should at least somehow compensate for the losses of poor peasant families (*Vyplata vynahorodzhennia*, 1914, p. 6).

Horse drawn transport that was not in the register was used by local authorities to transport military cargo, the so-called “forshpans”, and men who were not subject to military mobilization were involved in the construction of defensive fortifications. During the digging of trenches and dugouts, there were cases when fields owners interfered with the work, trying to save their crops. In order to prevent further opposition of peasants, the Lviv Governorship, by its order, called on farmers not to obstruct the military, and promised to pay compensation to those farms that suffered significant damage (*V spravi shkid*, 1914, p. 6).

Mobilization of men and horses at the height of the harvest season endangered the very harvest. Considering this state of affairs, some communities decided to introduce a kind of *sharvarka* for harvesting, first of all for those farms whose men were called up for the army (*V spravi zhnyv*, 1914, p. 7).

Supporting such initiative, presidium of the agricultural society “*Silsky Hospodar*” asked the members of the cooperative, as well as other farmers, to make every effort to reap the harvest. At the same time, cooperators urged the peasants to take all the harvest from the fields to their barns so that nothing was left in sheaves, since the autumn weather could damage the grains (*Silskyi Hospodar za rilnykiv*, 1914, p. 6).

On August 6, 1914, the Ministry of Agriculture, together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, issued Order No. 200, which obliged the leaders of rural communities to organize commissions to monitor the harvest process. The commission should consist of 3–7 people who permanently lived on the territory of the community. The authors of the document recommended that parish priests, school heads or teachers, community doctors, representatives of agricultural cooperatives or societies, as well as other people who “know their stuff and deserve trust” should be included in such commissions. The members of the commission made sure that the harvest started on time in the community, and also coordinated the distribution of labour force and inventory to those farms that needed them. In case of failure to comply with requirements of a representative of such commission, legislators provided for an administrative penalty (*Zabezpechennia robit*, 1914, p. 3).

At that time when the majority of the rural community tried to save the harvest, there were people who wanted to make money and profit from human misery. Rumors spread in the villages that paper money would lose its value soon, and only gold and silver coins would remain in circulation. In addition, rumors about devaluation of funds invested in securities and savings banks spread actively. Speculators went around the villages and bought savings books and paper money from uneducated and gullible farmers below their nominal value.

Panic moods were intensified by the practice of some trading establishments, which refused to accept paper money, selling goods only for coins made of non-ferrous metals. The situation was gaining such threatening proportions that the Lviv Governorate called on village elders to calm people in a short time, and merchants who continued to refuse to accept

paper money were threatened with arrests and strict criminal liability (Paperovi hroshi, 1914, p. 5; Ostroha proty vynymannia vkladok shchadnykh, 1914, p. 6).

Despite the authorities assurances that the situation was under control, the rural population began to prepare for the worst. Individual families prepared large pits in their gardens, in which they kept chests with clothes and sacks of grain. At the same time, people got ready for a possible leaving. First of all, carts were loaded with the most necessary things, and long-term food was also prepared. Housewives usually baked bread in ovens and smoked poultry that had been slaughtered the day before (Lyst z sela Rodatychi, 1915, p. 2).

In the middle of August of 1914, rumors about the approach of the Russian army began to spread more and more often in the villages of Eastern Galicia. On August 12, 1914, the editorial office of the Lviv Ukrainian-language periodical “Dilo” appealed to its rural readers not to spread rumors, because they “are spread among the less educated strata and cause trouble” (Slovo ostrohy, 1914, p. 6).

In turn, the Greek-Catholic Episcopate, in order to reduce social tension, appealed to the faithful to pray every day, and “to live a pious life, to abstain from all sin, from drunkenness, from human wrongdoing, and from any deed by which you could draw God’s displeasure upon yourself”. At the same time, the bishops asked village parish priests to support their parishioners in a patriotic mood and peace (Viina i hreko-katolytskyi Epyskopat, 1914, p. 1).

Despite the efforts of the Austro-Hungarian army to stop the offensive of the Russian army, as of mid-September of 1914, the territory of Eastern Galicia was occupied almost completely. Therefore, part of the rural families left for the West following the retreating Austrian troops, and those who could not leave tried to adapt to life under new social and political conditions.

The Conclusion. It should be stated that the beginning of the summer of 1914 was met with joyful expectations of a rich harvest, which was supposed to improve their material situation, by the rural population of Eastern Galicia. Some pieces of news about the probable beginning of the great European war upset the public from time to time, but the majority of farmers continued to live by preparing for the harvest season. At the beginning of August of 1914, after the announcement of general mobilization for the introduction of martial law, the mood of the rural population was transformed radically. At the same time during harvesting, people began to make caches of household items and grain in the gardens just in case, and some families began to prepare to leave their homes. Despite the efforts of the Austrian authorities and the Greek Catholic clergy to calm the rural population, people continued to prepare for the worst. It should be noted that life experience did not fail the Galician farmers, as at the end of September of 1914, they had to live under the conditions of the Russian occupation.

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**THE ROLE OF ROMAN DASHKEVYCH IN THE FORMATION
OF THE ARTILLERY OF THE SICH RIFLEMEN DURING THE UKRAINIAN
REVOLUTION OF 1917 – 1921**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research: analysis of the role of R. Dashkevych in the formation of the Sich Riflemen artillery units during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism and objectivity. Methods of generalization, analysis, synthesis of information have been used during the research. The scientific novelty of the research consists in the fact that, despite the presence of individual historical biographical studies dedicated to R. Dashkevych in the Ukrainian historiography, to this day there is no comprehensive analysis of his role in the formation of the Sich Riflemen artillery units during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. On the basis of the memories of military, public and political figures, there has been done a comprehensive analysis of the role of R. Dashkevych in the formation of the Sich Riflemen artillery and his contribution to the combat readiness of artillery units, which affected not only the fighting capacity of the Ukrainian army, but also the existence of the Ukrainian state in general. The Conclusions. As a result of the overthrow of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian monarchies, a liberation movement began on the Ukrainian lands, the goal of which was to gain statehood. It is common knowledge that a combat-ready army is necessary for the existence of any nation. The Ukrainian military elite, aware*

of this fact, began to form its own armed forces. However, initially the government of the Central Rada did not approve of the senior officers' idea of forming a regular army and adhered to the idea of forming "a national militia". Among the officer corps R. Dashkevych was one of the first to join the military movement to start the process of forming of the Sich Riflemen artillery and the Ukrainian army. Despite the shortage of quality military personnel, lack of weapons and ammunition, the Bolshevik aggression and numerous contradictions between the military and political leaders, R. Dashkevych managed to form combat-capable artillery units and develop the artillery of the Ukrainian army during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. Later on, R. Dashkevych's artillery units played an important role in battles with the Ukrainian statehood opponents and ensured the activities of state authorities during the liberation struggles.

Key words: Roman Dashkevych, artillery, the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, the Sich Riflemen, Halytsko-Bukovynsky kurin.

РОЛЬ РОМАНА ДАШКЕВИЧА У ФОРМУВАННІ АРТИЛЕРІЇ СІЧОВИХ СТРІЛЬЦІВ В ПЕРІОД УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ 1917 – 1921 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження: аналіз ролі Р. Дашкевича у формуванні гарматних підрозділів Січових Стрільців періоду Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму та об'єктивності. Під час дослідження використані методи узагальнення, аналізу, синтезу інформації. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що, попри наявність в українській історіографії поодиноких історичних біографічних розвідок, присвячених Р. Дашкевичу, до сьогодні немає комплексного аналізу його ролі у формуванні гарматних підрозділів Січових Стрільців у період Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. На основі спогадів військових і громадсько-політичних діячів, проведено комплексний аналіз ролі Р. Дашкевича у формуванні артилерії Січових Стрільців та його вклад у боєготовність гарматних підрозділів, що вплинуло не лише на боєздатність українського війська, але й на існування Української держави загалом.

Висновки. Унаслідок повалення Російської та Австро-Угорської монархій на українських землях розпочався визвольний рух, який мав на меті здобуття державності. Як відомо, для існування нації необхідна боєздатна армія. Українська військова еліта, усвідомлюючи цей факт, взялася будувати власні збройні сили. Однак уряд Центральної Ради спочатку не схвалив задум старшин будівництва регулярної армії та притримувався ідеї формування "всенародної міліції". Серед офіцерського корпусу, Р. Дашкевич одним із перших приєднався до військового руху, щоб розпочати процес формування артилерії Січових Стрільців та українського війська. Незважаючи на дефіцит якісних військових кадрів, відсутність озброєння і амуніції, більшовицьку агресію та численні суперечності між воєнцями і політичними лідерами, Р. Дашкевичу вдалося утворити боєздатні гарматні підрозділи та розбудувати артилерію українського війська в період Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. Надалі артилерійські підрозділи Р. Дашкевича, відіграла важливу роль у боях з противниками української державності та забезпечили діяльність органів державної влади під час визвольних змагань.

Ключові слова: Роман Дашкевич, артилерія, Українська революція 1917 – 1921 рр., Січові Стрільці, Галицько-Буковинський курінь.

The Problem Statement. Actually, during the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 the artillery formation began with the creation of a separate cannon battery as part of Halytsko-Bukovynsky kurin of the Sich Riflemen by Roman Dashkevych. It was on the initiative of a former artillery senior officer of the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that at the beginning of January of 1918, the artillery division was created, which gave rise to the first Ukrainian battery, and later – the artillery brigade of the Sich Riflemen.

The objective need for the army as a guarantee of the existence of the state gave impact to a number of young, but already experienced officers to form the Ukrainian artillery after World War I, mainly from among prisoners of war and soldiers of the former Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires.

The active ideological and propaganda activities of the Bolshevik agents and participants of the Russian white movement had a negative impact on the consciousness of the Ukrainian military. Therefore, a significant number of the Ukrainians, exhausted by the Great War, easily accepted the populist promises of the enemies (social promises concerning land property, a rapid career growth, promoting the idea of the Ukrainian autonomy as part of “Great Russia”, etc.). The combination of these circumstances complicated the process of forming the Ukrainian army and created the atmosphere of mistrust between government officials and the senior corps.

Roman Dashkevych, as a talented artilleryman, was well aware that without artillery units (artillery was one of the most combat-capable types of weapons at that time), the Ukrainian army was unable to repel the attack of the Ukrainian statehood enemies. Therefore, despite the problems mentioned above, R. Dashkevych managed to rally like-minded senior officers around the idea of creating the first cannon battery of the Sich Riflemen.

Numerous recollections of direct participants in the liberation struggle contain mentions of the Sich Riflemen artillery formation and development. The gun battery in Halysko-Bukovynsky kurin became the foundation for the formation of artillery not only of the Sich Riflemen, but also of the Ukrainian armies in general, as evidenced in the memoirs of Roman Dashkevych, Yevhen Konovalets, Mykhailo Kurakh, Mykhailo Omelianovych-Pavlenko, Oleksandr Pylkevych, Roman Sushka. Their effectiveness largely determined the combat capability of not only the Sich Riflemen, but also the combat readiness of the Ukrainian army in general.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. General-khorunzhy of the Army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic – R. Dashkevych played an important role in the Ukrainian artillery formation during the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, which is evidenced by the memories of military, social and political figures, archival sources and separate historical research papers. However, to this day there is no comprehensive scientific study devoted to the role of R. Dashkevych in the artillery formation of the Sich Riflemen during the First Liberation Struggle.

For the completeness of the material coverage, first of all, we should note the memories of R. Dashkevych, which he set out in his work “Artillery of the Sich Riflemen in the Fight for the Golden Gate of Kyiv” (Dashkevych, 1965). In his work, the key aspects of the artillery’s participation in the hostilities against the Bolsheviks are elucidated in detail, and the issues of organization, support, and battle tactics of the of the Sich Riflemen artillery units are analyzed partially.

Several modern Ukrainian researchers studied some elements of this topic. M. Lytvyn, K. Naumenko and Ya. Tynchenko should be noted for the complete coverage of the material. In their works, the authors summarized the data on the life path and military career of R. Dashkevych, but they almost did not analyze the organizational aspects of the Sich Riflemen artillery formation with his participation (Lytvyn & Naumenko, 2007).

In his scientific articles and monographs, a historian and military man P. Tkachuk (Tkachuk, 2003, 2009) analyzed, among other things, the artillery formation process of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in 1917 and 1920, and the role of R. Dashkevych in the artillery formation. However, the issue of R. Dashkevych’s role in the first artillery units formation (from which the formation of the Ukrainian artillery began) of the Sich Riflemen regiment was only analyzed partially (Tkachuk, 2003, 2009).

More balanced in this respect are the works of Ya. Dashkevych, I. Durbak and H. Svarnyk (Dashkevych, Durbak & Svarnyk, 2009). The articles by A. Kurdyka, S. Nechai, M. Plaskiy,

and K. Tryliovsky, which focus on the description of military activities during the liberation struggle and R. Dashkevych's public activity during emigration, also deserve attention (Dashkevych, Durbak & Svarnyk, 2009).

Analyzing R. Dashkevych's role in the artillery formation of the Sich Riflemen, the authors considered the memories of military and public political figures of the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 mainly. Evaluation of R. Dashkevych's activity effectiveness is largely based on his own memoirs and the memories of those events participants.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the role of R. Dashkevych in the artillery formation of the Sich Riflemen during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921.

The Results of the Research. At the end of World War I, global geopolitical changes took place in the world, as a result of which two empires – Russian and Austro-Hungarian – ceased to exist. The February Revolution of 1917 in Russia and the revolutionary processes in the Habsburg Empire in the second half of 1918 activated the liberation movement on the Ukrainian lands, the aim of which was to gain statehood. Under these conditions, the Ukrainians, like the rest of the peoples of the former empires, began to establish and develop state institutions, without which the existence of an independent country is impossible (Mahochiŭ, 2007, pp. 441–442).

It is common knowledge, the guarantee of any nation existence is a regular army. Owing to a combat-ready army nations are capable of a long-term existence, because they have tools (a combat-ready army) to prevent the influence of external enemies. The Ukrainian lands, located at the crossroads of important trade routes, have always been in the sphere of interests of other countries. The Ukrainian senior officers were well aware of this fact, that is why, after World War I, they united during the First All-Ukrainian Military Congress, which took place on May 5, 1917, to start the process of forming the army (Verstuiuk, 2003, p. 72). Sotnyk V. Ivanys recalled: *“we revealed a powerful demonstration of the Ukrainian military awakening”*. He also wrote in his memoirs: *“...the consequences of this demonstration were in strengthening the national positions of the Ukrainian soldiers at the front. The idea of separating the Ukrainians into separate hundreds, kurins, regiments, divisions up to corps has taken on expressive forms”* (Ivanys, 1991, c. 42).

However, the Ukrainian political elite did not immediately support the senior officers' initiative to form a regular army, initially taking an anti-militarist position. Representatives of the Central Rada (hereinafter referred to as the CR) questioned the expediency of creating the Ukrainian army (Verstuiuk, 2012, p. 4). One of the reasons for a slow creation of the Ukrainian army was the excessive politicization of this process (Lebedieva & Komova, 2021, p. 127). Among the members of the General Secretariat, the issue of forming the national militia as an alternative to the regular army was discussed publicly (Demianiuk, 2017, p. 165). *“We, the social democrats, do not need our army, but the destruction of all regular armies,”* V. Vynnychenko, the head of the General Secretariat, declared publicly. This idea was also supported by the head of the Central Committee – M. Hrushevsky, who supported the idea that: *“The national militia is the normal form of a democratic state protection”* (Tiutenko, 2018, p. 105).

As a result of growing contradictions, numerous disagreements arose, and senior officers, owing to their authority and popularity among the military, defended their own idea of forming the regular Ukrainian army. Owing to the decisive actions of officers, despite the dissatisfaction of the Central Government officials, the process of Ukrainization of the former empires military units and the formation of new Ukrainian military units started

(Horielov, 2007, pp. 298–310). One of the first and most active leaders of the senior officers movement was the future general-khorunzhy of the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic (hereinafter – the Ukrainian People's Republic) – R. Dashkevych (Tkachuk & Stetsiv, 2022, p. 57).

R. Dashkevych was born on December 6, 1892 in the family of a priest in the village of Tustanovychi of Boryslav povit in Halychyna. An important role in the formation of R. Dashkevych's personality was played by his parents' upbringing, a high-quality primary and higher education, and his life experience. The set of values laid down by his parents in his childhood had a serious impact on the consciousness of R. Dashkevych when he made decisions which were fateful for the Ukrainian people (R. Dashkevych mentioned about it in his memoirs) (Dashkevych, 1965, pp. 127–128).

Studying at the Przemyśl Gymnasium (he graduated from it in 1911) and at the Law Faculty of Lviv University (he graduated from it in 1914) provided R. Dashkevych with the necessary level of education and knowledge, which significantly broadened the horizons and influenced the officer's professional military career (Lytvyn & Naumenko, 2007, p. 75).

A unique experience of participation in World War I, during which R. Dashkevych served as an artillery sotnyk of the Austro-Hungarian army, influenced the formation of his character and hardened him as a military commander. The combination of experience, organizational skills acquired in the war, education and training became useful for R. Dashkevych later, when he, together with the rest of the Ukrainian senior officers, began to form the Sich Riflemen artillery (Tynchenko, 2011, pp. 133–134).

R. Dashkevych got the news about the beginning of the liberation struggle on the Ukrainian lands being in the Russian captivity, where he got together with other Ukrainian senior officers from the front (Lytvyn & Naumenko, 2007, p. 75).

R. Dashkevych recollected: *“The revolution found many Ukrainians from Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia, former soldiers of the Austrian army, in the Russian captivity, scattered throughout the whole of Russia at that time. They were trained senior officers and soldiers who had fought at the fronts, who knew the front-line service and heavy artillery fires well...”* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 5).

Despite the risk of death, the thoughts of freedom and their own Ukrainian state motivated the prisoners to escape from captivity to join the liberation movement. It is worth noting that R. Dashkevych monitored the support of the fighting spirit of the Ukrainian captured officers, because even then he generated the idea of escape in his head, the return to his homeland and formation of the Ukrainian army, in particular artillery. He was aware of his responsibility for the Ukrainian people and understood that owing to the support of experienced Ukrainian officers, he will be able to form combat-capable artillery units that will constitute a powerful military force of the Ukrainian army. Among the military, the most supportive of R. Dashkevych's initiative to escape from captivity was sotnyk M. Matchak, who was one of the first senior officers of the Halytsko-Bukovynsky kurin and personal adjutant of Ye. Konovalts later (Naumenko, 2018). R. Dashkevych recollected about such officers the following: *“Being in captivity, these people, former soldiers, more than once escaped, their lives were at risk, from forced labour camps in the North of Russia, from Murmansk or Siberia”* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 5).

A pre-war acquaintance with E. Konovalts had a great influence on R. Dashkevych's awareness of his responsibility for the future of the Ukrainian people. During his studying at Lviv University, students became friends quickly, because they had many common

interests and were brought up on common values – love of the homeland and respect for the Ukrainian traditions and culture. As it turned out, this budding friendship lasted between them until the end of their lives. Thus, while being in the Russian captivity, the internal value compass directed R. Dashkevych and a group of Ukrainian soldiers to escape from captivity in order to return to the Ukrainian lands and lead the army formation. It is worth noting that R. Dashkevych held a leadership position among the captured officers and, despite their doubts, managed to convince them of the decision correctness to escape from captivity. He concluded about the mood of the captured military: *“The revolution awakened hope for freedom in these people. Many of these captured Ukrainians tried to reach Ukraine, where they received news about the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR), UCR Universals, military congresses, and the Ukrainian army. To get to Ukraine, to work there, to work freely, to help build the Ukrainian state, to enlist in the Ukrainian army – this was the dream of many captured Ukrainians”* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 5).

Arriving in Kyiv, R. Dashkevych met with Ye. Konovalets, I. Chmola and F. Chernyk to discuss the issue of the Ukrainian army formation, so he was the first to take the initiative and suggested starting the formation of the Ukrainian artillery (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 222). It is worth noting that R. Dashkevych's idea was facilitated by the decision of Halytsko-Bukovynsky committee, which was adopted in the summer of 1917 and aimed at organizing Halytsko-Bukovynsky kurin of the Sich Riflemen in Kyiv (Krypiakevych & Hnatevych, 1936, p. 446).

In order to start the first cannon battery formation, R. Dashkevych and Ye. Konovalets called on the “Temporary Main Council of the Ukrainians of Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia”, to appeal to the Ukrainians to join the ranks of the Sich Riflemen and replenish the ranks of the Ukrainian army (Pidkova, 2002, p. 761).

At the same time, despite the spontaneous Ukrainization process of military units and new volunteer units formation, the Ukrainian officers who served in the Russian army were not too eager to accept the Galicians and the Bukoynians into their ranks. The Ukrainian senior officers, brought up in the spirit of the Russian military tradition, were wary of accusations from the Russian command, who was hostile to the former Austrian soldiers, therefore, they focused mainly on military personnel of the former Russian Empire, ignoring representatives from Galicia and Bukovyna. The above mentioned circumstances contributed to the staff formation of Halytsko-Bukovynsky kurin, in particular R. Dashkevych's battery, because the unit was only being formed and all those willing were accepted for military service there (Kurakh, 1956, p. 4).

However, a difficult military and political situation in Kyiv, associated with an active Bolshevik agitation, had a negative impact and slowed down the process of army formation. R. Dashkevych characterized the current situation in Kyiv as follows: *“The Soviets, who came to power on November 7, 1917, formed their military units from the captured Austrians, the Germans, and primarily from the Magyars. The Ukrainian troops were needed as much as possible, all the more so because the Bolshevik agitators in Ukraine also started campaigning among the Ukrainian military units”* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 8).

Despite the difficulties, R. Dashkevych received the approval of Ye. Konovalets and began recruiting those willing to join the ranks of cannon battery from among the Galician prisoners, who were in a temporary camp on the outskirts of Kyiv. On November 19, 1917, arriving at Darnytsky camp, R. Dashkevych selected the first 22 volunteers for kurin, who later became part of the Separate Corps of the Sich Riflemen and numbered more than 600 soldiers (4 infantry hundreds and R. Dashkevych's cannon battery) (Kovalchuk, 2006, p. 387).

As the experience of World War I proved, without artillery units, the infantry could not operate on the battlefield effectively (Внуков, 1938, с. 3). R. Dashkevych, as a front-line artilleryman, was perfectly aware of this fact, that is why, he undertook to reorganize the artillery department created by him in order to form the first cannon battery of the Sich Riflemen. The first gunners of the battery were: I. Vishnevsky, H. Horychka, I. Dmytrakh, P. Koval, M. Kurakh, P. Kuzyk, V. Oleskiv, S. Romaniuk, A. Stelmakh, V. Fedorovych and M. Shkvarko. R. Dashkevych noted their high level of motivation: *“They gave the mood and military spirit to the first battery, which was spread the entire rifle artillery then”* (Dashkevych, 1965, pp. 9–10).

The cannon battery formed by R. Dashkevych was actually the first artillery unit of the Ukrainian army. *“These twelve army men and horsemen became the beginning of the great Sich Riflemen artillery, later the Cannon Brigade of the Sich Riflemen, consisting of six cannon regiments”* – R. Dashkevych mentioned in his memoirs (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 10).

After resolving personnel issues, R. Dashkevych made considerable efforts to obtain artillery weapons and ammunition for the battery. Since all the necessary weapons for the battery could be obtained only from the demobilized units of the Russian army, R. Dashkevych together with nine artillerymen went to Kodno station, where artillery formations of the former empires arrived from the fronts of World War I. The commandant of the station informed R. Dashkevych where the abandoned cannons and other artillery items were located. *“Behind the territory of Kodno station, artillerymen found eight cannons with locks, eight ammunition chests, a field kitchen and wagons”* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 16). Very soon, all the artillery weapons taken at the station were transported to the gun battery location.

Owing to R. Dashkevych’s perseverance and leadership skills it was possible to find and load artillery weapons onto the railway platform quickly, because the cannons were heavy, and there were no ramps for loading them at the station. In addition, there were only nine artillerymen with him, so owing to the ingenuity of R. Dashkevych, the problem was solved in the way he invented (R. Dashkevych invented a method of using wooden logs to load the property items onto the platform), and the weapons were loaded onto the railway platform. In addition to the above mentioned problems, there was a threat of notification about the artillerymen actions, of local Bolshevik agents, who at that time were in the Ukrainian cities and towns. Thus, R. Dashkevych, in order to obtain the desired weapons for the battery, demanded quick and coordinated actions from his subordinates. As a result of a successful operation, the battery received 60 horses, 4 cannons, 4 ammunition chests and a field kitchen. It is not surprising that R. Dashkevych, as a professional artilleryman, also paid much attention and training to battery’s gun calculations, and artillerymen were mostly trained according to the Austrian artillery textbooks. Their training was supervised by experienced artillery sergeants who, together with R. Dashkevych, escaped from the Russian captivity (Dashkevych, 1965, pp. 16–17).

R. Dashkevych paid much attention to a psychological training of his subordinates. Patriotic education, focused mainly on forming respect for the Ukrainian culture and traditions, loyalty to the ideas of liberation struggle, and it was of great importance for raising the fighting spirit. R. Dashkevych’s vision on this issue was formed by him as follows: *“One goal lit everything: the battery – against evil fate – will be... everyone worked as hard as they could. Everyone understood that this was the revolution, the war, the retreat”* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 18).

In February – March of 1917, during the Bolshevik troops offensive on Kyiv and Zhytomyr, R. Dashkevych’s cannon battery protected the retreat of the UNR government. Government officials led by M. Hrushevsky, due to the Bolshevik armed attack in Kyiv,

were forced to flee to the city of Sarny. R. Dashkevych's cannon battery became a fire shield for the departure of the politicians of the Ukrainian People's Republic and did not allow the Bolsheviks to kill the leaders of the young Ukrainian state (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 17).

The personnel of the battery underwent a real baptism of fire at the end of January of 1918 in the battles with the Bolsheviks for Kyiv. At the beginning of March of 1918, R. Dashkevych reorganized the battery into a division. With the capture of the capital, R. Dashkevych's division was located in the Mykhailiv Monastery, where he formed a senior officer school for the training of command personnel. R. Dashkevych directly manages the educational process at the school and takes care of artillerymen teaching. In difficult battles with the Bolshevik troops, R. Dashkevych made significant efforts to strengthen the young Ukrainian artillery (Tkachuk, 2003, p. 14).

At the end of January of 1918, the corps of the Sich Riflemen was reorganized into Regiment 1 of the Sich Riflemen. Reorganization measures were carried out by the Sich Riflemen command in order to attract a larger number of Naddniproianskykh soldiers to their ranks, who, as a result of the Bolshevik agitation influence, slowly joined the ranks of the Sich Riflemen, receiving them as the Austrian formations. Such actions gave a positive result immediately and the ranks of the Sich Riflemen were replenished with new volunteers daily. R. Dashkevych, was one of the initiators of this decision (Kovalchuk, 2006, pp. 29–30).

It is worth noting that it was R. Dashkevych who invented new tactics for the use of artillery units, which he used during the first Ukrainian-Bolshevik war. The essence of R. Dashkevych's idea was to increase the mobility of cannon calculations by placing them on railway platforms. R. Dashkevych described his idea as follows: *"The artillerymen pulled the cannon into the freight car. A hole was cut in the front wall for the mouth of the cannon, and the floor was cut at the end of the cannon mounts so that there would be resistance for the cannon when fired. The walls of the freight car were covered with bales of straw to make it safer from bullets and warmer. Ammunition was loaded. The cannon was ready to fire"*. Applying the calculation in this way made it possible to use a cannon in front of the train and conduct artillery fire during short stops, covering the actions of the infantry (Dashkevych, 1965, pp. 22–23). This idea of R. Dashkevych increased the mobility of artillery and its survivability increased significantly, because after firing, the cannon was quickly moved to another place so that the enemy could not respond quickly. In the future, R. Dashkevych's invented tactics of artillery operations, found its application not only in the Ukrainian army, but it was also widely used by the armies of the leading countries of the world.

R. Dashkevych constantly thought about the growth of field artillery not only professionally, but quantitatively. However, R. Dashkevych's intentions to reorganize the Sich Riflemen's artillery into a regiment were thwarted by a coup. On April 29, 1918, owing to the support of the German troops, power passed to Hetman P. Skoropadsky, and the Central Rada officials were arrested. Having gained power, P. Skoropadsky began to subordinate the Ukrainian military units, in particular, he sent his representatives to the Sich Riflemen with the demand to lay down their arms without resistance. However, they were refused. R. Dashkevych sadly recalled those events: *"...a battery could have killed the whole assembly... but it wouldn't have changed the situation. The German command was behind Hetman Skoropadsky. About 30,000 German troops were in Kyiv, and those 3,000 Sich Riflemen could not measure up"* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 46).

Mostly, the Sich Riflemen, reacted negatively to P. Skoropadsky's coming to power. The soldiers noted that they had sworn to serve, first of all, the Ukrainian people, who

were represented by the CR. At that time, P. Skoropadsky demanded a full loyalty from the Sich Riflemen. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ye. Konovalets, after meeting with P. Skoropadsky, turned to his subordinates to inform them of the refusal to recognize the Hetman's authority: "... I submitted my opinion to the Hetman that the Sich Riflemen, as the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which it served faithfully, which together with other Ukrainian troops captured Kyiv, where many riflemen were killed in battles, cannot change their attitude overnight, because only that someone else's force – the Germans, removed the UNR government and appointed another government". The Sich Riflemen were in a full solidarity with the position of Ye. Konovalets, therefore supported his decision and once again declared, that they, the Sich Riflemen, are the army of the Ukrainian people, and not "mercenaries" of individual governments (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 48). As a result of disobedience, P. Skoropadsky ordered the disarmament of the Sich Riflemen (including R. Dashkevych's artillerymen), so the corps ceased to exist temporarily. R. Dashkevych made the conclusion: "*The battery disarmed. It was, it seems, on Holy Thursday, 1918*" (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 49).

In order to preserve the existence of his formation, R. Dashkevych was forced to redeploy the battery to the South in February of 1919, to continue his military service with his artillerymen as part of Zaporizhzhia Light Artillery Regiment commanded by Colonel Parfeniv. Very soon, R. Dashkevych's cannon battery was included into the regiment's staff and was named Battery 4 of Zaporizhzhia Light Artillery Regiment (Dashkevych, 1965, pp. 62–64). A new page in the history of R. Dashkevych's artillery began.

Despite the fact that as a result of the disarmament of the Sich Riflemen by the Hetman's troops, the artillerymen lost all their weapons, R. Dashkevych continued to worry about the combat readiness of his battery, and also agreed on training his artillerymen at Battery 3 named after Captain Savytsky. It is worth noting that even under such difficult conditions, R. Dashkevych managed to organize effective practical training, and thus, prevented demoralization of the subordinate artillerymen, who later proved themselves more than once in battles with enemies. In his memoirs, he concluded: "*Classes were easy. Artillerymen gathered at 7 o'clock in the morning. There were morning exercises, and often, instead of them there was singing... There was a half-hour drill, and then exercises with cannons and machine guns. At 10:00 p.m. the exercises ended and artillerymen went to the river... At 4 o'clock in the afternoon... military lectures on service continued, reading maps, measuring distances, controlling battery fire, making situational plans... This was followed by lectures on History of Ukraine, on literature, or books were read*" (Dashkevych, 1965, pp. 64–65). R. Dashkevych realized that only through regular, practical training he could maintain the combat readiness of his cannon battery.

In the fall of 1918, when Ye. Konovalets, after another appeal, received the permission of Hetman P. Skoropadsky to restore the Sich Rifle Corps, R. Dashkevych was one of the first to arrive at Bila Tserkva to begin re-forming the cannon unit. Very quickly, owing to the commander of the Sich artillery, a new artillery battery was formed and equipped with specialists and equipment. Somewhat paradoxically, however, it was precisely in the battles with Hetman's army, later, during the uprising of the UNR Directory, the newly created artillery formation demonstrated its fighting ability, and the Sich Riflemen were the best. V. Vynnychenko, one of the leaders of the Directory, recalled: "... but our main force, on which I relied the most, was the regiment of the Sich Riflemen, the Galicians, stationed in Bila Tserkva. There were one and a half thousand bayonets, the regiment was exemplary

disciplined and consisted of a nationally conscious element". He noted: "This regiment, according to the organization, should serve as the core of the uprising, around which all our forces would gather" (Vynnychenko, 1920, p. 90).

Along with R. Dashkevych's artillery, there was the unit of Captain F. Chernyk near Motovylyvka. He also noted the professionalism and courage of R. Dashkevych's artillerymen in battle: *"The Sich Riflemen battery was the most initiative in this battle and contributed to the victory at Motovylyvka not only by the fact that the cannons fired, but also carters fought bravely"* (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 90).

Further battles for Kyiv led more and more regiments and divisions of the Hetman's army to join the Directory's troops, which contributed to the replenishment of R. Dashkevych's artillery units with human resources and military equipment. At the beginning of December of 1918, he reorganized the artillery of the Sich Riflemen Corps of Ye. Konovalts into a cannon regiment. Later on, R. Dashkevych took an active part in the formation of the Black Sea Kosh artillery, Zaporizhzhia Corps and the Sirozhupannyky division (Tkachuk, 2003, p. 15).

After the capture of Kyiv, the military leadership of the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic appreciated the organizational and combat activity of the Sich Riflemen highly, and therefore promoted R. Dashkevych to the rank of an artillery colonel. In February of 1919, with his participation, six artillery regiments were formed, which were commanded by experienced artillerymen, senior officers Ya. Butryn, M. Kurakh, V. Zarytsky, D. Inkiv and O. Holubayev. Very soon, the formed regiments were united into a powerful artillery brigade, which numbered 4,600 soldiers and there were 70 cannons and 2,000 horses (CSAHAAU, f. 10781, d. 4, c. 1, pp. 124–125). The brigade was armed with 52 light cannons, 10 howitzers, 4 mountain cannons, 4 long-range cannons (Lytvyn, 1998, p. 172). R. Dashkevych constantly took care of all Ukrainian artillery and its development.

R. Dashkevych also made a significant contribution to the formation of cannon batteries of Iron Infantry Division 3 (Colonel O. Udovychenko), insurgent «Zaporizka Sich» (otaman Yu. Bozhko), the Black Sea Kosh and Volyn group. Under R. Dashkevych's leadership, two artillery regiments under command of V. Zarytsky and Ya. Butrym were formed, which he sent to help the Galician army of General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko. On March 6, 1918, these regiments took part in the operation to destroy the ammunition warehouse of the Polish troops, which was located in the area of Lviv main railway station. As a result of successful actions of R. Dashkevych's artillery, a mass panic began among the Polish garrison, and the loss of ammunition negatively affected the fighting capacity of their troops. However, the Command of the Galician Army was unfortunately unable to take full advantage of the successful actions of the Naddniproshchyna artillerymen, losing the chance to liberate Lviv. As Polish historians later noted: "at that time the Galicians could return their capital!" (Lytvyn, 1998, pp. 333–335).

During his service, R. Dashkevych constantly paid much attention to riflemen training, maintained high discipline and order in the artillery units, took care of national and patriotic education, organized the celebration of the Christian Galician traditions. He was the first to achieve the liquidation of individual officers' canteens, which earned him authority and respect among the rank-and-file artillerymen. A famous the Sich Riflemen historian S. Ripetsky recalled: *"The artillery brigade was an exemplary part of the Sich Riflemen Corps. Its famous organization, discipline and combat command were the pride of the Sich Riflemen"* (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 284).

In the winter of 1919, during the Bolshevik aggression against the Ukrainian People's Republic, R. Dashkevych's artillery regiments provided support for the actions of infantry

divisions at the fronts from Poltava to Vapniarka. Already at the beginning of April of 1919, he sent the Sich artillery (which at that time amounted to 80 cannons and 3,850 soldiers) to fight against the Bolshevik troops in Proskuriv, where R. Dashkevych's artillerymen stopped the enemy offensive (Dashkevych, 1965, p. 193).

One of the reasons for the Ukrainian army defeat was the entrapment of our troops by the Bolsheviks, the Denikin's army and the Polish army from three directions (Yakymovych, 2019, p. 183). In further actions of the troops of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the artillery units subordinate to R. Dashkevych joined partisan actions on December 6, 1920, and for a long time supported the Ukrainian army raids with fire. However, as a result of the military triumph of the Bolsheviks and the occupation of the Ukrainian lands, artillerymen of the Sich Riflemen Corps were interned in Poland. Later, the Sich Riflemen leaders Ye. Konovalets, R. Dashkevych, R. Sushko and the others formed the Ukrainian Military Organization in Vienna in 1920 (UMO), which continued the underground struggle against the enemies of the Ukrainian people (Udovychenko, 1954, p. 122).

Further activity of R. Dashkevych as a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization was of great importance to the Ukrainian struggle for statehood. On behalf of the UMO, he renewed the network of the "Sich" society in a number of countries and formed the military and patriotic association "Luh", in which by 1939 there were 500 members, and later on – almost 100 thousand young men and women (Naumenko, 2000, p. 401).

While in exile, R. Dashkevych took an active part in veteran organizations, wrote a series of memoirs about the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 and his own experiences. However, R. Dashkevych was a modest and few-spoken person, that is why, unfortunately there are few memories of him from the senior officers with whom he fought side by side for the Ukrainian independence. "*My parents were miserly of their youth memories, military, and emigration years*", later wrote in his monograph, the son of General-Khorunzhy of the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic – Ya. Dashkevych (Dashkevych, Durbaka & Svarnyk, 2009, p. 10).

The Conclusions. Nowadays, the same as at that time, the Ukrainian people continue their struggle for independence in modern Russian-Ukrainian war. Every day thousands of artillerymen protect the Ukrainian land with fire from enemy aggression in the East of Ukraine. Naturally that one of the artillery brigades of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, by Presidential Decree of May 6, 2019, was awarded the honorary title – "Artillery Brigade 26 named after General-Khorunzhy Roman Dashkevych" (Ukaz Prezidenta Ukrainy, 2019).

An important aspect of modern Ukrainian struggle for independence is objective study and awareness of one's own military history. The foundation for the education of future generations of soldiers in Ukraine, should become biographies of outstanding Ukrainian commanders of the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, among whom R. Dashkevych occupies a leading place.

Thus, further biographical study of R. Dashkevych's figure is important not only in the context of an example of courage and professionalism to modern artillery commanders, but also an effective method of refuting the distorted ideas of the Soviet historiography about the absence of a military elite in the Ukrainian army at the beginning of the 20th century, becomes part of ways of effective counteraction to modern Russian narratives that convince the world of inability of the Ukrainians to build their own state.

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INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK POLICY FORMATION CONCERNING THE AUTONOMY OF SUBCARPATHIAN RUS IN 1919 – 1921

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the internal and external factors of the Czechoslovak Republic policy formation concerning the autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus (the Transcarpathian region) in 1919 – 1921. The research methodology is based on a combination of general scientific (systematization, analysis and synthesis, abstraction, generalization) and special historical (historical systemic, historical critical, historical comparative, historical typological, specific problematic) and interdisciplinary research methods, taking into account the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity and verification. The scientific novelty consists in the authors' attempt to highlight the specified issue based on the latest historiographical heritage, as well as published and unpublished sources. Due to the study of the above-mentioned materials, it was possible to analyze the influence of external and internal factors on the Czechoslovak policy formation concerning the*

autonomous status of Subcarpathian Rus objectively. **The Conclusion.** Thus, the complex internal and external circumstances of the region's integration into the Czechoslovak Republic led to the development of a new administrative system under the conditions of the military dictatorship that lasted in 1919 – 1922. Autonomous regional institutions were not fully developed in the First Czechoslovak Republic. There was no even comprehensive programme for a gradual introduction of autonomy by the authorities of the Czechoslovak Republic. The administrative system development was carried out under conditions of putting off the implementation of the constitutional provisions on autonomy. Despite the fact that there were objective reasons for this state of affairs, due to the presence of the ChSR leadership's subjective views on the issue of autonomy as a possible factor of destabilization in a multinational country, and in particular, in Subcarpathian Rus, the disappointment of representatives of all political circles in the region resulted in the development of the autonomist movement, which became the centre of the region's political life during the interwar period.

Key words: autonomy, internal policy, national issue, national minorities, Subcarpathian Rus, the Ruthenians, the Czechoslovak Republic.

ВНУТРІШНІ ТА ЗОВНІШНІ ЧИННИКИ ФОРМУВАННЯ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЦЬКОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ЩОДО АВТОНОМІЇ ПІДКАРПАТСЬКОЇ РУСИ у 1919 – 1921 рр.

Анотація. Мета статті полягає у розкритті внутрішніх та зовнішніх чинників формування політики Чехословацької республіки щодо автономії Підкарпатської Русі у 1919 – 1921 рр. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на поєднанні загальнонаукових (систематизації, аналізу і синтезу, абстрагування, узагальнення) зі спеціально-історичними (історико-системним, історико-критичним, історико-порівняльним, історико-типологічним, конкретно-проблемним) та міждисциплінарними методами дослідження, з урахуванням принципів історизму, системності, науковості та верифікації. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі авторів висвітлити означену проблему на основі новітніх історіографічних надбань, а також опублікованих та неопублікованих джерел. Вивчення комплексу цих матеріалів уможливило об'єктивний аналіз впливу зовнішніх і внутрішніх чинників на формування чехословацької політики щодо автономного статусу Підкарпатської Русі. **Висновки.** Отже, комплекс складних внутрішніх і зовнішніх обставин інтеграції регіону до складу Чехословацької республіки зумовили розбудову нової адміністративної системи в умовах військової диктатури, що тривала у 1919 – 1922 рр. У повному обсязі автономні інституції краю у Першій Чехословацькій республіці не були розбудовані. Цілісної програми поетапного запровадження автономії владою ЧСР представлено не було. Розбудова адміністративної системи здійснювалася в умовах відтермінування реалізації конституційних положень про автономію. Незважаючи на наявність об'єктивних причин цього, за присутності суб'єктивних поглядів керівництва ЧСР на питання автономії як можливого чинника дестабілізації у багатонаціональній країні, і зокрема, в Підкарпатській Русі, розчарування представників усіх політичних напрямів у краї вилилося у розгортання автономістського руху, що став віссю політичного життя регіону у міжвоєнний період.

Ключові слова: автономія, внутрішня політика, національне питання, національні меншини, Підкарпатська Русь, русини, Чехословацька республіка.

The Problem Statement. Due to the fact that the Ukrainians could not defend their statehood in 1917 – 1921, their ethnic lands came under control of Russia, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia (Danylenko & Kotsur, 2021, 6). Subcarpathian Rus belonged to the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) (nowadays – Transcarpathian region of Ukraine). Subcarpathian Rus got its name from the self-name of the native Slavic population of the region – the Ruthenians. At the same time, it should be noted that the top leadership of the Czechoslovak SSR, in particular, T. G. Masaryk and E. Beneš, considered the Ruthenians to be the part of the Ukrainian people (Kravchuk, 2008, p. 13). In Czechoslovakia, it was the only national minority whose representatives expressed the desire to join it, became its state-building element and received a guarantee of the territorial autonomy at the Paris Peace

Conference, which was an exceptional example of such status among all post-war treaties (Degtyarev & Samoilenko, 2019, p. 100). In Czechoslovakia, Subcarpathian Rus became the only region with guaranteed rights of the territorial autonomy, which determined the main direction and complexity of developing the administrative bodies. The resolution of the issue regarding the autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus became a crucial aspect of the Czechoslovak Republic internal policy.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications. Significant historiographical achievements were accumulated in the study of this issue. There were analyzed the reasons for the Czech and the Slovak politicians' interest, in particular, the first president of Czechoslovakia, T. G. Masaryk, in the incorporation of the territories of modern Transcarpathia into the Czechoslovak Republic, as well as such key issues as establishment of administrative territorial borders, determination of the scope of autonomy in international and Czechoslovak legal norms and establishment of administrative institutions of Subcarpathian Rus (Boldyžhar & Mosny, 2002; Brandejs, 1936; Bysaga, 1997; Ghranchak & Prykhodjko, 1999; Hanchyn, 1985; Hubený & Kruglova 2020; Zhuravs'kyj-Ghrajevs'kyj, 1990; Krempa, 1978; Lichtej, 1995; Mahochii, 1994; Pop, 1999, 2005, 2006, 2010; Pushkash, 2007; Raušer, 1936; Shandor, 1992; Švorc, 1997, 1999; Shevchenko, 2006, 2009; Vanat, 1979; Vidnyanskyy, 1994, 2000, 2003, 2012; etc.). In addition, modern researchers focused on the institutional foundations of the formation and functioning of local public authorities in Transcarpathia as the part of the Czech SSR (Hrehirchak, 2010), the attitude of local (Transcarpathian) and all-Czechoslovak political parties to the issue of regional autonomy (Pikovs'ka, 2020; Tokar, 2006). Some aspects of the mentioned above issues were analyzed in general works on the history of Transcarpathia during the interwar period (Zakarpatija, 2010; Narisy istoriyi Zakarpattia, 1995).

But at the same time, the actual complex of internal and external factors in determining the Czechoslovak policy concerning the autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus was covered insufficiently. A thorough study of the specified issue gives the opportunity to do analysis of important sources of the history of the Czechoslovak SSR, a significant part of which have been published or republished recently. It is about the correspondence of the Czechoslovak SSR top leadership (Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Antonín Švehla, 2012; Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937, 2013), the works written by T. G. Masaryk (Masaryk, 2003, 2017), E. Beneš (Beneš, 2005), Yu. Brashhajko (Brashhajko, 2009), the collection of archival documents “Tomas Masaryk and the Ukrainians” (Topinka, 2010). The study of the above-mentioned materials in combination with previously published sources, in particular, the works, written by E. Benesh (Beneš) (Benesh, 1925, 1934), G. Žatkovič (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921), international and Czechoslovak documents regarding the legal status of Subcarpathian Rus, archival materials, historiographic achievements prove significant research potential, and, therefore, the topicality of the above mentioned issue.

Hence, **the purpose of the article** is to elucidate the internal and external factors of the Czechoslovak Republic policy formation concerning the autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus (the Transcarpathian region) in 1919 – 1921.

The Results of the Research. The leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic set their goal “to create a new politically, socially and economically just state” (Beneš, 2005, p. 167). They presented it as a democratic state that ensured compliance with human rights and in which representatives of different nationalities could live. At the same time, the Czechoslovak Republic was declared a national state of the Czechs and the Slovaks, which aimed at ensuring

their rights (Serapionova, 2007, p. 90). The inclusion of numerous national minorities in the Czechoslovak Republic was determined by a number of factors: economic, strategic, historical, etc. The geopolitical and strategic calculations of the leader of the Czechoslovak liberation movement, T. G. Masaryk, also played an important role in the case of joining the territory inhabited by the Ruthenians to the Czechoslovak Republic. The territory was assigned the role of a connecting territorial link between the Czechoslovak Republic and its potential ally Romania, which prevented the territorial delimitation of Hungary and Poland (Masaryk, 2017, pp. 83, 92), with which Prague had territorial disputes claims. In addition, according to the Czech historian J. Ryhlik, “To Czechoslovakia as a country of a medium size, the expansion of the territory was of great importance” (Vehesh, Vidnianskyi & Chavarha 2022, p. 105). Furthermore, the Slavophile ideas played a certain role in the case of the Ruthenians. Hence, on May 30, 1918, while delivering a speech in front of the Czech and the Slovak emigrants in Pittsburgh, T. G. Masaryk for the first time mentioned the initiative of the immigrants from Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) in the United States to join the region of their parents to the future state of the Czechs and the Slovaks: “It is the Slavic idea, which matured in this war so wonderfully” (Masaryk, 2017, p. 84). Obviously, it was about strengthening the Slavic majority in the projected state, which at that time was supposed to include the German and Hungarian minorities. On October 25, 1918, negotiations began between T. G. Masaryk and G. Žatkovič regarding the possible accession of the region to future Czechoslovakia. The discussion took place among the American Ruthenians themselves, the highest peak was the November plebiscite with the participation of 1,089 delegates. Among them, 732 delegates (67%) spoke in favour of joining their parents’ region to Czechoslovakia on the basis of broad autonomy (Hubený & Kruglova, 2020, p. 89; Kravchuk, 2021, p. 316).

In the region itself, local public figures did not have a single political programme. Some of them supported the idea to leave the region in the Hungarian state, the others – advocated joining the Ukrainian People’s Republic or the Czechoslovak Republic. Due to the foreign political circumstances, the Czechoslovak version of the statehood of modern Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) became a reality. The Central Ruthenian People’s Council (CRPC), formed in Uzhhorod, at the general meeting on May 8 in 1919, spoke out in favour of combining its future with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (this position was supported from the very beginning by Priashiv People’s Council, headed by Anton Beskyd (Hubený & Kruglova, 2020, p. 94).

The establishment of power of the Czechoslovak SSR in Subcarpathian Rus, sanctioned by the Entente, began with the entry of the Czechoslovak military units into Uzhhorod on January 12, 1919 (Raušer, 1936, p. 69). A few days later, the Romanian troops occupied the southeastern regions of Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) (Dzjubko & Spivak, 1967, p. 229).

Prague sought to strengthen the presence of the Czechoslovak SSR in the region, in particular, to gain the support of the local Ruthenian figures regarding the unification of the region with the state of the Czechs and the Slovaks (Shevchenko, 2006, p. 108). The Czechoslovak delegation also advocated the region’s accession to the Czechoslovak Republic at the Paris Peace Conference on February 5, 1919, in his speech in front of the Council of Ten, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic E. Beneš touched on the issue of the Ruthenians of Hungary. He stated the following: “although the Ruthenian Carpathians of the Carpathians and the Galician Ukrainians are of the same origin, they are still separated by the Carpathians; their social and economic living conditions bring them closer to the Slovaks; the Ruthenian Carpathians do not want the Hungarian government and suggest creating a close federation with the Czechoslovak Republic” (Zhuravs’kyj-

Ghrajevs'kyj, 1990, p. 132). On March 3–4, 1919, in Paris, the representatives of the American People's Council of Hungarian-Ruthenians, who supported this idea in the USA at the end of 1918 actively, G. Žatkovič and Yu. Gardosh, handed over their project of the state-legal status of the “Hungarian-Ruthenian State” to the leaders delegations of the Czechoslovak Republic – K. Kramarzh and E. Beneš (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921, p. 83). The Entente countries did not raise objections regarding the accession of the territories of modern Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Prague received further accession support after the declaration of the Soviet power in Hungary (Pop, 2005, p. 294).

On April 23, 1919, under the command of the eastern army group, the representative of the French military mission in the Czechoslovak Republic, General commander E. Sh. A. Ennok, the Czechoslovak units began to take control of strongholds in the central and eastern parts of the region (Vidnyansky, 2003, p. 633). During the war between the Czechoslovak SSR and Romania with the Soviet Hungary (April 27 – July 7, 1919), the military dictatorship headed by General E. Sh. A. Ennok was unofficially introduced in the western part of the region on June 6, 1919 (Pop, 2006, p. 398). By August 25, 1920, the 10th Infantry Division of the Czechoslovak SSR troops, numbering more than 14,000 people, occupied the territory of Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) (Popovych, 2019, p. 98; Dzjubko & Spivak, 1967, pp. 94–95). At the same time, the former zhyhnyi (county) territorial unit (Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehiv, Velkosevliush and Maramoros zhyhnyi (counties)) was left in a somewhat reorganized form (Pop, 2006, p. 219).

On May, 1919, the Ukrainian National People's Republic in Uzhhorod decided to join the region to the Czechoslovak SSR on the basis of the federal principle (Krempa, 1978, p. 721). The Ruthenian community's representation in the name of the new state was supposed to be expression of the above-mentioned desire. It was meant to be called the Czechoslovak-Ruthenian Republic (Švorc, 1999, pp. 196). On May 23, 1919, those demands were submitted to the President of Czechoslovakia (Topinka, 2010, p. 29). On the authority of the CRPR, G. Žatkovič was supposed to conduct further negotiations with the President of the Czechoslovak Republic regarding the introduction of regional autonomy (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921, p. 15).

The President agreed with the autonomous status of the Ruthenians in the Czechoslovak SSR, since they “express their own desire to be with us”. But he believed that “it does not follow that the Germans can demand the same” (Korespondence, 2013, p. 109). Taking into account the above-mentioned, it proves that the President was aware of the interconnectedness concerning the issue of the autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus with other national problems in the Czechoslovak SSR. In this regard, as early as on May 12, 1919, he expressed certain doubts to E. Beneš about the need for the winning countries to conclude an agreement with the Czechoslovak Republic on minorities, because it “gives the states the opportunity to campaign with their neighbours constantly. Hence, the Germans in our territories and the others”. The President advocated that the law on minorities adopted by the peace conference should be of a pan-European nature. Regarding the content of the agreements on minorities, which the Czechoslovak Republic was supposed to conclude with the Entente countries, he assumed the following: “At most, a general, framework [law]; it must exclude any state within a state” (Korespondence, 2013, p. 141). In general, the leading Czech politicians considered the federalization of the Czechoslovak Republic unacceptable (Petráš, 2019, p. 41). Therefore, the CRPR's political ideas could not affect the state legal status of the region in the the Czechoslovak SSR.

At the request of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the foundations of the

autonomous organization of the “Ruthenian Krainy (Territory)” (such name was introduced by the Hungarian law in December of 1918) were developed and presented on May 17 by E. Beneš in Paris. His view was based on the idea of giving this territory a “special legal nature” with considerable autonomy. Its administrative institutions were to include the local Parliament, the Governor, the Minister in the government of the Czechoslovak Republic. The powers of the autonomy were to cover language, school, religious and other matters of internal governance (Vanat, 1979, pp. 95–96). It was also envisaged to represent the Ruthenians in Parliament of the Czechoslovak SSR, and the state-wide judicial system was to extend to the autonomous territory. On May 17 and 23, 1919, the peace conference approved the project of E. Beneš (Nikolson, 1945, p. 261). The Ruthenians were to receive autonomy “mainly because they had never belonged to the Czech and the Slovak lands before” (Beneš, 2005, p. 121).

The negotiations between G. Žatkovič and T. G. Masaryk on the status of the Ruthenian territory intensified after the end of Czechoslovakia’s military operations with the Soviet Hungary. G. Žatkovič insisted on the fact that the autonomous Carpathian state within the Czechoslovak Republic should be called “Rusyniya”. Its borders were to be established according to the ethnic principle. T. G. Masaryk did not consider it possible due to the lack of a compact settlement of the Ruthenians to the west of the Uzh River, where the Slovaks lived next to them (Korespondence, 2013, p. 188).

If G. Žatkovič pondered over the settlement of relations with Prague from the standpoint of the region’s interests, the top management of the Czechoslovak SSR perceived this issue in the national context and sought to integrate the region into the country’s legal system. On July 8, 1919, T. G. Masaryk drew the attention of the Minister of Internal Affairs A. Švehla to the drastic need to resolve the issue of “administrative annexation of Rusynsk” and the national minorities issue. On July 22, 1919, he wrote to him about the need to take into account the region’s accession to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic when drafting the regulations on elections (Korespondence, 2012, p. 52) In this context, we should note D. Miller’s statement that A. Švehla gave “preference to a unitary state over a state with autonomous lands”. He “decided that a copy of the Czech administrative style would emerge in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus...” (Miller, 2001, p. 66). In order to help General Ennok, the Civil Administration was established to organize the administration of the region, which was headed by the Czech J. Břejha on August 1, 1919 (Pop, 2005, p. 283). The administration performed the functions of the zemskiy government and, in part, the functions of central institutions (SATR, f. 29, d. 3, c. 13, p. 102). There were the following departments in the administrative body: political, school, judicial, police, health care, public works, post and communication, economic, financial, agriculture, social security (Pop, 2006, p. 163). At the same time, a temporary Ruthenian autonomous council (Directorate) with advisory functions was not appointed (according to T. G. Masaryk – a commission for autonomous affairs), (Korespondence, 2013, p. 196), which was agreed on the eve of G. Žatkovič’s departure to the USA (Pushkash, 2007, p. 68).

The transfer of the Czechoslovakian region became the subject of a special diplomatic act and agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Entente countries (Korespondence, 2013, p. 92). On September 10, 1919, in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Czechoslovakia signed the agreement on national minorities with England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States (Zbírka zákonů, 1921, pp. 2301–2215). The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic undertook to grant the region “the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians” autonomy, personified by a governor and a representative body – the diet with legislative rights in the field of language, religious

education, local government issues and all others that the laws of the Czechoslovak state would grant it. The Governor was supposed to be responsible for everything to the diet. The region was also guaranteed fair representation in Parliament of the Czechoslovak SSR.

On October 1, 1919, the military dictatorship was officially declared in the region, which lasted until January 9, 1922 (Kravchuk, 2008, p. 13; Pop, 2005, p. 283). Under the conditions of sabotage by the Hungarian officials and entrepreneurs, there was the only one possible option to govern with the help of the military. E. Sh. A. Ennok's task was the internal political stabilization of the region after the retreat of the Soviet Hungarian troops from its central part and the Romanian troops from the eastern part (Pop, 2006, p. 398). Later the Czechoslovak officials depicted the situation the following way: "The administration was in a complete decline. The Hungarian administrative institutions ceased their activities during the post-war period, mainly managing the estate of the military erar (the property of the military department – the authors), which individual employees and officials of the Hungarian army of that time sold off among local people. There was a state of complete chaos immediately after the coup. ..." (SATR, f. 29, d. 3, c. 706, pp. 96–97).

At that time, G. Žatkovič, who returned from a trip to the USA in order to participate in the first congress of Ruthenians in Homestead, resumed negotiations with the top leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic concerning the implementation of the region's autonomous rights. The draft "General Statute of Subcarpathian Rus" was specifically discussed, the development of which was worked on by President T. G. Masaryk. On October 20, 1919, he sent A. Švehla "Outline of the General Statute of Subcarpathian Rus, joined to the Czechoslovak Republic by the Paris Peace Conference" (Masaryk, 2003, p. 55). According to J. Gořec, in the text of the statute T. G. Masaryk corrected the verb "establishes" to "organizes" in the phrase "organizes the Ruthenian territory". He argued that the French original text used the word "organizes". "The essence of this correction is not a philological interpretation. "Organizes" is less significant than "establishes". To organize means to carry out certain administrative measures, while "to establish" already indicates an independent autonomous system". J. Gořec made an assumption that in these actions of T. G. Masaryk "conceals the fear of excessive self-governing independence of Subcarpathia" (Dokumenty o Podkarpatské Rusi, 1997, pp. 86–87).

The government approved this document in a slightly modified form. The statute, which was a compilation of the most important legal norms of the autonomous entity, became the first internal act of the Czechoslovak SSR on the issue of the legal status of Subcarpathian Rus (Vidnyansky, 2012, p. 294). The first part of the document declared the main provisions of the Saint-Germain Peace Treaty regarding the region, the second part defined the demarcation line between it and Slovakia from the town of Chop to the northern part of Uzhhorod and further along the Uzh River to the Carpathians, the third part introduced the name "Subcarpathian Rus", allowing to use also the name "Rusynsko", declared the people's language as the official language and the language of education. The fourth, the final part of the document, was related to the basics of administrative organization. It was about the government's right to appoint a temporary administrator, a temporary Ruthenian Autonomous Directory with advisory powers in matters of self-government. These institutions were supposed to cease their activities with the introduction of the Constitution of the autonomous region. The document stated that the elections to the Autonomous Diet should be held no later than 90 days after the parliamentary elections in the Czechoslovak SSR (SATR, f. 12, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 2–4). By the way, the "Statute of the Ruthenian Autonomous

Directory”, which provided for its right of veto on the appointment and dismissal of employees in the region and was supposed to be the part of the “General Statute...” was not included in it (Krempa, 1978, p. 28, 30).

On October 24 and November 7, 1919, the authorities of the Czechoslovak SSR approved the “General Statute for the Organization and Administration of Subcarpathian Rus” and determined that it would be published in newly founded “The Government Newspaper of the Civil Administration of Subcarpathian Rus” (Korespondence, 2012, p. 728).

On November 18, 1919, General Ennok published the text of the “General Statute...”. The Directory of Subcarpathian Rus began its activities soon. But there was no coordinated activity in the three administrative centres. E. Sh. A. Ennok and J. Brejha treated the Directory with contempt, did not take its opinion into account when making decisions (Krempa, 1978, p. 729). Yu. Brashhajko mentioned that J. Brejha sabotaged the suggestions of the Directory (Brashhajko, 2009, p. 24). The Czechoslovak authorities never approved the Directory’s Charter, thereby weakening its position. Such actions of Prague could be explained by the Directory’s desire for maximum independence from the central government, although at the same time this regional body advocated far-reaching reforms in the region (Krempa, 1978, p. 731). The suggestion of the Directory to grant it the right to send 15 deputies to Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic was ignored (Archiv Ústavu T. G. Masaryka, 1920). At the end of 1919, all this led to the suggestion made to the President by one of the members of the Directory, A. Voloshyn, to liquidate the Civil Administration, and to transfer its powers to the Directory, which would, thereby, acquire real power (Krempa, 1978, p. 730).

Under the conditions of criticism of J. Brejha by local figures (Topinka, 2010, pp. 44–45), on January 19, 1920, G. Žatkovič resumed negotiations in Prague with the aim of obtaining real powers for the Directory, solving the border issues of Subcarpathian Rus and Slovakia (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921, p. 31). In general, local officials sought to join the entire zhupy (counties), parts of the Sharyshka and Spishka zhupy (counties), to the territory of the region, the basis of which were the former counties of Unh, Bereh, Uhoch, and Maramorosh. I. Pop considered those demands excessive. The representatives of the parliamentary faction from Slovakia were ready to concede a smaller part of Sharyshka and Uzhka zhupy (counties) (Pop, 2005, p. 301). The members of the Directory of Subcarpathian Rus did not agree to this decision, as a result of which the negotiations stopped (Brashhajko, 2009, p. 24).

On January 28, 1920, the members of the Directory submitted their demands to the top leadership of the Czechoslovak SSR (Topinka, 2010, p. 57). In particular, G. Žatkovič wrote a letter to T. G. Masaryk, which was dated January 28, 1920, suggested abolishing the post of administrator and the Directory, and instead to appoint the Governor and Minister of Regional Affairs. The military dictatorship was also the subject to abolition right after the appointment of the Governor. At the same time, it was proposed to put off the elections to Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Seim in the region (Krempa, 1978, p. 732). The negotiations between G. Žatkovič and T. G. Masaryk carried on February 10, 1920. The course of negotiations proved that realization of the region’s autonomous rights was complicated by the position of individual politicians. Hence, the Minister of Internal Affairs of that time and a leader of the influential agrarian party A. Švehla did not support the introduction of autonomous rights of the region. According to Yu. Brashhajko’s recollections, this politician “imagined autonomy in such way that it would be enough that we would have the right to choose village elders” (Brashhajko, 2009, p. 26). Due to the lack of results, G. Žatkovič

resigned on March 3, 1920, supported by other members of the Directory (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921, p. 32).

The Constitution of Czechoslovakia, dated February 29, 1920 declared Subcarpathian Rus an integral part of the Czechoslovak SSR, “the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians” received a guarantee of territorial autonomy. At the same time, the text of the Saint-Germain Treaty on Minorities of 1919 was not included verbatim in the basic law of the Czechoslovak SSR. In particular, the provision on the approval by the President of the Czechoslovak Republic of the laws adopted by the Seim was a deviation from the agreement, testifying to the desire to have a lever of influence on affairs in the region. The next modification was that the Seim could not determine the number of deputies and senators and the method of their election, could not send its representatives to the National Assembly. The Constitutional Court received the right to decide whether the laws, passed by the Seim were valid or invalid (Pop, 2010, pp. 307–308). At the same time, the Constitution guaranteed legal equality to all its citizens of the Czech Republic.

Yu. Bysaha, while analyzing the provisions of Items 2–9 § 3 of the Basic Law, which was related to the autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus, was taken aback and expressed his amusement that the issue concerning the state legal status of the autonomy was decided without the representatives of the region in the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Yu. Bysaha asked a completely logical question: “Whether the National Assembly of the first republic was legally competent to determine the state legal place of the region within the Czechoslovak Republic”. The researcher considered that the representatives of the financial and political groups of Czechoslovakia were not satisfied with the fair solution of the national minorities’ issues. As a result, the “unconstitutional government order on zhupy (counties) administration on the territory of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus” was implemented in the future instead of the idea of autonomy incorporated in the Constitution (Bysaga, 1997, p.72).

The negotiations between the President and G. Žatkovič went on later. The President suggested postponing the resolution of the territorial issue, which was to be done by Parliament of the Czechoslovak SSR and the diet of Subcarpathian Rus, agreed to the appointment of G. Zatkovic as the temporary Governor of the region (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921, p. 32).

It should be noted that at that time Prague was consulting with the local officials concerning the development of the coat of arms of Subcarpathian Rus. Due to the law, issued on March 30, 1920, Parliament adopted the law on the state flag and emblem of the Czechoslovak Republic (Zbírka zákonů, 1920, pp. 539–540). The new coat of arms of Subcarpathian Rus became the part of the large and medium state emblem of the Czechoslovak Republic – a shield divided into two parts, on the right part there were three gold stripes on a blue field, on the left part there was a red figure of a bear standing on its hind legs with an open mouth on a silver field (Pop, 2006, p. 150).

The government order “On Amending the General Statute of Subcarpathian Rus”, issued on April 26, 1920 was a certain compromise between T. G. Masaryk and G. Žatkovič (Zbírka zákonů, 1920, p. 913). There were the following important differences in the autonomous organization of the region, compared to the Constitution, the creation of new authorities – the positions of the Vice-Governor and the Governor’s Council. The head of the region – the Governor – was appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the government. The Governor had significant powers, but could only carry out them with the support of the Vice-Governor, who was at the head of the local administrative apparatus. The Governor’s Council (10 people) received the right to adopt resolutions of the Civil Administration (Boldyžhar & Mosny, 2002, p. 90). According to Yo. Klimko, this document “marked the

beginning of the final rejection of the initial project of autonomy” (Klimko, 1986, p. 67). Due to the abolition of the “General Statute ...” of 1919, which allowed Prague authorities not to start the formation of the Diet within the period specified in the statute, i.e. not to hold elections to it 90 days after the general parliamentary elections (Pushkash, 2007, p. 92).

G. Žatkovič was appointed by T. G. Masaryk as temporary Governor, who considered it his task to “make a constitutional state out of Rusynia” on May 5, 1920 (Spravoizdanije predsdatel’a, 1919, p. 5).

The Czech P. Ehrenfeld was appointed to the position of Vice-Governor on May 1, 1920 (Archiv Ústavu T. G. Masaryka, 1923). According to the law of April 15, 1920 and Decree of July 27, 1920 (Zbirka zákonů, 1920, p. 599), the government was given the right to exercise greater control over the composition of civil servants in the region. The government sent the Czech civil servants to the region actively, where they made up approximately 38% (more than 3,3 thousand people) of the staff of the administrative apparatus in 1921 (Československá statistika, 1927, p. 134).

The ruling circles of Czechoslovakia were interested in centralized state management as a means of political stabilization under conditions of support for the irredentism of national minorities by neighbouring states. According to I. Pop, it was unrealistic to implement an autonomous system in the region right after its accession to the Czechoslovak SSR, under the conditions of destruction caused by war and foreign occupation, politically agitated by the communist dictatorship of 1919, with a complete lack of local qualified personnel (Pop, 1999, pp. 131–132).

It should be emphasized that there was a social stratification of the Ruthenian community at the initial stage, which was a peasant patriarchal society. There was no own aristocracy and entrepreneurs, intelligentsia, the role of which was performed by the Greek-Catholic clergy (Tóth, 1999, p. 129). There were 62,7% of the Ruthenians of the total population of Subcarpathian Rus, which numbered 608,108 people, (Kravchuk, 2008, p. 146). There were people employed in agriculture – 82,13%, 5.06% – in industry and crafts, 0,51% – in trade and finance, 1,39% – in transport, 1,47% – in state and other public services, 0,31% – in the army, 9,13% – in other spheres (Československá statistika, 1927, p. 132). It was about the absence of a large middle class in the Ruthenian community – the basis of self-governing actions in various spheres of life. The researcher E. Beneš noted the following: “Democracy gives its citizens new broad rights and responsibilities. In order for an ordinary citizen to be able to fulfill them in a modern complex society, he must be prepared for this.” (Benes, 1925, p. 77). S. Klochurak made the following remark: “Who exactly could we appoint in the 1919s – 20s, not only the administrative apparatus, but all other posts of various state regional, city and other institutions, without which one can not imagine the normal course of public life?”. He believed that the main reason for delaying the implementation of the autonomous rights of the region was the population’s ignorance, which numbered 80% and the absence of intelligentsia (Mushynka, 2011, p. 391). A. Voloshyn noted the following: “And without their own cultural and economic institutions, in his autonomous country a Rusyn would be a slave to someone else’s culture and someone else’s capital” (Voloshyn, 1935, p. 2).

At the same time, we should note that the political parties with autonomist programmes began to emerge in the region under the conditions of the democratic regime in the Czechoslovak SSR (Švorc, 1997, p. 59). First of all, among the Ruthenian political parties the following should be mentioned the Carpathian Labour Party, the Ruthenian Agricultural Party, and the Subcarpathian Agricultural Union (Pikovs’ka, 2020, pp. 127–128).

However, the government of the Czechoslovak Republic began to put off the most important

political demand of the region's political representatives – the introduction of autonomous rights. Although elections to Parliament of the Czechoslovak SSR were to be held no later than in July of 1920, they were not called, unlike in the Czech lands and Slovakia. There were reasons for this, which were objective in nature, they were based on the complexity of local linguistic, religious and economic relations, political instability, low cultural level of the population, lack of own intelligentsia and strong positions of the left-wing political forces (Vidnyanskyy, 2012, p. 294). A. Švehla considered it vital to establish branches of all-Czechoslovak parties in the region in the light of events (Brandejš, 1936, p. 74).

Interconnectedness of various components of the national issue (the Slovaks, the national minorities) played a role in delaying the introduction of autonomy, which contributed to the consolidation of a unitary state system in the Czech Republic. The top leadership of Czechoslovakia were afraid that the Hungarians, who were more organized than the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, in the event of the regional autonomous institutions establishment, would take the leading positions in them and proclaim the “return” of this region to Hungary. In particular, the author of the autonomy concept, E. Beneš, advocated its consistent implementation in the region, which was inhabited by two-thirds majority of the Slavic element against one-third of the Hungarian and the Jewish minorities (Benesh, 1934, pp. 35–36). The expediency of a long-term preparation was seen in the need to build “true democratic autonomy”, because due to a low level of education, the demagoguery of the “communist party”, the Hungarian minority could gain decisive influence in the Diet, which could “pave the way for undemocratic rule” (Benesh, 1934, pp. 36, 38). In addition, E. Beneš highlighted the following: “This contradicts the democratic principles on which our republic was built” (Benesh, 1934, p. 49). Local officials also realized this opportunity (Grendzha-Dons'kyj, 2003, p. 32).

It is absolutely essential to take into account the interconnectedness of internal and external factors while analysing the process of the Czechoslovak policy formation regarding autonomy. In the summer of 1920 the instability of domestic political situation in the region was intensified by the foreign political circumstances. Manifestations of irredentism increased among former Hungarian government officials (the delivery of firearms to the territory of the border was recorded (Vehesh, Gyrja & Korol', 1998, p. 54). Prague began to create the military and political alliance – the Little Entente, which consisted of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania in order to counter Hungarian revisionism, on August 14–17, 1920 (Olivová, 2000, p. 105).

In the summer-autumn of 1920, in connection with the offensive of the Soviet Russian troops in Galicia, the International Socialist Party of Subcarpathian Russia, anticipating the creation of a revolutionary situation, formed underground armed units numbering more than 8,850 people (Vidnyanskyy, 2000, p. 299; Prunycja, 1984, p. 41). It should be mentioned that on July 24, 1920, in a telegramme to V. Lenin, J. Stalin who was a representative of the Bolshevik leadership on the South-Western Front, offered to consider the issue of preparing uprisings in a number of countries, in particular, in the Czech Republic (Khlevnyuk, 2015, p. 95).

On August 9, 1920, the civil administration of Subcarpathian Rus informed the government of the Czechoslovak SSR about preparations by the local communists to establish control over Mukachevo-Lavochno road, where the military activity of the Russian Red Army was expected. There were also rumors about a coup in the region and Eastern Slovakia during the approach of the Soviet troops to Lviv and Stryi (Granchak & Prykhod'ko, 1999, p. 59).

Units of the Czechoslovak army arrived in the region, and in the second half of July of

1920, a state of emergency was introduced, and the number of law enforcement officers was increased (Olivová, 2000, p. 112). We should mention that later in the documents of the Communist Party of Ukraine it was noted: "... The uprising failed, many of the comrades were arrested by the Czech authorities ... Many comrades returned back, as the Czechs declared martial law in the entire Subcarpathian region now..." (Vidnyansky, 1994, p. 138).

In September and October of 1920 G. Žatkovič developed and submitted to the government drafts of the electoral law and constitution of Subcarpathian Rus under such conditions. He suggested holding the elections to the Diet in January of 1921 (Expozé Dr. G. I. Žatkoviča, 1921, p. 34). At that time, the political crisis in the Czechoslovak SSR was only growing, and it reached its peak during the general strike (in Subcarpathian Rus – December 14–21, 1920) (Pop, 2005, pp. 312–313), which was accompanied by an attempt to seize power by pro-communist forces. Under such conditions, the government of the Czechoslovak SSR was afraid of showing weakness. G. Žatkovič's projects remained unrealized. The draft Constitution of Subcarpathian Rus, which was prepared in the company of the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak SSR, Ya. Cherny in October of 1920, provided for a centralized model of relations between Prague and the region (Kravchuk, 2008, p. 110). In response, G. Žatkovič resigned. The negotiations on the deputation of the political parties of the region in Prague (April of 1921) were useless. In May of 1921, the President accepted the resignation of G. Žatkovič (Lichtej 1995, p. 181).

In the future, T. G. Masaryk continued to ponder over the solution of the political crisis in Subcarpathian Rus. The President was afraid of the support of local autonomists by the Glinkivites (Krempa, 1978, p. 738). There were certain reasons for this. At the same time, the Slovak People's Party triggered the struggle for the autonomy of the native region, which was embodied in three relevant bills (Shnitser, 2008, pp. 54–56). It is notable that later the party developed one of its projects for the autonomy of Slovakia based on the model of the constitutional state legal status of Subcarpathian Rus (Shnitser, 2008, p. 90).

The President considered it crucial to consolidate local Ruthenian politicians around support for government policy. On May 24, 1921, he wrote down his thoughts on the drastic need to create an "agrarian-socialist coalition" on the basis of the parties of Subcarpathian Rus (Krempa, 1978, p. 738). On July 3, 1921, T. G. Masaryk wrote the following: "Dr. Žatkovič naturally understands autonomy in the sense of independence in his project. As an American, he is led to this by the American example: the federation of independent states ... In each case, we have to take into consideration the growing desire for independence, for autonomy in areas not defined by the peace treaty; but the peace treaty provides for the expansion of autonomy, and the Ruthenians in this sense will refer to the fact that they joined the state by their own decision and therefore will take political and legal benefits from it. That is: they will also see in autonomy an independent political and legal element – hence, the justification of a certain independence from the state" (Krempa, 1978, p. 737).

In general, in the 1920s, the leadership of Czechoslovakia strengthened the centralized administrative system (Vehesh, Vidnianskyi & Chavarha, 2022, p. 105). On August 26, 1921, the government approved a new territorial administrative division of the region into three zhupy (counties) with centres in Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, and Velykyi Sevlush (Narysy istoriyi Zakarpattia, 1995, p. 130). The territory of the Ruthenians in the Czechoslovak Republic remained administratively divided. If the territory of 17,945 sq. km. meters was to be included in the "Ruska Kraina" as the part of Hungary, then Subcarpathian Rus included only 12,617 sq. km., in particular Pryašivshchyna – remained under the jurisdiction of the Slovak administrative units (SATR, f. 29, d. 3, c. 595, p. 28). During the establishment of the border with Romania,

Czechoslovakia transferred to Romania the eastern part of Transcarpathia with the city of Sighetu Marmăției, and 14 villages on May 4 in 1921 (Zakarpat'tja, 2010, p. 55).

In 1919 – 1921 the steps taken by Czechoslovakia did not make the region a full-fledged autonomous unit of the republic. It should be mentioned that when referring to the legal status of Subcarpathian Rus, the employees of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Prague considered it similar to the former crown lands in Cisleithania (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3519, d. 1, c. 4, p. 40). Only in October of 1938 the substantial realization of the autonomous rights of the region began (Vehesh, Vidnianskyi & Chavarha, 2022, p. 104).

The main efforts of the Czechoslovak government were directed to the development of economy and culture in the region. In particular, during his visit to Uzhhorod, T. G. Masaryk proclaimed the need to activate the local intelligentsia, cultural and economic upliftment of the population of the region, intensification of educational, educational and activities to improve the living conditions of the local population to the level of other regions of the Czechoslovak SSR as a prerequisite for granting autonomy of the region on September 22, 1921 (Masaryk, 2003, pp. 127 – 128). The government allocated certain financial investments for the development of Transcarpathia. Hence, according to the budget of 1920, revenues in the region were expected to be 21,529,000 kron, expenses – 58,685,865 kron, in 1921 – 232,8 million kron and 119,8 kron, respectively (Budzhnet Karpats'koji (Ughors'koji) Ukrajinu, 1920, p. 2; Zbírka zákonů, 1920, p. 107). Subsequently, an employee of the Office of the President of the Czechoslovak SSR for Subcarpathian Rus, Ya. Necas, claimed that the Czech SSR allocated about 300 million kron in the budget for this region every year (Nečas, 1929, p. 450). In general, the necessary conditions for the development of this unique Ukrainian region were created in Czechoslovakia.

The Conclusion. Hence, the complex internal and external circumstances of the region's integration into the Czechoslovak Republic led to the development of a new administrative system under the conditions of the military dictatorship that lasted from 1919 to 1922. Autonomous regional institutions were not fully developed in the First Czechoslovak Republic. There was not even a comprehensive programme for a gradual introduction of autonomy by the authorities of the Czechoslovak Republic. The administrative system development was carried out under conditions of putting off the implementation of the constitutional provisions on autonomy. Despite the fact that there were objective reasons for this, due to the presence of the Czechoslovak Republic leadership's subjective views on the issue of autonomy as a possible factor of destabilization in a multinational country, and in particular, in Subcarpathian Rus, the disappointment of representatives of all political trends in the region resulted in the development of the autonomist movement, which became the centre of the region's political life during the interwar period.

The outlined issue requires further research. We consider it relevant to highlight specific measures of central and local authorities in the field of establishing the activities of various state institutions in the region in 1919 – 1939, law enforcement structures, etc. A separate objective of scholars should be the preparation of documentary publications on the specified issues.

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STRUCTURE AND STAFF OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE ECONOMIC FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT AND INTERNAL PRISON OF THE NKGB-MDB IN TERNOPIIL REGION, IN 1944 – 1946

Abstract. *In the article, based on historical original sources and monographs, there has been analyzed the structure and staff of the administrative economic financial department and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB in Ternopil region, in 1944 – 1946, and there has been characterized their structural transformation. The purpose of the research is to outline the structure and its transformation, to describe the staff composition of the Administrative Economic Financial Department (AEFD) and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB in Ternopil region, in 1944 – 1946. The research methodology is based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. A historical comparative method has been applied, which made it possible to trace and compare the structure of the NKGB-MDB at all stages of transformation and development, as well as methods of statistics, analysis and synthesis, which served for quantitative and qualitative characterization of personnel and systematization of the obtained results. The scientific novelty is that for the first time the study has been carried out on the structure and*

equipment of the AGFS and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB in Ternopil region, in 1944 – 1946. **The Conclusion.** The authors classify the chronological framework of the research into three stages, distinguishing regularities in quantitative and qualitative composition. At the first stage, according to two staff lists of 1944, there was a shortage of qualified personnel in the structures of the NKGB in Ternopil region, and the departments consisted of the Russians. Hence, according to the staff list of May of 1944, there were 37 positions vacant, and in 6 departments out of 9, the Russians prevailed, in 1 – the Ukrainians, and in two more departments there were no employees at all. According to the staff list of November of 1944, the staff improved, as there were 35 vacancies. The Russians predominated in 5 out of 9 departments, the Ukrainians prevailed in 2 departments, and there were no employees in another 2 departments, i.e. the number of departments dominated by the Ukrainians proliferated. At the second stage, according to the staff list of 1945, the number of vacant positions decreased to 23, the Russians prevailed in five departments out of nine, the Ukrainians predominated in two, and there were no employees in another 2 departments. At the third stage, after the reform, according to the staff list of 1946, the number of vacant positions increased to 36. The Russians prevailed in 7 departments out of 9, the Ukrainians – in two. There were new departments which were not recorded in the previous staff lists: the Department of Military and Economic Support, Chortkiv inter-district internal prison and Kremenets inter-district internal prison. It has been found that the departments and branches were staffed, for the most part, by the Russians, by transferring them to Ternopil region from the Asian and Far Eastern regions of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and by the Ukrainians, who worked in the eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR or the RSFSR. A low educational level of the staff was noted, in the internal prison only medical employees had a secondary education certificate, the majority of employees finished only four – eight grades of school.

Key words: the NKGB, the MDB, department, branch, education, staffing.

СТРУКТУРА ТА КОМПЛЕКТАЦІЯ АДМІНІСТРАТИВНО-ГОСПОДАРСЬКО-ФІНАНСОВОГО ВІДДІЛУ І ВНУТРІШНЬОЇ ТЮРМИ НКДБ-МДБ В ТЕРНОПІЛЬСЬКІЙ ОБЛАСТІ у 1944 – 1946 рр.

Анотація. У статті на основі історичних періоджерел та монографій досліджено структуру та комплектацію адміністративно-господарсько-фінансового відділу і внутрішньої тюрми НКДБ-МДБ в Тернопільській області у 1944 – 1946 рр., охарактеризовано їх структурну трансформацію. **Мета дослідження** – окреслити структуру та її трансформацію, дати характеристику комплектації АГФВ і внутрішньої тюрми НКДБ-МДБ в Тернопільській області у 1944 – 1946 рр. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи об'єктивності, історизму. Застосовано історико-порівняльний метод, що дав можливість простежити і порівняти структуру НКДБ-МДБ на усіх стадіях трансформації та розвитку, а також методи статистики, аналізу та синтезу, які послужили для кількісної і якісної характеристики кадрів, а також систематизації отриманих результатів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що уперше здійснено дослідження структури і комплектації АГФВ та внутрішньої тюрми НКДБ-МДБ в Тернопільській області у 1944 – 1946 рр. **Висновки.** Автори розділяють хронологічні рамки дослідження на три етапи, виділяючи закономірності у кількісному та якісному складі. На першому етапі, згідно з двома штатними розписами 1944 р., у структурах НКДБ в Тернопільській області спостерігалася нестача кваліфікованих кадрів, а підрозділи формувалися, переважно, із росіян. Так, як видно зі штатного розпису від травня 1944 р., вільними були тридцять сім посад, у шести підрозділах з дев'яти, переважали росіяни, в одному – українці, а ще у двох працівників взагалі не було. Згідно зі штатним розписом від листопада 1944 р. комплектування поліпшилось, оскільки вільними були тридцять п'ять вільних місць. У п'яти підрозділах з дев'яти переважали росіяни, у двох – українці, а ще у двох працівників взагалі не було, тобто кількість підрозділів, де переважали українці, збільшилася. На другому етапі, відповідно до штатного розпису від 1945 р., кількість вільних посад знизилася до двадцяти трьох, у п'яти підрозділах з дев'яти переважали росіяни, у двох – українці, а ще у двох працівників взагалі не було. На третьому етапі, після реформи, згідно зі штатного розпису від 1946 р., кількість вільних посад збільшилася до тридцяти шести. У семи підрозділах з дев'яти переважали росіяни, у двох – українці. З'явилися підрозділи, яких не було в попередніх штатних розписах:

відділення військово-господарського забезпечення, Чортківська міжрайонна внутрішня тюрма та Кременецька міжрайонна внутрішня тюрма. З'ясовано, що відділи та відділення комплектувалися здебільшого росіянами, шляхом їх переведення до Тернопільської області з азійських та далекосхідних регіонів РРФСР, а також українцями, які працювали у східних областях УРСР, або РРФСР. Відзначено низький освітній рівень кадрів: середню освіту мали лише медики у внутрішній тюрмі, основна маса працівників закінчили від чотирьох до восьми класів шкільної освіти.

Ключові слова: НКДБ, МДБ, відділ, відділення, освіта, комплектація.

The Problem Statement. The efficiency of state policy at local places depends on the structure and staff, which fill it. Implementation of the policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR), spread of the Soviet power in the western Ukrainian lands and destruction of insurgent movement depended on the number and quality of employees of the NKGB-MDB bodies. Owing to strict discipline and a well-thought-out personnel policy, the Soviet authorities managed to take the Ukrainian lands under their control. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, there is topical the study on the topic of the structure and staff of the AEFD and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB in Ternopil region, in 1944 – 1946.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. A small number of works were devoted to the study on the problems of the structure and staff of the city departments of the NKGB-MDB in Ternopil region, in 1944 – 1947. The work, written by I. Bilas should be highlighted, in which the main emphasis was focused on the repression of the NKGB-MDB bodies against the local population. In addition, the author singled out the structural departments that were engaged in repression, as well as their personnel (Bilas, 1994). The issue concerning the imprisonment of the Ukrainians in the Gulag repressed by the state security bodies of the USSR was analyzed in the article “The Ukrainians in the Special Camps of the Gulag” (Allaniiazov 2018). In his articles Ya. Antoniuk covered the struggle of the OUN against the state security structures of the USSR and the underground activities of the OUN (Antoniuk, 2021), (Antoniuk, 2020). The repression of the NKGB-MDB against the civilian population was researched by Voronska in the article “The Civilian Population of Soviet Ukraine in the Viewpoint of Military Tribunals: Punitive Practices Regulation (1918 – 1959)” (Vronska, 2021). In his article Fedyk classified and analyzed the functions performed by women in the OUN-UPA (Fedyk, 2018). Appointment of the staff to the highest administration positions, we can come across in the work “Lubianka. Stalin and the MGB of the USSR”, which contains the correspondence of the top leadership of the MGB with Stalin and the orders (Khaustov, 2007). The structure and personalities of the heads of the NKGB-MDB structures were analyzed in the work under the title: “Who Led the State Security Bodies, 1941 – 1954” (Petrov, 2010). It should be mentioned that the collections of documents became an important source for studying this issue (Serhiichuk, 2006), (Serhiichuk, 1998), (Novak, 1998). In particular, the researcher, V. Ilnytskyi did research on the formation peculiarities of the punitive bodies in the Carpathian region and Ternopil region (Ilnytskyi, 2015). In the cases of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Ternopil region, the structure, data on the personnel and equipment of the city departments were analyzed. However, the above-mentioned issue still remains understudied and requires further research.

The purpose of the research is to outline the structure and its transformation, to describe the composition of the AEFD and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB in Ternopil region, in

1944 – 1946. The chief objectives of the article are: to analyze and highlight the structure and staff of the AEFD and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB, and to do research on the quantitative and qualitative composition of the AEFD staff and the internal prison of the NKGB-MDB.

The Results of the Research. After the Soviet army defeated the German army in the city of Ternopil on April 15, 1944, there began the restoration of the Soviet authorities in the city and the region, including the restoration of the NKGB structures. Hence, the first staff lists of the NKGB administration in Ternopil region emerged on May 15, 1944.

The Administrative Economic Financial Department (hereinafter referred to as the “AEFD”) functioned in order to ensure the work of the main administration, city and district departments. According to the staff list, dated May 15, 1944, it consisted of the management staff that included three positions: the head of the department, the deputy head (also the head of the financial department) and a secretary-typist. The head of the department and the secretary-typist were the Ukrainians by nationality, the head had a secondary education certificate, and the secretary-typist had a vocational education certificate. The previous place of service was not stated (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, p. 21v).

In the administrative group, which was included into the department structure, there were two positions: a senior inspector and a typist, the post of a typist was vacant. The senior inspector was a Russian, had a vocational education diploma. Previously, he worked in a similar position in the logistics department in Poltava region (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, p. 21v).

In the department of material and technical support there were four positions: a head of the department, a senior inspector, an armorer, and a warehouse manager. An armorer position remained vacant. The Russians prevailed in the department, as there were two of them, a head of the department was a Ukrainian. Two employees had a vocational education diploma, there are no data on the education of the head of the department. The senior inspector was sent to work in Ternopil region, he occupied a similar position in Mykolaiv region, a warehouse manager was reinstated, there is no information about the head of the department (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, p. 21v).

In the financial department there were six positions: a head of the department, a senior inspector, a senior inspector-senior accountant, an inspector, an accountant-inspector and a treasurer. Only one position remained vacant – the position of a senior inspector. The Russians prevailed in the department, there were four Russians, a head of the department was a Ukrainian. Four employees had a lower secondary education certificate, and the department head finished only eight grades of school. A head of the department worked as a senior inspector at a similar department in Kharkiv region previously, a senior inspector-senior accountant worked previously as an accountant-inspector at the AEFD in the Tatar ASSR, an inspector held the position of operational commissioner in Zmiivsky District of Kharkiv region previously, there are no data on an accountant-inspector and a treasurer (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, p. 22).

In the commandant’s office there were nineteen vacancies: a head of the commandant’s office, an assistant commandant, two employees of the state permit bureau, a senior watchman, eight watchmen, two skilled workers, a janitor, and three attendants. Thirteen positions were unoccupied: a senior watchman, six watchmen, two qualified employees, a janitor and three service employees. The Russians prevailed in the department, there were five of them and one Ukrainian – a head of the department. Five employees had a lower secondary education certificate, data on the education of a head of the department were

missing. The assistant commandant occupied a similar position in the Buriat-Mongolian ASSR, one of the employees of the State Bureau of Permits previously held a similar position in Chkaliv Region (nowadays – Orenburg Region, the RF), there are no data on the second employee. One watchman was sent to Ternopil region from Krasnoyarsky Krai, the other – from Mykolayiv region, information about the head of the department is missing (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, pp. 22–23).

In the auto-technical department there were fifteen positions: a head of the department, a mechanic, two orderlies, a storekeeper, a janitor, and nine drivers. The majority of the positions remained vacant, and only five vacancies were occupied: a head of the department and four drivers. There were two Russians in the department, there were no data about three other employees of the department. Two employees had a vocational education diploma, there are no data on the rest of the employees. One of the drivers was reinstated in his position, and the other was sent from a similar position in Krasnoyarsky Krai. The housing and repair group had one inspector-engineer position, which was not occupied (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, pp. 23–23v).

Thirty employees worked in the internal prison, their composition included the following positions: a head of the prison, a deputy head of the prison, three on-duty assistants to the prison warden, three wardens, three wardens of Category I, twelve wardens, a secretary-accountant, a doctor, a cook, a storekeeper, two drivers. Ten positions remained vacant: a deputy head of the prison, two senior wardens, a secretary-bookkeeper, a photo-fingerprint operator, a cook, a storekeeper, two drivers and a maid. In terms of ethnicity, there were thirteen Russians, three Kazakhs, two Ukrainians and Tatars, and one Mordovian. One employee finished only seven grades of school, seventeen employees had a lower secondary education certificate, two – primary education certificate and one had a secondary medical education diploma. The head of the internal prison occupied a post of an assistant to the head of the internal prison in the Azerbaijan SSR previously. Among three assistants to the head of the prison, two of them occupied a similar position in the Tajik SSR, there was no information about another employee. The senior warden occupied a similar position in Khabarovsk Krai previously. Among three wardens of Category I, one of them worked previously as a senior warden of the internal prison in Prymorsky Krai, i.e. he was demoted. One employee occupied a similar position in Khabarovsk Krai. One more employee worked as a warden in Omsk region, i.e. he received a promotion. Among twelve wardens, two of them occupied a similar position in Chkaliv region, two more – a similar position in West-Kazakh region. One of the wardens occupied a similar position in Alkmolynska region, one of them also occupied a similar position in Krasnoyarsk region. One of the employees was transferred from the position of a watchman in Voroshylovsky District of Prymorsky Krai. Employees of Omsk, Riazan, and Guryev regions were sent to occupy the position of a warden from similar positions. Another employee was sent from the Kazakh SSR. The doctor was sent from Kyiv region, he occupied a similar position (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 1, vol. 1, pp. 23v–24v).

Hence, according to the staff list dated May 15, 1944, in the AEFD there were fifty positions, twenty-six of which were vacant, that is equal to 52% of the total number. Fourteen Russians worked in the department, in the percentage ratio – 28%, six Ukrainians, which was 12%, there was no information about three more employees, they accounted for another 8%. In the internal prison there were thirty-one positions, ten positions remained vacant, which was equal to 33%. There were thirteen Russians in the internal prison, hence, they were the majority – 43%, three Kazakhs – 10%, two Ukrainians and Tatars – 6%, and one Mordvyn – 3%.

In November of 1944, a new staff list came into force, according to which the AEFD underwent reorganization, the structure of the department was subdivided into a management structure, which consisted of two positions: the head of the department and the deputy head. The post of deputy head remained vacant. There was one Ukrainian in the department, who had a secondary education certificate and was sent to work from the position of a senior operational officer from Department II of the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR, i.e. he was promoted. In the secretariat of the department there were three positions: a secretary-typist, a senior inspector of the group and a typist. The post of a typist remained vacant. There was one Ukrainian and one Russian in the department. The employees had a primary education certificate. The secretary-typist was sent from the position of the secretary of Department "B" of the NKGB in Saratov region, the senior inspector worked previously as an inspector at the AEFD in Poltava region (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, p. 69).

The department of material and technical support did not change structurally and quantitatively and there were four positions: a head of the department, a senior inspector, an armorer and a warehouse manager. The position of an armorer remained vacant. Everyone in the department was Russian by nationality. The head of the department had a secondary education certificate, the rest of the employees had a lower than secondary education certificate. The head of the department and the senior inspector worked previously in similar positions in Jalal-Abat region of the Kyrgyz ASSR and in Chkaliv region, respectively. The warehouse manager was rehired (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 69–70).

The financial department remained structurally and quantitatively unchanged and there were six positions: a deputy department head, a senior inspector, a senior inspector-senior accountant, an inspector, an accountant-inspector and a treasurer. Only one position remained vacant – the position of an inspector. The ethnic ratio was dominated by the Russians, there were four of them and one Ukrainian – the deputy head of the department. All employees had a lower than secondary education certificate. The deputy head of the department was promoted, as he worked previously as a senior inspector of the State Security Service in Stalin region, the senior inspector was transferred from the position of the operational officer of Zmiivsky District of the NKGB in Kharkiv region. The senior inspector-senior accountant worked previously as an accountant-inspector at the AEFD of the NKDB of the Tatar ASSR, the accountant-inspector worked previously as a controller in Moscow region, the treasurer was reinstated (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 70–71).

As in the previous staff list, in the commandant department there were nineteen vacancies: the head of the commandant department, an assistant commandant, two employees of the State Bureau of Permits, a senior watchman, eight watchmen, two skilled workers, a janitor, and three service employees. However, the staffing of the department improved significantly, only seven positions remained vacant: a senior watchman, two skilled workers, a janitor and three service employees. In the ethnic ratio, the Russians prevailed, there were eight of them and four Ukrainians, among them the head-commandant of the department. Two employees had a lower than secondary education certificate, seven employees had a lower education certificate, among them the head-commandant department, one of the employees finished only seven grades of school, another one finished five grades and another – four grades of school. The head-commandant of the department and the assistant commandant occupied similar positions in Izmail region and in the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR previously. Among the two employees of the State Bureau of Permits, one of them occupied a similar position in Chkaliv region,

and the other – the position of a watchman in Chkaliv region. There were three watchmen among the eight, who occupied similar positions in Kyiv region, two more watchmen occupied the vacancies of the economic department employees in Kyiv region, three more employees occupied similar positions in Krasnoyarsk MV, Putylyivskiy RV, Tula region and Voronezh region (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 71–72).

There were no changes in the auto-technical department and there were fifteen positions in the department: the head of the department, a mechanic, two orderlies, a storekeeper, a janitor and nine drivers. The majority positions remained vacant, and only six vacancies were occupied: the head of the mechanic department and four drivers. The ethnic ratio was dominated by the Ukrainians, there were four Ukrainians, among them the head of the department and two Russians. Two workers did not finish a secondary school, another three employees weren't educated enough, and one of the employees finished only six grades of school. The head of the department was assigned to the position after studying at the NKGB school in Baku, the mechanic occupied the position of a driver in Rostov region previously. There were two drivers among the four, who worked previously as secret service men and fighters of Medvedev detachment, two more employees occupied similar positions in the ATV UNKDB of the Ukrainian SSR, the ATV AEFD in Dnipropetrovsk region (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 73–74).

In the housing and repair group there was one inspector-engineer position, which was not occupied. According to the new staff list, the structure of the AEFD also included a telephone office, which was not in the previous staff list. Its structure included five positions: a technician and five telephone operators, none of the positions was occupied (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 74–75).

According to the new staff list, as in the previous one, thirty-one employees worked in the internal prison, it included the following positions: a prison warden, a deputy prison warden, three on-duty assistants to the prison warden, three wardens, three wardens of Category I, twelve wardens, secretaries an accountant, a photo-fingerprinter, a doctor, a cook, a storekeeper, two drivers and a service employee. The staff list of the department improved, nine positions remained vacant: a warden of Category I, two wardens, a photo-fingerprint operator, a cook, a storekeeper, two drivers and a service employee. There were fourteen Russians, hence, the ethnic composition was dominated by the Russians, there were among them the head of the prison, two Ukrainians, two Tatars, two Kazakhs and one Mordovian. One of the employees had a secondary education certificate, three others had a lower than secondary education certificate, including a head of the prison, the rest of the employees finished four – eight grades of school. The head of the internal prison worked previously as an operational officer of Department “B” of the Azerbaijan SSR, the deputy head worked as a state assistant to the head of the internal prison in the Azerbaijan SSR. All three assistants of the head occupied a similar position in the Kazakhstan SSR, the Tajik ASSR, and Vinnytsia region previously. There were three senior wardens, two of them occupied a similar position in Khabarovsk and Krasnoyarsk regions, one more employee was promoted because he worked as a warden in Omsk region previously. There were two wardens of Category I, one employee occupied a similar position in the Birobidzhan UNKDB, another one was promoted because he had worked as a warden in Omsk region previously. There were nine wardens, eight wardens previously occupied similar positions in West Kazakhstan region, Chkaliv region, Kazakhstan ASSR, Krasnoyarsk region, Akmola and Riazan regions previously. One of the employees occupied the post of a watchman in Prymorsky Krai. The secretary-

bookkeeper was an intern in the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The doctor worked as a paramedic in Kyiv region previously (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 2, vol. 2, pp. 75–79).

The staff rotation could be also observed, even within one year. Comparing the heads of the AEFD and their departments and the internal prison, we should note that the head of the department of material and technical support and the internal prison was changed. It should be noted that according to the staff list of November of 1944, the majority were the Ukrainians by origin, only the heads of the department of material and technical support and the internal prison were the Russians (Petrov, 2010, p. 107).

Hence, according to the staff list dated November of 1944, in the AEFD there were fifty-five posts, which was five times more than in the staff list dated May 15, 1944, twenty-six of which were vacant, which corresponded to 47%. The Russians, there were eighteen, prevailed in the department, which was four more than in the previous staff list, and equal to 33%, the number of the Ukrainians also increased, from six to eleven, which corresponded to 20%. In the internal prison, as in the previous staff list, there were thirty-one positions, nine positions remained vacant, which corresponded to 30%. As a result, it was one position – 2% less than in the previous staff list, which indicated a better staffing. The ethnic composition was dominated by the Russians, there were fourteen of them, which corresponded to 45%, two Ukrainians, Tatars and Kazakhs each, which equaled to 6%, and one Mordvyn – 3%. During the year of 1944, there was a shortage of personnel in the AEFD and the internal prison of the NKGB, as some departments were half-staffed, or there were no employees. Thus, in the staff list of May of 1944, there were thirty-seven vacancies, and according to the list of November of 1944, there were thirty-five vacancies, thus, there was a gradual decrease in the personnel shortage. In the staff list of November of 1944, new departments were established: the housing and repair group and the telephone office. The administrative group, which was in the staff list dated May 15, 1944, was liquidated. The Russians predominated in the departments, especially in the internal prison. A pattern could be observed that in the internal prison there were significantly fewer Ukrainians in both staff lists and, in addition to the Russians and the Ukrainians, there were the Tatars, the Kazakhs, and the Mordvyns. The majority of the employees had a lower education diploma, few of the employees had a secondary education certificate, mostly, those were doctors in the internal prison. In general, a significant part of the employees finished only a few school grades. The staffing of structures took place by transfer from similar positions from other regions of the USSR, however, employees often received promotions. People, who were previously dismissed from the state bodies were also reinstated.

In February of 1945, a new staff list came into force, according to which the management staff of the AEFD did not undergo changes, it consisted of two positions: the head of the department and the deputy head. The position of department head was occupied. In the secretariat of the department, as in the previous staff list, there were three positions: a secretary-typist, a senior inspector of the group and a typist. There was only one vacant position – a typist. There was one Ukrainian and one Mariyets in the department. The employees were of different educational levels, the head of the department had a secondary education diploma, the secretary-typist had a lower secondary education diploma, and another employee finished only eight grades of school. The head of the department received a promotion because he was transferred from the position of a senior operational officer of Department II of the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR, the secretary-typist was transferred from Department “B” of Saratov

region, the senior inspector of the group worked as an operational officer in Yanaul RV of the NKDB in the Bashkirskaya ASSR previously (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, p. 29).

The department of material and technical support did not change structurally and quantitatively and there were four positions: a head of the department, a senior inspector, an armorer and a warehouse manager. The composition of the department did not change, the position of an armorer remained vacant. The ethnic composition was homogeneous, all employees were the Russians. The head of the department had a secondary education diploma, two others had a lower than secondary education certificate. The head of the department and the senior inspector were sent from similar positions in the Kyrgyz SSR and Chkaliv region, the warehouse manager was reinstated (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, p. 29v).

The financial department did not change structurally and quantitatively and there were six positions: a head of the department, a senior inspector, a senior inspector-accountant, an inspector, an accountant-inspector and a treasurer. The staffing did not change, only one position remained vacant – an inspector position. The department was dominated by the Russians, there were four of them and one Ukrainian – the head of the department. The above-mentioned employees did not finish the secondary school. The head of the department worked as a senior inspector in Stalin region, the senior inspector was sent from the position of an operational officer of Zmiyivsky District of the NKGB in Kharkiv region, the senior inspector-accountant and the accountant-inspector held similar positions in the Tatar ASSR and Moscow region, and the treasurer was reinstated (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, p. 29v).

As in the previous staff list, in the commandant department there were nineteen vacancies: the head of the commandant department, an assistant commandant, two employees of the State Bureau of Permits, a senior watchman, eight watchmen, two skilled workers, a janitor, and three service employees. The composition of the department did not change, only seven positions remained vacant: a senior watchman, two skilled workers, a janitor and three service employees. In the ethnic ratio, the Russians predominated, there were six of them, five Ukrainians, among them the head of the department and one Mordvyn. In terms of education, two employees had a lower than secondary education certificate, eight had a lower than secondary education diploma, and two more finished only five and four grades of school. The head of the department-commandant, the assistant commandant and the duty Bureau of Permits occupied identical posts in Zhytomyr region, the Buriat-Mongolian ASSR and Chkaliv region. Another official of the Bureau of Permits was sent from the post of a watchman of Chkaliv region. There were five watchmen out of the eight, who occupied the same positions in Krasnoyarsky Krai, Kyiv and Tula Regions, two employees were sent from the vacancy of an employee of the economic department of Kyiv Region, another watchman headed Chapayev partisan detachment (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 29v–30).

The auto-technical department did not undergo any changes and there were fifteen positions: the head of the department, a mechanic, two orderlies, a storekeeper, a janitor and nine drivers. The staffing of the department improved significantly, only three positions remained vacant: a storekeeper, a janitor and one driver, whereas, according to the previous staff list, nine positions remained vacant. The Ukrainians prevailed in the department, there were eight of them, including the head of the department, and four Russians. In the department, two people had a

secondary education certificate, three people had a lower than secondary education certificate, the head of the department and two others had a lower than secondary education certificate, the rest of the employees finished only five – nine grades of school. The head of the department was assigned to the position after studying at the NKGB school in Baku, the mechanic was sent from the position of a driver in Rostov region. Among the two orderlies, one occupied a similar position in Kyiv, and another one was a soldier of Medvedyev detachment. There were two drivers among the eight, who were previously intelligence members and Medvedyev detachment members, the rest of the employees occupied similar positions in the ATV of the UNKDB of the Ukrainian SSR, the ATV of the AEFD in Dnipropetrovsk region, Rostov, Stalin, and Novosibirsk regions and in Krasnoyarsky Krai (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 30v–31).

The housing and repair group did not undergo any changes, there was one inspector-engineer position, which was not occupied, as in the previous staff list. According to the new staff list, in the structure of the AEFD there was also a telephone office, which included five positions: a technician and five telephone operators, none of the positions was occupied, as in the previous staff list (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, p. 31).

According to a new staff list, as well as according to the previous one, thirty-one employees worked in the internal prison, their composition included the following positions: a prison warden, a deputy warden, three on-duty assistant wardens, three senior wardens, three wardens of Category I, twelve wardens, a secretary – an accountant, a photo-fingerprinter, a doctor, a cook, a storekeeper, two drivers and a service worker. The composition of the department did not change, nine positions remained vacant: a warden of Category I, two wardens, a photo-fingerprinting employee, a cook, a storekeeper, two drivers and an attendant. According to previous staff lists, the Russians predominated in the internal prison, there were fifteen of them, including the head of the prison, two Ukrainians, Kazakhs and Tatars, and one Mordvyn. In terms of an educational level, only one employee had a secondary education diploma, three more employees had a lower education diploma, including the head of the prison. The rest of the employees finished four – eight grades of school. The head of the internal prison and the deputy head were promoted, as they worked previously as operational officers in the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR and as an assistant to the head of the prison in the Azerbaijan SSR. All three on-duty assistants to the head of the prison were sent from similar positions in the Kazakhstan and Tajikistan SSRs and Vinnytsia region. The two senior wardens among three were sent from the same positions in Khabarovsk and Prymorsky Krai, and another employee was promoted, as he previously worked as a warden in Omsk Region. One of the two wardens of Category I occupied the same position in Omsk region, and another one was promoted because he worked as a warden in Omsk region previously. There were ten wardens, nine of them occupied the same positions in the Kazakhstan SSR, Akmola region, Krasnoyarsky Krai, Chkaliv region, Riazan and West Kazakh regions, one more warden was sent from the same position in Prymorsky Krai. The secretary-bookkeeper was an intern in the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The doctor worked as a paramedic in Kyiv region previously (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 3, vol. 1, p. 31–32v). There was no rotation among staff members (Petrov, 2010, p. 108).

Hence, in 1945, the staff members list of the AEFD improved, as only 15 vacancies remained unoccupied, which corresponded to 30%, while according to the staff list of November of 1944, there were 26 vacancies. The composition of the internal prison of the NKGB did not change, 9 vacancies were not occupied, which was equal to 30% of the total number. However, there

were no employees in the housing and repair group and in the telephone office. The Russians predominated in the branches of the AEFD, there were 17 of them, which equaled to 34%, 16 Ukrainians – 32%, and one Mariyets and one Mordvyn – 4%. The internal prison was also dominated by the Russians, who numbered 15 – 48%, two Ukrainians, two Kazakhs and two Tatars, who accounted for 18%, and one Mordvyn – 4%. The majority of employees had a lower than secondary education certificate, the number of employees with a secondary education certificate increased. Although the majority of employees finished only a few grades of school. The staffing of structures took place by transferring from similar positions from other regions of the USSR, often employees received promotions. People, who were previously dismissed from the state bodies, as well as soldiers of partisan units, were also reinstated.

The NKGB of the USSR Order No. 00107 issued on March 22, 1946, in accordance with the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of March 15, 1946, the NKGB of the USSR was renamed to the Ministry of State Security of the USSR, and the local administrations and departments of the NKGB were also renamed to the administrations and departments of the MDB (Ministry of State Security) (Bilas, 1994, p. 274).

A radical expansion and change in the structure of the MDB of the USSR took place on May 4, 1946, when V. S. Abakumov was appointed instead of V. M. Merkulov as the Minister of State Security of the USSR, and the GUKR “Smersh” of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) of the USSR headed by him merged with the MDB of the USSR (Khaustov, 2007, p. 17).

According to the staff list of November of 1946, the management of the administrative and economic department consisted of three positions: a head of the department, a deputy head of the department (a head of the economic department) and a secretary-typist. All job positions were occupied. The Ukrainians prevailed in the department, there were two of them and one Russian – the head of the department. One of the employees had a lower than secondary education certificate, and two others had a lower than secondary education certificate, including the head of the department. The head of the department was sent from the position of the head of the internal prison, the deputy head of the department was demoted, since he worked as the head of the administrative and economic department previously, and the secretary-typist occupied a similar job position. The department included an administrative department, in which there were three positions: a head of the department (a commandant), a senior inspector, and an assistant commandant. All job positions were occupied. All employees were the Russians by nationality. Two of them had a lower than secondary education certificate, and the head of the department finished only seven grades of school. All employees occupied similar positions at the UMDB previously (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, p. 30).

The State Bureau of Permits consisted of sixteen positions: two on-duty permit bureaus, a senior watchman, eight watchmen, two qualified workers, a janitor, and three service employees. There were five positions, which remained vacant: two qualified workers, a janitor and two service employees. The Russians prevailed in the bureau, there were seven of them, among them an on-duty bureau employee, four Ukrainians and one Mordvyn. There were two employees, who had a lower secondary education diploma, eight had a lower education diploma, among them there were two on-duty bureau employees, two more finished seven and four grades of school. All employees occupied similar positions at the UMDB (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 31–32).

In the economic department there were twenty-three positions: a head of the department and his deputy, the deputy head of the department, a senior inspector, a mechanic, an orderly,

a storekeeper, ten drivers, a telephone office technician, a senior telephone operator, three telephone operators, a chief of the sanitary department, a senior inspector-doctor and senior accountant of the sanitary department. There were nine positions, which remained vacant: the deputy head of the department, two drivers, a telephone office technician, a senior telephone operator, a telephone operator, the head of the sanitary department, a senior medical inspector and a senior accountant of the sanitary department. The ethnic ratio was dominated by the Russians, there were eight of them and seven Ukrainians, a Ukrainian was the head of the department. Two employees had a secondary education diploma, four had a lower secondary education certificate, seven employees had a lower than secondary education certificate, including the head of the department, and two more employees finished seven – six grades of school. The head of the department worked as the head of the administrative and economic department previously, the senior inspector was promoted, because he worked as an accountant-inspector at the AEFD previously, a mechanic, an orderly, a storekeeper and eight drivers occupied similar positions, two telephone operators were reinstated (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 33–35).

The financial department included eight positions: the head of the department, the deputy head of the department, two senior inspectors-accountants, two inspectors-accountants, a treasurer and a secretary-typist. One position of an inspector-accountant remained vacant. The Ukrainians prevailed in the department, there were four of them, in particular, the head of the department and three Russians. The head of the department had a secondary education diploma, four had less than a secondary education diploma, and two employees finished only seven grades of school. The head of the department received a promotion, as he worked as the deputy head of the UMDB AEFD previously, the rest of the employees occupied similar positions at the AEFD (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 35–36).

There appeared new structures, which were not in the previous staff-lists, in particular military and economic supply department and there were four positions: the head of the department, a senior inspector, an inspector-accountant, a head of the store-house. All job positions were occupied. All employees were the Russians by nationality, three of them had a lower than secondary education certificate, and one employee had a lower than secondary education certificate. The head of the department was sent from the position of a senior inspector of the financial department of the AEFD, the senior inspector occupied a similar position at the AEFD, and the accountant inspector was an intern in the financial department of the AEFD UMDB, the warehouse manager occupied a similar position (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 32–33).

Thirty-one employees worked in the internal prison, their following job positions were also included: a prison warden, a deputy prison warden, three on-duty assistant wardens, three senior wardens, three wardens of Category I, twelve wardens, a secretary-accountant, a photo-fingerprinter, a doctor, a deputy household, a cook, two drivers and a service employee. There were nine positions, which remained vacant: a senior warden, five wardens, a driver and a service employee. The Russians prevailed in the internal prison, there were seventeen of them, the Ukrainians numbered twelve, there was the head of the department among them, three Tatars and one from Mariyets. One of the employees had a secondary education diploma, two employees had a lower secondary education diploma, another nine employees had a lower education diploma and ten employees, who finished three – seven grades of school, there was the head of the prison among them. The majority of the employees occupied similar positions in the internal prison previously, except for the deputy household, who worked

as a senior prison warden previously (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 36–39).

There were eighteen positions in Kremenets inter-district prison: the head of the prison, three senior wardens, three wardens of Category I, eight wardens, a paramedic, a cook and a service worker. There were six positions, which remained vacant: a senior supervisor, two supervisors of the first category, two supervisors and a service employee. Hence, 6 positions were vacant in Kremenets inter-district prison, which corresponded to 33%. The majority of them were the Russians, there were 7 of them – 39%, 4 Ukrainians – 22% and one Mariyets – 6%. One employee had a secondary education certificate, three employees had a lower than secondary education certificate, and another eight employees finished four – eight grades of school. All employees occupied similar positions previously (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 39–41).

There were eighteen positions in Chortkiv inter-district prison: the head of the prison, three senior wardens, three wardens of Category I, eight wardens, a paramedic, a cook and a service employee. Four positions remained vacant: a warden of Category I, two wardens and a service employee. There were 4 vacant positions, which corresponded to 23%. The majority were the Russians, who were 8, which was 45%, three employees obtained a secondary education diploma, four – obtained a lower than secondary education certificate, and another eight finished four – six grades of school. The head of the inter-district prison used to head the department of material and technical support of the AEFD. The rest of the employees occupied similar positions in the internal prison (BSA of SSU in the Ternopil region, f. 8, d. 1 (1944), c. 4, vol. 1, pp. 41–42).

A significant transformation of the structure of the AEFD and its departments and the internal prison took place after the reform of 1946. There was also a significant rotation, in particular, only Arkhypovych kept his position in the management hierarchy, but he was transferred from the position of the head of the internal prison to the position of the head of the AEFD. It should be noted that in terms of ethnicity, the Russians predominated, there were 5 of them and 3 Ukrainians (Petrov, 2010, p. 108).

Hence, according to the staff list of 1946 in the AEFD, in the internal prison of the NKGB and inter-district prisons, staffing deteriorated, thirty-four positions remained vacant, while according to the staff list of February of 1945, there were twenty-three vacant positions. There were 12 vacant positions in the AEFD, which corresponded to 23%, in the internal prison, as in the previous staff list, there were 9 vacant positions, or 29%. The positions of housing and repair group and telephone group were liquidated. The departments were dominated by the Russians, out of nine departments, seven were dominated by the Russians, and another two – by the Ukrainians. In the VGFV, the majority were the Russians, of whom there were 24, or 44%, 17 Ukrainians – 31%, and one Mariyets – 2%. The Russians also predominated in the internal prison, there were 17 of them, or 40%, 12 Ukrainians – 29%, 3 Tatars – 7% and one Mordvyn – 2%. Employees had a lower than secondary education certificate mainly, however, the majority of the employees finished only a few grades of school. Most often, they received the positions of a watchmen or attendants, or wardens in the prison. Staffing of structures, as before, took place by transfers from similar positions from other regions of the USSR, sometimes employees received promotions. It is in the staff lists of 1946 that the tendency to keep the employees who worked last year is observed, this is especially noticeable in the example of the internal prison.

The Conclusion. Hence, at the first stage, according to the two staff lists of 1944, there was a shortage of qualified personnel in the structures of the NKGB in Ternopil region, the

departments were formed, and the Russians were predominant mostly. Thus, according to the staff list of May of 1944, thirty-seven positions were vacant, and in six departments out of nine, the Russians prevailed, in one – the Ukrainians, and in two more departments there were no employees. According to the staff list of November of 1944, staffing improved, as there were thirty-five vacancies. The Russians predominated in five out of nine departments, the Ukrainians – in two, and there were no employees in another two departments, i.e. there increased the number of departments in which dominated the Ukrainians. At the second stage, according to the staff list of 1945, the number of vacant positions decreased to twenty-three, the Russians predominated in five out of nine departments, the Ukrainians – in two, and there were no employees in two more departments. At the third stage, after the reform, according to the 1946 staff list, the number of vacant positions increased to thirty-six. In seven departments out of nine, the Russians prevailed, in two – the Ukrainians. The departments appeared that were not in the previous staff lists: the Department of Military and Economic Support, Chortkiv inter-district internal prison and Kremenets inter-district internal prison. During the period under analysis, a gradual improvement in staff list composition was observed, according to staff list of April of 1944, 55% were vacant, and according to the 1946 staff list, 23%.

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IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL OF THE STALINIST REGIME OVER THE INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR: 1945 – 1953

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of the content, main forms and methods of ideological control over the intelligentsia, which was carried out by the Stalinist regime in the Ukrainian SSR in 1945 – 1953.. The purpose of the work is to find out the role of censorship bodies and public exposing campaigns, called “Zhdanovshchyna”, in establishing a strict political and ideological control over literature, art and science in the USSR, creative and scientific intelligentsia of the Republic. The methodology of the research: the article is based on the theory of totalitarianism and the principles formulated by Karl Friedrich; traditional general and special historical methods have been used. The scientific novelty of the article consists in involvement of original documentary material from the central state archives of Ukraine and the Russian Federation. The Conclusion. Ideological control was one of the basic features of the Soviet totalitarianism, an effective tool of government control over the creative and scientific intelligentsia, all public life. Analysis of archival documents shows that censorship remained a key element in the system of ideological control, blocking official channels of mass communication and preventing any deviations from accepted ideological standards. At the same time, during the first postwar years, the Stalinist regime carried out numerous exposing campaigns, essentially political and ideological purges in literature, art, and science, accusing the Ukrainian artists and scholars of “national limitations” and “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”. Such control over the activities of the intelligentsia, over all spheres of a spiritual life ensured the ideological monopoly of the Communist Party in the society.*

Key words: *the USSR, Stalinist regime, censorship authorities, ideological campaigns, “Zhdanovshchyna”.*

ІДЕОЛОГІЧНИЙ КОНТРОЛЬ СТАЛІНСЬКОГО РЕЖИМУ ЗА ІНТЕЛІГЕНЦІЮ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ РСР: 1945 – 1953 рр.

Анотація. *У статті проаналізовано зміст, головні форми і методи ідеологічного контролю за інтелігенцією, що здійснювався сталінським режимом в Українській РСР у 1945 – 1953 рр. Мета статті – з'ясувати роль органів цензури і публічних викривальних кампаній, що отримали назву “ждановщини”, у встановленні жорсткого політико-ідеологічного контролю за літературою,*

мистецтвом і наукою в УРСР, за діяльністю творчої та наукової інтелігенції республіки. **Методологія:** стаття базується на теорії тоталітаризму та принципах, сформульованих Карлом Фрідріхом; у ній використовуються традиційні загальнонаукові та спеціальні історичні методи (історико-генетичний, історико-системний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний), принципи авторської об'єктивності, історизму, верифікації. **Наукова новизна** полягає у залученні оригінального документального матеріалу з центральних державних архівів України та Російської Федерації. **Висновки.** Ідеологічний контроль був однією з базових ознак радянського тоталітаризму, дієвим інструментом контролю влади за творчою і науковою інтелігенцією, усім суспільним життям. Аналіз архівних документів свідчить, що ключовою ланкою у системі ідеологічного контролю залишалася цензура, яка блокувала офіційні канали масової комунікації і не допускала жодних відхилень від прийнятих ідейних стандартів. Також у перші післявоєнні роки сталінський режим проводив численні викривальні кампанії, по суті – політико-ідеологічні чистки в літературі, мистецтві й науці, звинувачуючи українських митців і вчених у “національній обмеженості”, в “українському буржуазному націоналізмі”. Такий контроль за діяльністю інтелігенції, за всіма сферами духовного життя забезпечував ідеологічну монополію комуністичної партії в суспільстві.

Ключові слова: УРСР, сталінський режим, органи цензури, ідеологічні кампанії, “ждановщина”.

The Problem Statement. One of the key means of functioning of the Soviet totalitarianism was a strict political and ideological control. It covered various spheres of the society, the main areas of the Republic's scientific, literary and artistic life, encroached on the basic spiritual values of people, their religious beliefs and denominational affiliation. Such general control by the authorities ensured the monopoly position of the Marxist ideology and thereby – the inviolability of the ruling Soviet party-political system.

The purpose of the article is to find out the role of censorship bodies and public denunciative campaigns, which were called “Zhdanovshchyna”, in establishing a strict political and ideological control over literature, art and science in the Ukrainian SSR, over the activities of the Republic's creative and scientific intelligentsia.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications. There are number of profound publications, written both by domestic researchers – V. Danylenko, H. Kasianov, S. Kulchytsky, V. Ovcharenko, M. Tymoshyk, O. Fedotova, V. Chentsov, Yu. Shapoval, and by foreign scholars – A. Blum, A. Horcheva, T. Horyayeva, M. Zelenov, M. Fox, and the others.

The Results of the Research. In a strict political and ideological control, the Soviet government not only continued, but also deepened and expanded the practice of the times of the Russian Empire, eradicating free thought, manifestations of national consciousness and identity, applying even more large-scale and brutal methods of pressure on the society. Some authors explain such a strict, meticulous control over of science, literature and art as “an impressive fetishization of the word” (“Literaturny front”, 1994, p. 3). At the beginning of the 1920s, one of the leaders of the Bolsheviks, A. Lunacharsky, even claimed that the word acquired the same meaning as a revolver or a machine gun.

After World War II, a political and ideological control was strengthened in the Ukrainian SSR. It is clear that to a large extent this was explained by the need “to neutralize” the influence of the so-called hostile, bourgeois ideology on the population, because the entire territory of Ukraine was under the Nazi occupation during the war. At the same time, the special, most vigilant attention of the party and state bodies of the Republic was focused on working with the intelligentsia, who, according to the authorities, occupied an unstable position, showed ideological instability, and therefore needed a constant “educational influence”.

On the first days of the Soviet power, the Bolsheviks used censorship widely as a tool for controlling a public opinion, as a tool for direct influence on public consciousness, including the purpose of manipulating it and imposing their own ideological and political values. In August of 1922, by resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the UkrSSR, the Central Department for Press Affairs was established under the People's Commissariat for Education of the Republic. In July of 1946, the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, or, in other words, the Holovlit (Directorate for Literature) of the Ukrainian SSR, was established.

The authorities carried out a thorough, systematic control over science, art, literature, museums and theaters, the press and radio broadcasting, etc., monitoring the ideological and political orientation of their activities, the appropriate “ideological purity”. Censorship control also extended to all kinds of ideological trifles, including printed posters, announcements, programmes of various events of the party, state bodies, public organizations, in particular the Komsomol and trade unions, leaving no possibility for a free spiritual life.

The Main Repertoire Committee of the Committee on Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, abbreviated as the Main Repertoire Committee, also worked in parallel with the Main Directorate for Literature of the USSR. Both bodies oversaw museums, exhibitions, painting and mass sculpture, but often made conflicting decisions, creating confusion in relations with art organizations. Therefore, the Head of the Committee for the Arts, M. Khrapchenko, raised the issue and formulated it to the Head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) H. Aleksandrov about a clear demarcation of the functions of the specified bodies. The suggested idea of a clear demarcation of the functions was not accepted, because, in the opinion of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), it could do harm to “the state political control” (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 125, c. 442, pp. 115, 116).

In June of 1947, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a decree on the preservation of state secrets, which intensified the work of censorship bodies. In March of 1947, the Council of Ministers of the USSR approved the “List of Information on the State Secret”. On the basis of this document, the ministries and other central institutions of the USSR compiled detailed departmental lists, which were systematized by the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing of the USSR and in January of 1949 were embodied in the “List of Information, Prohibited for Publishing the Press”, which provided for even stricter restrictions on the content of published press.

The authorities paid considerable attention to the secrecy of information of an economic nature, as well as materials on the development of the Soviet science and technology. It was forbidden to publish reviews and summary data on the amount and technical level of the main and power equipment, information on the project capacity, the size of capital investments in the enterprises of the Soviet Union and republican subordination in the main branches of industry. Open publications about the development of the Arctic and the Far East, about institutions dealing with the problems of atomic energy, rocket technology, etc., were completely banned (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 132, c. 149, pp. 61–64).

However, without any doubt, the main role was assigned by the authorities to control the ideological and political content of literature, works of art, and materials of radio broadcasts. As early as in 1922, in big libraries of the USSR, including those of the UkrSSR, there were closed, special funds (“special funds”), designed to store all kinds of “harmful” publications. After the war, the main part of the so-called trophy literature, exported from the eastern part

of Germany, got there. It was not accurately recorded, the total number of such literature was several million copies. For example, only the Lenin Library in Moscow received 760,000 copies, and Moscow University received 13 wagons of this kind of literature.

On the instructions of the Agitprop of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing of the USSR introduced a new regulation on special literature funds, which accelerated the inspection and “cleansing” of book funds significantly. After the war, a consolidated list of “politically harmful” literature was issued, which included 7,000 titles of books to be removed from public libraries. Regularly the censorship bodies issued additional lists for removal, which included the works of numerous authors who became victims of repression or ideological campaigns – against “the Ukrainian nationalists”, “bourgeois cosmopolitans”, “anti-patriotic critics”, “reborns” in history, philosophy, literature and art, geneticists, etc.

Books by emigrants, repressed authors, publications of religious content, books with photographs, quotations from works or positive characteristics of “enemies of the people” were confiscated. In such cases, the censors wrote: “the book is littered with positive references to the enemies of the people...” From the manuscripts department of the Lviv branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, archival documents from tsarist times, which related to the activities of the Bolsheviks, anarchists and Socialist-Revolutionaries, were confiscated. The so-called nationalist literature, in particular the works of M. Hrushevsky and V. Vynnychenko, were removed from public libraries and the trade network of Ukraine (RSARH, f. 5, d. 33, c. 158, p. 2; RSASPH, f. 17, d. 132, c. 97, pp. 1, 2, 83, 121; c. 149, pp. 65, 66, 94; *Kulturne zhyttia v Ukraini*, 1995, pp. 365, 366).

During the second half of the 1940s, the apparatus of censorship bodies grew both centrally and locally. In 1946 – 1949, the total number of employees of the central apparatus of the USSR Central Committee increased from 219 to 311 people, including censors – from 109 to 196 people (including people with higher education diploma – from 82 to 172 people). During the same period, the total number of employees of local censorship bodies increased from 2,031 to 2,101 people, including censors – from 1,159 to 1,630 people (of them with higher education diploma – from 268 to 373). It is obvious that the quality of censors in the field, i.e. the main part of the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing of the USSR employees, remained quite low: only a quarter of them had a higher education diploma (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 132, c. 149, pp. 72, 73).

The Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, which was established in the summer of 1946 by the resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as its local bodies, the so-called obllites (regional directorates for Literature and Publishing), carried out censorship control of the open press and radio broadcasting; foreign literature entering the Republic; printed publications, which were exported abroad; materials of foreign correspondents who worked in the Ukrainian SSR (on the basis of a special provision). All printed editions of bodies and institutions of the Armed Forces of the USSR were controlled by the Military Censorship Office of the General Staff of the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 132, c. 149, p. 60).

Censorship clerks checked manuscripts of scientific and literary works, movie scripts, theater productions, museum exhibits, etc. If censors detected certain deviations from ideological standards, any mistakes or “perversions” of an ideological and political nature, they informed the central and local party bodies, and they took appropriate measures, including

disciplinary ones. Censors carried out not only preliminary control of all manuscripts being prepared for publication, but also the so-called subsequent control, checking already published works, but they did such control in a selective manner.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the ideological control was carried out on a scale typical of the USSR. In March of 1953, for example, the head of the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing of the Ukrainian SSR issued Order No. 5, according to which more than 70 publications were to be withdrawn from public libraries and retail network. Among the books listed there were the books of H. Aleksandrenko “The Soviet State System”, S. Holovanivsky “Boot of Europe. Literary Report”, V. Kistiakovsky “Geography Workbook. Part One. Local History and Geography of the Ukrainian SSR”, O. Kurylo “Course of the Ukrainian Spelling. Textbook for Schools and Self-study”, several issues of “Methodical Developments in Ukrainian Studies”, etc. (CSAAMU, f. 4605, d. 1, c. 49, pp. 2, 3).

In 1953, at the end of the period under analysis, 395 people worked in the censorship bodies of the Ukrainian SSR, of whom 295 were managers and censors. There were 50 employees in the central apparatus, of whom – 35 were managers and censors. There were 4 departments: preliminary censorship, subsequent censorship, foreign censorship and control of works of art. The staff list of local censorship bodies of the Republic included 345 people, of whom 260 were managers and censors. Among the regional departments, the largest were the following ones: Stalinske (33 people), Kyiv and Kharkiv (24 people in each), Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk (18 people in each) (CSAAMU, f. 17, d. 132, c. 97, pp. 139, 140; CSAAMU, f. 4605, d. 1, c. 49, pp. 9–17; c. 51, pp. 7–9, 36–39, 54–63).

Censorship bodies had a wide range of work. They checked published works (Fedotova, 2009, pp. 185–204), film and radio materials, theatre and philharmonic repertoire. They supervised the work of second-hand book shops, the content of museum expositions and exhibitions. To facilitate such supervision, the instruction on the procedure for preparation and opening of museum exhibits and exhibitions required that visitors feedback books consist of sheets that are removable and not numbered. Censorship bodies also controlled the content of invitations, reports of factories to relevant ministries, reports of the Komsomol organizations to rallies and congresses, which were reproduced in two to five copies (CSAAMU, f. 4605, d. 1, c. 127, p. 35; c. 154, p. 36 (the note); SARF, f. 9425, d. 2, c. 532, p. 46; c. 563, p. 12; c. 717, p. 16).

It is known from declassified archival documents that the authorities of the Soviet Union carried out secret control over information transmitted by foreign correspondents abroad in order to deploy effective counter-propaganda in a timely manner. Considerable work was carried out to jam foreign radio stations that reported the truth about the policy of the Soviet leadership, about life in the USSR and around the world. An extensive network of jamming stations functioned: there were radio centres of the so-called long-range and local protection (the latter created obstacles to Western radio broadcasting within a radius of several tens of kilometers). In the 50s of the 20th century, about 1.4 thousand radio stations were used just for this purpose in the Soviet Union, but the “quality of jamming” of enemy transmissions was not high enough (RSARH, f. 89, d. 2, c. 14, p. 12; f. 5, d. 33, c. 106, pp. 3, 24, 25, 41, 42, 48, 77; CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 16, c. 150, pp. 15–17).

Along with this strict systematic control carried out by censorship bodies, during the post-war period the Stalinist regime also carried out a number of high-profile political and ideological campaigns, which became an integral part of the spiritual life of the USSR and every Union Republic. J. Stalin entrusted the management of the campaigns to A. Zhdanov, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party of Ukraine (b) for ideological

issues, who followed the instructions of the leader and the directives of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) carefully. The aforementioned campaigns were focused on various areas of literary, artistic, and scientific life, and in fact they were a kind of cleaning among creative and scientific intelligentsia, including Ukraine.

The beginning of these ideological actions was the resolution of Central Committee of the CPSU(b) concerning the magazines “Zvezda” and “Leningrad” (August of 1946). In it, the creative work of a famous satirist, humorist M. Zoshchenko and an outstanding poetess A. Akhmatova was severely criticized. Thus, M. Zoshchenko was accused of allegedly slandering socialist reality, mocking the Soviet people, and in fact of taking a false political position, of being anti-Soviet. A. Akhmatova was criticized differently: her works were considered “empty”, “idealless”, she was called a “salon poetess” who avoided social topics, a supporter of “art for art's sake”, which contradicted the class approach to literature and art formulated by V. Lenin, the party principle of literature defined by him.

Subsequently, the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) adopted a series of resolutions related to the development of cinema, theatre, musical art, etc., and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, in turn, adopted similar resolutions in which they criticized, so to speak, their own, local, national figures of literature and art. At the same time, Ukrainian writers and artists were accused primarily of “national narrowness”, “bourgeois nationalism”, because any manifestation of love for the native land by the Ukrainians was interpreted by the ideologues of the Central Committee of the the CPSU(b) as a retreat from the so-called proletarian internationalism, as an attempt on unbreakable unity of the USSR peoples, a hidden desire to separate Ukraine from Russia.

O. Dovzhenko was especially harshly criticized for writing the screenplay of the film story “Ukraine on Fire” (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 125, c. 293, pp. 1, 6–35), M. Rylsky – for writing the poem “Journey to Youth”, Yu. Yanovsky – for writing the novel “Alive Water”, I. Senchenko – for writing the novel “His Generation”. P. Karmansky, M. Rudnytsky, and A. Patrus-Karpatsky were expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, who were accused of “Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism”. Individual works by Y. Smolych, L. Pervomaisky, L. Smiliansky, T. Masenko, A. Shyian, I. Vyrhan, V. Cherednychenko and the others were called “vicious”, “harmful writings”. The editors of the magazines “Perets”, “Vitchyzna”, “Dnipro”, “Soviet Lviv” were criticized, who, according to the party ideologues, published “harmful, nationalist works...” (Baran, 2005, pp. 81–84).

The authors of the work “Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature”, edited by E. Kyryliuk and S. Maslov, were criticized. They were accused of not illustrating great influence of the Russian culture on the Ukrainian literature, “giving a decisive role in the development of writers' creativity to the national moment”, and thereby trying to “extend the nationalist concepts” of M. Hrushevsky and S. Yefremov. M. Vozniak, A. Shamray, I. Borshchahovsky and L. Bulakhovsky were criticized for “manifestations of the bourgeois-nationalist line”, who “deliberately ignored the connection of the Ukrainian culture with the culture of the great Russian people” (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 122, c. 285, pp. 157, 158).

From the same positions, “political mistakes” in the work of the Institute of the History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR were “debunked” and the works written by the leading scholars of this institute – S. Bilousov, K. Huslyst, M. Petrovsky, M. Suprunenko, F. Yastrebov, in particular, were recognized as erroneous “Short Course in the History of Ukraine”, “Essay on the History of Ukraine”, as well as the first volume of “History of Ukraine” edited by M. Petrovsky. Lviv historians I. Krypiakievych, O. Terletsky,

and the others who worked at the Lviv branch of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and who were called “bourgeois nationalists” were criticized much. The works published by these scholars during the years of the German occupation were qualified as “counter-revolutionary”, “pogrom-fascist” (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 125, c. 310, pp. 20–24).

In July – August of 1948, a session of the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences was held in Moscow (the so-called August session of VASGNIL), at which Genetics pogrom campaign was launched. At the session, President VASGNIL T. Lysenko made a report, previously approved by J. Stalin, in which he called genetics a “bourgeois pseudoscience”. After the session, leading genetic scientists were fired in Ukraine, including M. Hryshka, S. Gershenzon, L. Delaunay, L. Kalianova, R. Chebotariov, and the others, teaching of Genetics and related Biology courses at schools, special secondary schools and higher educational institutions was discontinued. The Ukrainian scientists dealing with cybernetics, physiology, philosophy, linguistics, and political economy also suffered ideological persecution.

In 1949, a campaign was organized against the so-called cosmopolitans, which primarily affected art and literary critics accused of “bowing down to the West”. At the plenum of the board of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine in March of 1949, it was said that in the Republic “the cosmopolitan critics Stebun (Katsnelson), Sanov (Smulson), Adelheim, Gordon... did their malicious work for a long time”. Moreover, it was noted that it was a matter of “serious sabotage” and that the above mentioned people were apparently “united on the basis of subversive work”. At the same time, an investigation began in the case of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, which ended with a brutal massacre of its leaders.

In July of 1951, the newspaper “Pravda” published the article “Against Ideological Distortions in Literature”, in which there was criticized V. Sosiura's poem “Love Ukraine” (the poem was written in 1944). In the article it was emphasized that V. Sosiura did not sing the praises of Soviet or socialist Ukraine, but “some kind of old Ukraine, Ukraine in general”. The article gave impetus to another wave of attacks on Ukrainian writers: individual works of I. Wilde, H. Tiutiunnyk, Yu. Yanovsky, L. Zabashta, P. Voronek, I. Vyrhan and the others were called “vicious”. In the same year, in the newspaper “Pravda” there were published two more articles directed against Ukrainian culture, in which the authors criticized K. Dankevych's opera “Bohdan Khmelnytsky” and H. Zhukovsky's opera “From the Heart”, which caused a campaign of an ideological cleansing in music (Baran, 2005, pp. 85–100).

The Conclusion. Ideological control was one of the basic features of the Soviet totalitarianism, an effective tool of government control over creative and scientific intelligentsia, all social life. The analysis results of archival documents show that the key link in the system of ideological control remained censorship, which blocked official channels of mass communication and did not allow any deviations from accepted ideological standards. Along with censorship, during the first post-war years, the Stalinist regime carried out numerous denunciation campaigns, in fact – political and ideological cleansing in literature, art and science, accusing the Ukrainian artists and scientists of “national limitations” and “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”. Such control over the activities of intelligentsia, over all spheres of spiritual life ensured the ideological monopoly of the Communist Party in the society.

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THE UKRAINIANS' RESISTANCE TO THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE SOVIET TOTALITARIAN STATE ON THE WAY OF PRESERVING THEIR NATIONAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES: the 1960s – the 1970s

Abstract. Seeing the spread of a religious worldview as a serious threat to the monopoly of the CPSU – KPU, the Soviet government during the 1960s – the 1970s of the 20th century strongly exercised control over the spiritual life of the Ukrainians and instilled atheism in them forcibly. The Ukrainian worshippers became the object of increased attention of the state security authorities. However, the party leadership did not succeed in displacing the religious worldview from the Ukrainian ethnic environment completely. Persecution of worshippers gave rise to religious dissidence. **The purpose of the article** is to do research on the active resistance of the Ukrainians to the anti-religious policy of the communist authorities of the Ukrainian SSR during the 1960s and the 1970s on the way to preserve their

own national and spiritual values. **The Research Methodology.** During the research, such scientific methods as analytical and logical, historical and systemic, explanation, search, synthesis, comparison, complex selection have been applied. In the article there has been also used the method of analysis to find out the level of growth of the Ukrainians' national consciousness. The principles of systematicity and multifactoriality, etc., have been used to determine the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the defense, preservation and promotion of the Ukrainian national identity in the 1960s and the 1970s. **The Scientific Novelty.** In the the article there has been elucidated the role of spiritual opposition in preserving the ethnic identity of the Ukrainians in the 1960s and the 1970s; the manifestation of national self-awareness of the Ukrainians during the Soviet anti-religious campaign of the 60s – 70s of the 20th century has been demonstrated; the desire of the Ukrainians to preserve their own national and spiritual separateness has been highlighted. **The Conclusion.** Despite the anti-religious policy of the Soviet totalitarian state, total oppression by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainians did not retreat from the church, but resisted the communists' atheistic policy actively. Christian values continued to be the basis of the spiritual life of the absolute majority of the Ukrainian ethnic group.

Key words: church, religion, the Ukrainians, national identity, totalitarianism, communist ideology, atheism.

ОПР АНТИРЕЛІГІЙНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ТОТАЛІТАРНОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ НА ШЛЯХУ ЗБЕРЕЖЕННЯ УКРАЇНЦЯМИ СВОЇХ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ДУХОВНИХ ЦІННОСТЕЙ: 1960 – 1970-ті рр.

Анотація. Вбачаючи у розповсюдженні релігійного світогляду серйозну загрозу монопольному пануванню КПРС–КПУ, радянська влада впродовж 1960-х – 1970-х рр. ХХ ст. посилено вела контроль за духовним життям українців та примусово насаджувала їм атеїзм. Віруючі українці стали об'єктом посиленої уваги органів державної безпеки. Однак повністю витіснити релігійний світогляд з українського етнічного середовища партійній верхівці не вдалося. Переслідування віруючих викликали до життя релігійне дисидентство. **Мета статті** полягає у тому, щоб дослідити активний опір українців антирелігійній політиці комуністичної влади УРСР протягом 60-х – 70-х рр. ХХ ст. на шляху збереження власних національно-духовних цінностей. **Методологія дослідження.** Під час здійснення дослідження було застосовано конкретні наукові методи, зокрема, аналітико-логічний, історико-системний, пояснення, пошуку, синтезу, зіставлення, комплексного добору. У роботі також використано метод аналізу – для з'ясування рівня зростання національної свідомості українців. Для визначення ролі української інтелігенції 60-х – 70-х рр. ХХ ст. в обстоюванні, збереженні та пропагуванні української національної ідентичності використані принципи системності і багатофакторності тощо. **Наукова новизна.** У статті уперше в українській історіографії розкрито роль духовної опозиції у збереженні етнічної самобутності українців 60-х – 70-х рр. ХХ ст.; продемонстровано вияв їх національної самосвідомості під час радянської антирелігійної кампанії у цей період; висвітлено прагнення українців зберегти власну національно-духовну окремішність. **Висновки.** Незважаючи на антирелігійну політику радянської тоталітарної держави, тотальні утиски з боку КПРС–КПУ, українці не відступили від церкви, а чинили активний спротив атеїстичній політиці комуністів. Християнські цінності продовжували залишатися основою духовного життя абсолютної більшості представників українського етносу.

Ключові слова: церква, релігія, українці, національна ідентичність, тоталітаризм, комуністична ідеологія, атеїзм.

The Problem Statement. The Church for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – the Communist Party of Ukraine was a big competitor in the ideological plane and in the sphere of influence on the consciousness and formation of the worldview of the Ukrainians. In view of this, the Communist Party ruling elite directed its political activity against the church actively, tried to introduce a new atheistic ideology. In this context, it is necessary

to focus attention on the 60s and the 70s of the 20th century, which were characterized by the strengthening of repressions against the clergy and worshippers in the Ukrainian ethnic environment. However, the Soviet authorities only managed to temporarily weaken, but not eradicate religion from the consciousness of the most numerous native Ukrainian people in the Ukrainian SSR. The religiosity of the Ukrainians turned out to be stronger than the pressure exerted on it.

With the state independence of Ukraine, democratization of socio-political life, opening access to many archival sources, favourable conditions were created for free, unbiased, methodologically balanced study of the Soviet past of the Ukrainian nation and expanding the field of national memory and historical consciousness of citizens. Therefore, a comprehensive study of national and spiritual values of the Ukrainians under the conditions of anti-religious offensive of the Soviet totalitarian state during the 60s – the 70s of the 20th century is extremely relevant and requires a special approach to study.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers. The issue of religion and the church during second half of the XXth century in the USSR was highlighted in the works of such authors as: M. Palinchak and V. Bokoch (2021), P. Bondarchuk and V. Danylenko (Danylenko, 2012; 2021), Yu. Danylets and V. Myszchanyyn (Danylets & Myszchanyyn, 2022), I. Datskiv and L. Kapitan (Datskiv & Kapitan, 2022), Yu. Kaganov and V. Chura (Kaganov & Chura, 2022), V. Kononenko (Kononenko, 2004), O. Mikhalchuk (Mikhalchuk, 2010), B. Maksymets and V. Marchuk (Maksymets & Marchuk, 2022), S. Mochkin (Mochkin, 2015), T. Savchuk and H. Vasylchuk (Savchuk & Vasylchuk, 2020), V. Voinalovich (Voinalovich, 2005) and the others. However, in the scientific literature the topic under analysis remains understudied. This enables us to continue working in this promising area.

The Purpose of the Article. Therefore, the purpose of the article is to do research on the active resistance of the Ukrainians to the anti-religious policy of the communist authorities of the Ukrainian SSR during the 60s and the 70s of the XXth century on the way to preserve their own national and spiritual values.

The Results of the Research. The beginning of the 60s of the XXth century was characterized by a multifaceted religious palette in Ukraine, which included about 40 religious denominations (Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine – CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2741, p. 394). At the same time, the dominant position in Soviet Ukraine was occupied by the Russian Orthodox Church, which operated legally and enjoyed a kind of support from the then authorities. The Soviet leadership tried to strengthen the position of the Russian Orthodox Church, especially in the Western region of the Ukrainian SSR, where Greek Catholics predominated, who were forced to convert to Orthodoxy.

Archive documents show that the Soviet authorities fought against various illegal Protestant communities actively, in particular with the Baptists, the Pentecostals, and the Jehovahs, whose number as of January 1, 1961 was 1,619 communities in the Ukrainian SSR (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 5297, p. 47). According to the party leadership, it was the Baptists, the Pentecostals, and the Jehovahs, who consistently conducted anti-Soviet agitation, spread rumors about the imminent end of the Soviet power (Kononenko, 2004, p. 65). Because of this, they were publicly ridiculed, accused of espionage, called mentally ill, attributed to religious sacrifices, criminal cases were initiated against them (Bondarchuk & Danylenko, 2012, p. 166).

In accordance with the historical circumstances of the time, the communist authorities implemented new Soviet legislation on cults, which legally strengthened the total attack on religion and thereby violated the constitutional rights of the Ukrainian worshippers

(Kindrachuk, 2016, p. 26). According to archival documents, significant changes in the Soviet legislation took place in 1961, when in April of that year a special All-Union meeting of church officials under the governments of the republics of the USSR and the executive committees of the councils of workers' deputies in the regions was held (Central State Archive of the highest authorities and administration of Ukraine – CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 255, p. 75). The purpose of this meeting was to clarify the resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers dated March 16, 1961 “On Strengthening Control over the Implementation of Legislation on Cults”, according to which special commissions were formed under district executive committees, village councils, the activities of which were mostly limited to denunciations, surveillance and interference in the internal life of the church, etc.

Another intensified attempt to introduce atheistic ideology and eliminate the ways of religiosity among the Ukrainians took place after the adoption of the Party Programme by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in October of 1961. This document provided for the intensification of atheistic work as a component of the education of the “new Soviet man”. The Programme indicated that: “it is necessary to carry out a systematic scientific and atheistic propaganda, to patiently explain to the citizens of the USSR the impossibility of religious beliefs...” (Prohramma Kommunistycheskoi party Sovetskoho Soiuzu, 1962, p. 95). These tasks were also reflected in the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine dated October 9, 1962 “On the State and Measures to Improve the Scientific and Atheistic Education of Workers in the Ukrainian SSR”, which was written on the traditional basis of the ideology of the Communist Party and denied the religious worldview and everything that was connected with it (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 31, c. 2166, p. 5). Thus, the political course of the communists was aimed at limiting the activities of the church.

Everything that bore the imprint of the spiritual existence of the Ukrainian nation was declared a “relic of the past”, “the Church thing”. The atheistic campaign of the Soviet authorities led to the reduction of religious institutions in Ukraine, the liquidation of monasteries, the deregistration of religious associations, the reduction of the number of priests, the destruction of a large number of chapels, roadside crosses, and the reduction of the list of architectural monuments of a religious nature by more than a half (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 2, d. 9, c. 6434, p. 37; CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 4494, p. 168). Centuries-old cultural and ideological values of the Ukrainian clergy collided with the Soviet atheistic experiments (Savchuk & Vasylychuk, 2020, p. 164).

Thus, for example, according to archival sources, 1,308 chapels and roadside crosses were demolished in the territory of Lviv region in 1962 (State Archives of Lviv Region – SALR, f. R-368, d. 1, c. 915, p. 33), in Ivano-Frankivsk region as of 1965, more than 10,000 chapels and crosses were removed and dismantled (State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region – SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 2991, p. 55).

All regions of Ukraine suffered from the Soviet atheist policy. Thus, during the years of 1960 – 1964, 26 church premises were confiscated from religious communities of Kherson region (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 1, c. 433, p. 68). During the same period, 191 religious communities and 191 churches and 31 places of worship were deregistered in Chernihiv region (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 1, c. 433, p. 84). During the period from 1961 till 1965, 225 premises were confiscated from Orthodox worshippers in the city of Kyiv and Kyiv region (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 1, c. 433, p. 38).

During the first half of the 60s of the XXth century in the Ukrainian SSR, 81,1% of churches and prayer houses were deregistered, during the same period the activities of

3,933 religious communities were terminated, 855 of which were located in rural areas of the republic (Shlikhta, 2000, p. 260). According to the researcher P. Panchenko, during this period the largest number of churches and prayer houses were deregistered in Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyi, etc. (Panchenko, 1993, p. 8).

The mass closing of churches was of an all-Ukrainian character and dealt a great blow to the spiritual life of the Ukrainians at that time. The reasons for the closure were groundless accusations figured out by the party workers about “unsuccessful” location of the church, the noise of church bells, impossibility of using church premises for worship due to their mythical accident incidence rate. Another false reason for the closing of churches was claiming of the quantitative decrease of the believing population, which, in fact, distorted the level of religiosity of the Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR in general. All this confirmed the existence of a specific and well-thought-out plan by the Soviet authorities to liquidate the Ukrainian Church as a spiritual and social institution of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Closed down temples were turned into clubs, cinemas, sports halls, museums of atheism, and were also used as warehouses for storing grain and other agricultural products, fuel and lubricants, as a result of which they suffered enormous destruction. In this context, it is expedient to cite data from SALR documents. Thus, according to the decision of the executive committee of the Lviv Regional Council of Workers' Deputies and the official conclusion of the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv Region in 1962, the church premises of the villages of Volia (Drohobysky district), Maksymovychi, Lopushna (Sambirsky district), Tetylkivtsi (Brodiv district), Kotoryn (Zhydachiv district), Volia-Zhovtanetska (Kamianko-Buzky district) were converted into grain storage; the villages of Mezhyrichia (Zabuzsky district), Mistkovychi (Sambirsky district), Lypovets, Horodyshe (Drohobysky district) – for a school sports hall and a village club; villages of Borduliak and Hai-Ditkovetsky (Brodiv district) – for the medical centre and pantry of the local collective farm (SALR, f. R-368, d. 1, c. 915, pp. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 31, 36, 241).

The disappointing picture of the destruction of spiritual shrines of the Ukrainians was also observed in Chernivtsi region. Thus, SACHR documents indicate that in 1962 Ye. Protsenko, the representative of the Council for Religious Affairs in Chernivtsi region, submitted to the higher party bodies a list of closed church premises, which were proposed to be used for various state needs. In particular, in the village of Putyla, the Uniate church (1898) was recommended to be dismantled into building materials for the construction of a local school, in Vyzhnytsia the local church (1923) was given over to the sports hall of a boarding school, and in Sadhora the church (1890) was used as premises for the consumer cooperative, in Stara Zhuchka (Sadhora) the Dmytrivska Church (1895) – for a cinema hall, in Storozhynets the church (1897) was given for a lumberyard, in Chernivtsi the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1821) used as the premises of the city industrial trade center, etc. (State Archives of Chernivtsi region – SACHR, f. 1, d. 22, c. 184, pp. 44, 45, 50, 57, 59, 61).

One of the examples that testifies to the infamous events of that time was the closing of the church in the village of Okhlopiv of Horokhiv district in Vinnytsia region, as stated in the letter of the Ukrainian artist I. Honchar, addressed to the representatives of the local authorities: “After learning about my arrival, the residents immediately rushed to the church and with tears in their eyes complained that the church had been illegally closed and asked me to help figure it out in the case” (Mykhalchuk, 2010, p. 152). According to the author of the letter, the closing of the church caused dissatisfaction among the local population.

For the Ukrainians, the Soviet fight against the church meant the fight against the culture of their people, because the church was always the guardian of monuments of national art and contributed to the preservation of centuries-old cultural values. The anti-religious policy of the party-Soviet bodies, which was based on the illegal closure of religious communities, the destruction of religious buildings, and the persecution of the clergy, caused active opposition from the indigenous Ukrainian people, the most numerous in the Ukrainian SSR (Kindrachuk, 2015, p. 275). Representatives of the titular nation of Ukraine, opposed to the communist ideology and administrative system, organized large gatherings that turned into unauthorized rallies, round-the-clock vigils near monasteries and temples that had not yet been taken away (Kindrachuk, 2015, p. 275). The Ukrainians wrote petitions and sent numerous complaints and petitions addressed to the central party and state institutions, in which they noted violations of their rights to freedom of religion.

One of these complaints was written by the villagers of Skarzhyntsi of Khmilnytskyi district of Vinnytsia region in 1965. Officially addressing the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU L. Brezhnev, the Ukrainians expressed a request to return to the local community the premises of the chapel of faithful Catholics, which was illegally taken from them by the decision of the Vinnytsia Regional Executive Committee (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 2, c. 449, p. 1)

Another convincing example demonstrating the desire of the Ukrainians to defend their religious rights was the numerous appeals of worshippers from the villages of Danube and Roztoka in Kremenets district of Ternopil region, who, according to archival sources, for 5 years (from 1961 to 1966) continuously wrote statements to the higher party officials instances, sent delegations to the cities of Ternopil, Kyiv, and Moscow with a request to open their local church and provide them with a priest (State Archives of Ternopil region – SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 3844, p. 104).

According to archival documents, during the year of 1969, many such appeals, addressed to the Soviet ideologues, came from residents of the village of Pashkivtsi Khotynskoho and from the village of Nove settlements of Kitsman district of Chernivtsi region (SACHR, f. 1, d. 22, c. 260, p. 67). At the same time, the representative of the Council for Religious Affairs in Chernivtsi region, O. Podolsky, repeatedly pointed at numerous oral and written statements of worshippers in the region regarding the resumption of the activities of previously closed churches (SACHR, f. 1, d. 22, c. 260, p. 67).

It should be emphasized that the 1970s as compared to the 1960s were marked by an even greater strengthening of a total control over the religious life of the Ukrainians. However, the resilience of the spirit of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR in opposition to the Soviet atheistic policy only grew stronger. This was evidenced by a report of the acting Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR for Lviv Region B. Inshina, addressed to the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the Ukrainian SSR Comrade P. Pylypenko in 1974, in which it was said that the unmanaged and neglected attitude towards the former church premises, which were not used, generated negative feelings among a certain part of the worshippers of Lviv region, who, trying to resolve the situation, wrote statements to various authorities, sent delegation with a request to allow them to repair the churches with their own resources and restore worship in them (SALR, f. R-1332, d. 3, c. 220, p. 1). Another convincing example of the Ukrainians protecting their centuries-old religion was the fact that during the year of 1979, the executive committee of Mykolayiv District Council of Workers'

Deputies of Lviv Region considered 360 letters, statements and complaints from worshippers of the region, in which requests were made to open religious premises for church services (SALR, f. R-1332, d. 3, c. 280, p. 95). Archival documents show that dozens, hundreds, and thousands of signatures of outraged worshippers were under the majority of such statements (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d.1, c. 443).

The conflict between the interests of the state and the Ukrainian worshippers sometimes turned into open conflicts with representatives of the Soviet government. Thus, in 1960, during the expropriation of a church building, 100–150 Ukrainian worshippers resisted the representatives of local authorities in the village of Siomaky of Khmelnytsky district of Vinnytsia region (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 5205, p. 400). In the village of Zavadiivka district of the same region, believers also stood up for their church, since the head of the village council S. Kuzmin took the keys to the church in 1965, threw away religious property from it, and offered the local priest to leave the village (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 1, c. 448, p. 54).

According to archival documents, O. Chernov, the secretary of Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in a report dated 1965 and addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, reported on the facts of the self-rule of the religious community of the village of Piilo of Kalush district of Ivano-Frankivsk region and its disdainful attitude towards the KGB bodies (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 2991, p. 61). It concerns the fact that during the attempt to close the local church, the authorized KGB Comrade Kochuev, who was in the immediate vicinity of the church was injured. Local residents with the words “they are dismantling the church” threw a stone at an employee of the state security agencies (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 2991, p. 61).

Thus, the desire to defend one's religious rights was also observed among the inhabitants of the villages of Krasnosilka – Staro-Kostiantynivskiy, Liutark – Iziaslavsky, Peremyshl – Shepetivsky districts of Khmelnytskyi region (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d.1, c. 443, pp. 71–72).

All over the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the facts of arbitrary opening of churches closed and taken away from the Ukrainians were recorded. Thus, in 1963 faithful residents of the village of Rososhans of Kelmen district of Chernivtsi region voluntarily opened the church that had been closed for more than a year (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 5663, p. 121). In the same region, during Easter of 1969, previously closed churches were also opened by the Ukrainians spontaneously. These facts took place in the villages of Yuzhynets, Davydivtsi, Kalnivtsi – Kitsmanskyy, villages Pashkivtsi and Ruhotyn – Khotynskyy districts (SACHR, f. 1, d. 22, c. 260, p. 67).

The situation with spontaneous opening of deregistered churches by the Ukrainians was also observed in Lviv region. These cases mainly concern the end of the 70s of the 20th century. As of July 1978, the following district councils of people's deputies reported the Communist Party about these cases: Brodivska (the villages of Ponykva, Kutyshche, Biliavtsi), Horodotska (the villages of Dobriani, Mypiatyn, Tuchapy, Berezets), Kamiansko-Buzka (the villages of Kolodentsi, Zheldets), Mykolaivska (the villages of Rozdol, Verbizh), Mostyska (the villages of Hodyn, Hostyntsyve, Zaviazantsi), Nesterovska (the villages of Zahir'ya and Richky), Peremyshlianska (the villages of Tuchne, Ladantsi) district councils of people's deputies, etc. (SALR, f. R-1332, d. 3, c. 261, pp. 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22).

There were quite frequent cases when the Ukrainian worshippers kept the keys to churches that had already been deregistered and conducted religious services there on their own. For example, the researcher O. Mykhalchuk indicates that in 1977 the Easter liturgy was held in

the closed church of the village of Kulchyn of Kivertsi district of Volyn region, which was served by an old priest Kviatkovsky (Mykhalchuk, 2010, p. 162). Despite repeated warnings from local authorities, Kviatkovsky continued to occasionally hold services there while keeping the keys to the church.

Analyzing archival documents, we see that numerous facts of arbitrary opening of churches and holding of services in them were stated by the party bodies of Ivano-Frankivsk region, which indicated that as of September of 1965, in this region, religious services continued to be held in 210 churches (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 2991, p. 58). Thus, based on the above mentioned, we can state that the policy of atheism of the Soviet government encouraged the Ukrainians to look for various ways to preserve their religious centers.

However, the mass resistance of the Ukrainians to the atheistic company resulted in a wave of oppression and repression by the communists. Thus, officials of Cherkasy and a number of other regions of the Ukrainian SSR conducted illegal searches in houses of prayers, dismissed people from their jobs for their religious beliefs, forbade the performance of religious rites and used other administrative illegal actions (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 1, c. 448, p. 13). Archive documents show that in the Ukrainian SSR there were numerous cases of unjustified prosecution of the Ukrainians for judicial, criminal, and administrative responsibility (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 3367, p. 12).

The Soviet ideologues were fully aware of a great influence of religion and the church on the formation of the worldview of representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group, therefore, the emphasis in promoting atheism was placed by them on the young, growing generation.

The Ukrainian schoolchildren were prohibited from participating in church services and singing in the church choir. During religious holidays, teachers were forced to wait at the entrance to churches and intercept children who were being led by the hand to church by their parents. Similar actions were observed on the part of representatives of the authorities. Thus, according to archival sources, in 1962, during religious holidays, the Crimean regional committee of the Komsomol posted Komsomol patrols near churches, which forbade children to go to church services (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4648, d. 1, c. 324, p. 52), and the school principal director of Hruzke of Baryshiv district in Kyiv region tried to leave and lock the children at school for the whole night just because they and their relatives visited the village church (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 24, c. 12, p. 278).

However, raised in a traditional Ukrainian family, children continued to honour religious customs and traditions. For example, on January 8, 1969 in the village of Lopushnia, Rohatyn district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, children performed Christmas carols with a nativity scene (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 3412, p. 120). Another case of manifestation of religiosity among children is observed in the village of Bashuk, Kremenets district, Ternopil region, where a boy of preschool age (4–5 years old) learned church prayers with his mother (SATR, f. P.-1, d. 1, c. 3844, p. 105). The desire of the Ukrainians to inculcate respect for the church in their children is also observed in Chernivtsi region, where parents took their children from school and led them to prayer houses openly (SACHR, f. 1, d. 31, c. 66, p. 46).

When atheistic propaganda did not produce the expected results, the then party leadership began to apply repressions. Because of their religious beliefs, people were fired from their jobs, and they were often deprived of their parental rights. A glaring fact of the struggle against the believing families of the Ukrainians was the 1969 decision of the Juvenile Affairs Commission under Dolyna District Executive Committee of Ivano-Frankivsk Region, according to which M. Bolekhan, a student of the 3rd grade of the elementary school of

the village Myslivka, was transferred to a boarding school in Dolyna due to the fact that his mother V. Bolekhan was an underground sectarian (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 3367, p. 12).

Speaking about the unofficial nature of anti-religious education, it is necessary to note the psychological and administrative pressure exerted on the youth by the leadership of the higher educational institutions of the republic. Students were given an unspoken condition: if they want to study at university, they have to forget their religious beliefs.

In places where a high level of religiosity among the Ukrainian youth was recorded, the party activist conducted anti-religious activities with pre-prepared individual plans. Thus, SADR documents indicate that in Dnipropetrovsk region, communists conducted lectures to student youth on the following topics: "Reactionary Essence of Religious Holidays and Rites", "On the Harm of Religion", "Science and Religion are Incompatible", "Religion is Opium" (State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk region – SADR, f. 4359, d. 1, c. 583, pp. 1, 2, 3).

However, many young Ukrainians still remained faithful to religion. This devotion was especially observed in the west of Ukraine. According to the researcher N. Khomenko, a student of Lviv Institute of Applied Arts in a conversation with his friends assured everyone that religion does not do any harm to "communist construction", and therefore he will take part in religious holidays (Khomenko, 2008, p. 162). And Savitsky, a student of Lviv Forestry Institute, having good grades in "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" and passing the exam in this subject, after classes worked as an assistant to the archbishop (Khomenko, 2008, p. 161). These and other facts confirm that the Ukrainian youth, studying the Marxist-Leninist theory, which denied the existence of God, did not stop believing in him and the church.

Realizing the ineffectiveness of its actions, the CPSU-CPU put the Soviet mass media at the service of atheism. Anti-religious propaganda was especially spread by radio broadcasting. Thus, at the beginning of the 60s of the XXth century anti-religious propaganda unfolded in the programs of Kirovohrad regional radio, which broadcast programmes on anti-religious topics 3–4 times a month (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 70, c. 2447, p. 58). These were broadcast interviews of the former leaders of religious communities and sects, in which they debunked the "reactionary essence" of religion and called on believers to break up with "darkness and obscurantism" (CSAPA of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 70, c. 2447, p. 58). In the documents it is indicated that Dnipropetrovsk regional radio, disclosing the work experience of the region's best atheism advocates, broadcast the programme "On the Atheist's Bookshelf" in 1973 (SADR, f. 4418, d. 2, c. 337, p. 3).

The atheist worldview spread among the masses actively and by means of the world of cinema. In many institutions, there were conducted permanent scientific and atheistic film lectures, etc. According to the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine, their functionaries "awakened a believer from a religious dream", "sowed seeds of doubt in religious views" (SAIFR, f. R-1-P, d. 1, c. 2888, pp. 58–59).

The Conclusion. Thus, during the 60s – the 70s of the XXth century the Ukrainians experienced many spiritual vicissitudes of various aspects of church and religious life. The Soviet authorities refused a balanced criticism of religion and pursued a purposeful policy of eliminating the church from the life of the Ukrainian ethnic environment. The result of such activities was the strengthening of repressions against worshippers, the mass closing of monasteries and churches, which were converted to meet the socio-cultural and economic needs of the state or, in the worst case, dismantled and destroyed.

The anti-religious campaign of communist ideologues gained the greatest scope in the west of Ukraine, which was marked by a higher degree of religiosity. Defending their faith,

representatives of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR, opposed to atheistic politics, conducted round-the-clock vigils near churches that had not yet been appropriated, organized large protest gatherings that turned into unauthorized rallies, and wrote numerous petitions and complaints to central and local party and state institutions.

Seeing the ineffectiveness of atheistic propaganda, the party leadership succeeded in repression. Because of their religious beliefs, people were fired from their jobs, threatened with administrative sanctions, and often deprived of parental rights. There were the cases of unjustified prosecution of the Ukrainians for their religious views.

However, the communist leadership did not succeed in a complete ousting of the religious worldview from the Ukrainian ethnic environment, the Christian values remained the basis of a spiritual life among the absolute majority of representatives of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR. The reduction of the network of religious associations, which occurred due to administrative measures, did not really reduce the level of religiosity of the Ukrainian ethnic group. The liquidation of church communities did not produce the desired final result for the communists. It only transferred the activity of these communities from the official plane to the illegal one.

Thus, during the 1960s and the 1970s, the Soviet leadership only managed to weaken the religious life of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR slightly, but did not destroy it completely.

It is worth highlighting the issue of a further study of the topic under analysis, including: the role of repression against the clergy in the emergence of religious dissidence, the influence of the cooperation of priests of the Russian Orthodox Church with the Soviet authorities on the religious life of the Ukrainians. The relationship between the Ukrainian worshippers of the East and the West, the South and the Centre of the Ukrainian SSR during the period under analysis needs a more in-depth coverage.

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THE KGB MEASURES AGAINST THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE RESTORED SELF-PUBLISHED MAGAZINE “UKRAINSKYI VISNYK” UNDER THE UKRAINIAN SSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (THE MID – SECOND HALF OF THE 1970s)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to study the Soviet regime reaction to the restoration of the magazine “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, the course and stages of repressive actions against its publishers; the main measures taken by the State Security Committee (KGB) to stop publishing the magazine. The Methodology of the Research.* The methodological basis of the article is the principles of objectivity, comprehensiveness, continuity and historicism. The following methods have been used in this research: analysis and synthesis, problem chronological, retrospective, typology method, method of comparison and juxtaposition of information from different sources. **The scientific novelty** consists in the introduction of a complex of little-known documents of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine into scientific circulation, which give the opportunity to elucidate the essence of the Soviet regime repressive policy against the members of the editorial board of the restored magazine “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in the mid-second half of the 1970s. For the first time the article has provided a comprehensive analysis methods and the KGB measures in organizing repressions against the creators of the latest issues of the magazine. **The Conclusion.** In 1974 – 1975 the restoration of publishing the magazine “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” by Stepan Khmara, Oles Shevchenko and Vitaliy Shevchenko was the evidence of continued activity of human rights protection by the Sixtiers dissidents after the “general pogrom” of 1972 and caused a negative reaction of the Soviet leadership. In the mid-second half of the 1970s one of the key objectives of the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was to identify the members of the magazine’s editorial board and to punish them. At the same time, a wide range of unofficial, extrajudicial methods were used: the use of agents, “external surveillance” services, secret searches, wiretapping of homes, secret reading of correspondence, “preventive” measures, etc. The process of repression began with unsuccessful attempts to track down the magazine’s editors (1974 – 1975), carried on during the operational work with its participants in the framework of the “Blok” case (1975 – 1978), and ended with the opening of a special case called

“Vydavtsi (The Publishers)” (1978) and open judicial repressions against S. Khmara, O. Shevchenko and V. Shevchenko (1980). In 1975, in the course of investigation, it was possible to block sending Issue No. 9 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” abroad and to block publishing subsequent issues of the magazine. Although the use of judicial repression against the magazine’s editors was delayed for years primarily due to the skillful use of conspiracy tactics by the dissidents. In the end, the harsh sentences against the members of the editorial board of the renewed “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” proved the repressive essence of the Soviet regime and became the part of a large-scale wave of arrests against the Ukrainian dissident movement at the end of the 1970s – the beginning of the 80s, which was aimed at its complete suppression.

Key words: “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, State Security Committee (KGB), Ukrainian dissident movement, Soviet regime, Stepan Khmara, Oles Shevchenko, Vitaliy Shevchenko.

ЗАХОДИ КДБ ПРИ РАДІ МІНІСТРІВ УРСР ПРОТИ РЕДАКЦІЇ ВІДНОВЛЕНОГО САМВИДАВНОГО ЧАСОПИСУ “УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ВІСНИК” (СЕРЕДИНА – ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА 1970-х рр.)

Метою статті є аналіз реакції радянського режиму на відновлення журналу “Український вісник”, ходу та етапів репресивних акцій проти його видавців; виокремлення основних методів, які використовувалися Комітетом державної безпеки (КДБ) задля припинення виходу самвидавного часопису. **Методологія.** Методологічною основою статті є принципи об’єктивності, всебічності, наступності, історизму. У роботі використано методи аналізу та синтезу, проблемно-хронологічний, ретроспективний, типології, порівняння та зіставлення інформації з різних джерел. **Наукова новизна** зумовлена введенням до наукового обігу комплексу маловідомих документів Галузевого державного архіву Служби безпеки України, які дозволяють розкрити основні етапи та хід репресивної політики радянського режиму проти членів редакції відновленого самвидавного часопису “Український вісник” у середині – другій половині 1970-х рр. У статті вперше здійснено комплексний аналіз основних методів та заходів КДБ в організації репресій проти творців останніх номерів журналу. **Висновки.** Відновлення видання часопису “Український вісник” Степаном Хмарою, Олесем Шевченком та Віталієм Шевченком у 1974 – 1975 рр. було свідченням продовження активності середовища шістдесятницького правозахисту після “генерального погрому” 1972 р. та викликало негативну реакцію радянського керівництва. Виявлення членів редакції журналу та розправа над ними стала одним із ключових завдань Комітету державної безпеки при Раді Міністрів Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки в середині – другій половині 1970-х рр. При цьому було застосовано широкий комплекс неофіційних, позасудових методів: використання агентури, служби “зовнішнього спостереження”, негласні обыски, прослуховування помешкань, таємна читка кореспонденції, “профілактичні” заходи та ін. Процес розправи розпочався із спочатку малоуспішних намагань вийти на слід редакції журналу (1974 – 1975), продовжився у ході оперативної роботи із її учасниками в рамках справи “Блок” (1975 – 1978), завершився відкриттям спеціальної справи під назвою “Видавці” (1978) та відкритими судовими репресіями проти С. Хмари, О. Шевченка та В. Шевченка (1980). У ході розслідування вже у 1975 р. вдалося успішно заблокувати передачу № 9 “Українського вісника” за кордон та припинити спроби створення наступних номерів журналу. Проте застосування судових репресій проти редакції журналу було відкладено на роки передовсім через вмале використання дисидентами тактики конспірації. Зрештою, жорсткі вироки проти членів редакції відновленого “Українського вісника” засвідчили репресивну сутність радянського режиму та стали частиною масштабної кампанії проти українського дисидентського руху на рубежі 1970 – 1980-х рр., спрямованої на повне його придушення.

Ключові слова: “Український вісник”, Комітет державної безпеки (КДБ), український дисидентський рух, радянський режим, Степан Хмара, Олесь Шевченко, Віталій Шевченко.

The Problem Statement. The Ukrainian dissident movement of the 1950s and 1980s was a crucial milestone in the struggle for the restoration of Ukraine’s independence. Confrontation of dissidents with the Soviet regime took place under very difficult and unequal conditions,

primarily due to increased repressive pressure by the authorities and indifference of the main mass of the population. The resumption of the self-published magazine “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in the mid-1970s, after the arrest of its editor-in-chief Viacheslav Chornovil, was a unique and symbolic event that testified to the indomitability and further development of the resistance movement under the conditions of increasing political persecution. The study of certain aspects of the Ukrainian dissidents struggle against the Soviet regime is socially vital and topical at the current stage of the national state formation. The significance of such studies is particularly growing in the context of aggression against Ukraine by the Russian Federation, which considers itself the successor of the Soviet Union. The relevance of the article is facilitated by relatively insignificant attention of modern Ukrainian historiography to the national movement issues of the 1970s and the presence of a vast array of unpublished and previously unavailable materials from the former archives of the State Security Committee (KGB).

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. We can come across a significant analysis of the Ukrainian dissident movement in the 1970s in general and restoration of the publication of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in particular in the works, written by modern Ukrainian historians Heorhiy Kasyanov (Kasyanov, 2019, pp. 181–182), Anatoliy Rusnachenko (Rusnachenko, 1998, pp. 193–194), Oleh Bazhan and Yuriy Danylyuk (Bazhan & Danylyuk, 2000, pp. 76–77, 207–208), Borys Zakharov (Zakharov, 2003, p. 109). Certain aspects related to the self-published magazine using the KGB documentation in their research were elucidated by Vasyl Derevinsky (Derevinsky, 2016, pp. 146–175) and Oleh Bazhan (Bazhan, 2018, p. 236). The Soviet Special Services and the Ukrainian National movements confrontation in the middle – second half of the 20th century was reflected in the articles, written by Yaroslav Antoniuk and Volodymyr Trofymovych (Antoniuk & Trofymovych, 2021), Olha Bertelsen (Bertelsen, 2021), Ya. Antoniuk and Dmytro Viedienieiev (Antoniuk & Viedienieiev, 2022), Ruslan Siromskyi and Volodymyr Kachmar (Siromskyi & Kachmar, 2022), Vasyl Marchuk and Bohdan Maksymets (Marchuk & Maksymets, 2022). However, important aspects of the issue related to the KGB organization of extrajudicial and judicial repressions against the publishers of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in the mid-second half of the 1970s, remained almost unnoticed by researchers of the Ukrainian dissidents. The source base of the article is the materials of F.16 of the branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), which have been declassified recently, as well as the memories of dissident movement participants.

The purpose of the research is to study the Soviet regime reaction to the restoration of the magazine “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, the course and stages of repressive actions against its publishers; to single out the main measures taken the State Security Committee (KGB) to stop publishing the magazine.

The Results of the Research. One of the greatest achievements of the Ukrainian dissident movement was the publication of the illegal self-published magazine, which was called the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. Under the conditions of conscious tactical refusal to representatives of the Ukrainian Sixtiers human rights protection to establish an organization, the magazine managed to become a kind of coordination centre of the movement. The most iconic publicistic and fiction works, written by the Ukrainian authors were published on the pages of the magazine, provided a chronicle of repressions and information about manifestations of Russification and Ukrainophobia on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR). A journalist Viacheslav Chornovil was the editor of the first six issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, which were published from January of

1970 till March of 1972; the dissidents Valentyn Moroz, Mykhailo Kosiv, Yaroslav Kendzior, Atena Pashko, Mykola Plahotniuk, Zinovii Antoniuk, Stefania Shabatura, Iryna Kalynets and the others provided active assistance to him (Chornovil, 2006, p. 14).

The magazine was extremely negatively received by the Soviet leadership. The regime's reaction was increased repression against the members of the Ukrainian dissident movement. In those processes the main role was played by the KGB under the Council of Ministers (RM) of the Ukrainian SSR, which since 1970 had been headed by Vitaliy Fedorchuk, a supporter of a harsh policy towards the dissidents. In the summer of 1971, a case of group operation "Blok" was opened against the representatives of the Sixtiers wing of the Ukrainian national movement. During the period of 1972 – 1973, as the part of this case, the KGB employees carried out a "general pogrom" – a large-scale wave of repressions, the victims of which were the most active Ukrainian dissidents. There were the following dissidents among those arrested: Viacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Dziuba, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Vasyl Stus, Mykola Plahotniuk, Zinovii Antoniuk, Oleksandr Serhiyenko, Stefania Shabatura, Iryna and Ihor Kalynets, Mykhailo Osadchyi, and the others (Kasianov, 2019, pp. 150–152). It was much more difficult to continue an active confrontation with the authorities under the new conditions. The publication of the "Ukrainskyi Visnyk" was stopped as the majority of its creators ended up behind bars. The following Kyiv dissidents Yevhen Pronyuk, Vasyl Lisovy and Vasyl Ovsienko made an attempt to restore the magazine in 1972, which was not successful due to a rather quick arrest of the publishers. Numerous dissidents, who remained at large decided to suspend their activity in fear of new repressions.

However, there were a few brave people among the Ukrainian dissidents, who managed to renew the magazine even under such difficult conditions. According to A. Rusnachenko, the agreement on the creation of a new issue of the "Ukrainskyi Visnyk" was reached in 1973 during a meeting in Kyiv between Stepan Khmara, a dentist from Chervonohrad, Lviv Region, and Oles Shevchenko, a journalist from Kyiv, executive secretary of the "Ukrainian Biochemical Journal". Their goal was to demonstrate that the Ukrainian dissident movement continued to exist even after the "general pogrom". Vitaliy Shevchenko, a Kyiv journalist and employee of the Radiotelegraph Agency of Ukraine (RATAU), also joined the magazine editorial board at the initiative of O. Shevchenko. Owing to the activity, first of all, of S. Khmara, Issue 7 of the "Ukrainskyi Visnyk" was ready in March of 1974; its editor under the pseudonym Maksym Sahaidak was the author of almost all the materials published in the magazine (Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 193). Owing to the efforts of Roman Nakonechny, a close friend of S. Khmara, an employee of the Lviv store "Art", the photo film with the magazine was transferred abroad successfully (Stepan Khmara...), where it was published under Issues No. 7–8 later (taking into account a considerable volume) (Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 194; Sahaidak, 1975).

Several months passed before the information about the restoration of the "Ukrainskyi Visnyk" reached the KGB. On October 9, 1974, the Ukrainian diaspora newspaper "Svoboda" published a notice from the information service "Smoloskyp" about the receipt of a new issue of the self-published magazine from Ukraine – Issues No. 7–8 and dated "Spring of 1974" (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1037, p. 96; *Novyi vypusk*, 1974, p. 1). In a matter of days, the leadership of the KGB at the RM of the Ukrainian SSR became interested in the data. One gets the impression that the restoration the magazine publishing under the harsh conditions of increased pressure by the regime came as a big surprise for the KGB employees. It could be evidenced by the fact that the leadership of the special service initially treated the information

received from abroad with distrust and ordered to check its veracity. However, on October 23, on the desk of the First Secretary of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, there was a report of the head of the republican KGB Vitaliy Fedorchuk, which stated that the KGB employees were taking urgent measures to identify the people involved in publishing of this issue of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” and the channels of its illegal transmission abroad (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1037, pp. 294–295).

The restoration of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” became a significant challenge for the Soviet regime, because it was the evidence that the Ukrainian national movement continued its existence even after the “general pogrom” of 1972. That is why, the search of the publishers of the magazine became one of the priority tasks for the KGB in the following years. First of all, those involved in the case of the group operational development “Blok”, who remained at large and continued to show some activity in the direction of dissidents, came under suspicion, namely Yurii Badzio, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, spouses Yevhen and Vira Cherednychenko in Kyiv, Atena Pashko, Liubomyra Popadiuk in Lviv (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1043, p. 71). During the years of 1974 – 1978, the measures taken in order to identify the editors of the restored magazine took place within the framework of the “Blok” case.

The whole process of tracking down the dissident movement employees’ members, who were engaged in publishing the latest issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, by the KGB can be divided into three stages:

1. October of 1974 – September of 1975 – the efforts made to track down the magazine’s editors, confusion of the KGB bodies;
2. September of 1975 – June of 1978 – operational work with the publishers of the magazine within the framework of the “Blok” case;
3. June of 1978 – December of 1980 – the creation of a special case of the operative group development “Vydavtsi (The Publishers)” and open repression against its participants.

At the initial stage of the investigation, the cadebists were focused on Kyiv dissidents – the subjects of the “Blok” case. It was found out that Yu. Badzio and B. Antonenko-Davydovych received information about the resumption of publishing of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” from their acquaintances in Lviv, as a result of operational measures at the end of 1974 – at the beginning of 1975. In February of 1975, the KGB agent “Vasiliev” was sent to Lviv and held several meetings with A. Pashko, using a hidden microphone. The dissident, however, did not tell “Vasiliev” any valuable information, stating that she knew about the new issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” only from foreign radio broadcasts. Instead, during conversations with L. Popadyuk the agent “Travnevnyi” managed to obtain information about her alleged contacts with the publishers of the magazine (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1043, pp. 71–72).

Having not received sufficient information about publishing of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” directly from the objects of the “Blok” case, the KGB employees focused on checking their contacts. According to intelligence reports, individual supporters of the subjects of the case, who in recent years were not sufficiently active and considered themselves free from the supervision of the KGB, could have been involved in the restoration of the magazine. In particular, in February of 1975, the KGB kept an eye on Mykhailo Honchar, a methodologist at an excursion-tourist station in Lviv. According to the KGB, he was the person who informed Yu. Badzio about the latest issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”. In March of 1975, the KGB operation on Liubov Voloshyn, a researcher of Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art started, who had the imprudence to inform the KGB agent “Haidai” that she was familiar with the contents of the last issue of the self-published magazine (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1043, pp. 74–75).

In the end, the KGB employees were able to obtain the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” Issues No. 7–8 distributed on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR only in June of 1975. A comparison of its text with operational and technical data obtained in May of 1974 in the apartment of the spouses Ye. and V. Cherednychenko showed, that the married couple had got informed of the magazine materials (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, p. 62).

During the year of 1975, the KGB employees got closer and closer to the publishers of the magazine. They used the capabilities of the agents quite successfully. In a conversation with the agent “Vasiliev”, Yu. Badzio said that there were plans to publish three more issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” – paired Issues No. 9–10 and Issue No. 11. The agent managed to earn the dissident’s trust fully, who handed over to him separate materials that were to be included in the next issues of the magazine – the texts authored by political prisoners Z. Antoniuk and I. Kalynets, as well as an open letter by V. Stus and V. Chornovol to I. Dziuba. In September of 1975, the cadebists managed to find out that the dissident, Yu. Badzio handed over the specified materials to Oles Shevchenko, owing to the increased monitoring of Yu. Badzio’s behaviour and the use of the special measure “MRT”. In turn, Oles Shevchenko showed the materials to Vitaliy Shevchenko later (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, pp. 62–63). Thus, the KGB succeeded in attacking Kyiv members of the editorial board of the renewed “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”.

According to operational data of the KGB, O. Shevchenko searched for an opportunity to hand over separate self-published materials for publishing in the next issue of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” to the dissident milieu in Lviv. The KGB employees used this journalist’s intention against him as they managed to set him up with the agent “Edelweiss” to perform this task. In September of 1975, under the operational control of the KGB, on behalf of O. Shevchenko, the agent “Edelweiss” handed over the relevant documents to Roman Nakonechnyi. The KGB employees managed to find out that R. Nakonechnyi handed over the documents to V. Khmara, a part-time student of Lviv Polytechnic, whose brother was Stepan Khmara, who had had a meeting with O. Shevchenko in Kyiv a month before the specified events. In the end, the materials were left by R. Nakonechnyi in the village of Vatutino near the city of Chervonohrad in the house of D. Dmytrash, a former OUN member (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, pp. 63–65). It was impossible for the cadebists to trace a further path of the self-published documents, S. Khmara probably got them later somehow.

During the process of monitoring the transfer of documents meant for the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, the KGB managed to keep tabs on the key people, who were involved in the preparation of the magazine and its distribution abroad. However, the leadership of the special service, taking into account relatively small amount of information received, was not fully aware of who exactly was a member of the magazine editorial staff and who was ultimately the main organizer of the publication. In the autumn of 1975, a complex of operative and search measures was developed in order to identify these people; O. Shevchenko, V. Shevchenko, S. Khmara, R. Nakonechnyi and 5 other people were monitored (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, p. 67). The KGB employees received reliable information about their participation in publishing the magazine, but did not have sufficient evidence to initiate prosecutions against them. A report note to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine dated November 7, 1975 indicated that a key place in the system of operational measures regarding the “Blok” case was given to the search of the editors of the restored “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, p. 79). During the period of 1975 – 1978, crucial steps taken by the KGB in this direction were agent penetration into the environment of magazine publishers, operational documentation and termination of their dissident activities, blocking the publication of the magazine issues.

Rather significant “success” of the KGB employees was the fact that they prevented the text of Issue No. 9 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” from being sent abroad in September of 1975. According to the KGB documentation, this special operation was implemented in a rather original way. Right after R. Nakonechnyi had a meeting with the agent “Edelweiss”, the cadebists carried out an undercover search (in the KGB terminology – “event D”) in his apartment. There was found an undeveloped photographic film wrapped in a newspaper among the self-published materials. During its development in the laboratory of Lviv KGB Department, it was found that printed text of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” Issue No. 9 dated December of 1974 was removed from it (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, pp. 94–145). The KGB employees found out that R. Nakonechnyi performed the functions of a transmission link regarding the collection of materials for the magazine that came from Kyiv, as well as was involved in the matter of further transfer of the materials abroad (since the “Mystetstvo” store was visited by foreign tourists regularly). Finally, the cadebists replaced the photographic film secretly in R. Nakonechnyi’s apartment with another one, identical in appearance, which was specially made in the KGB laboratory. On the updated photographic film, the majority of the frames could not be viewed due to the imitation of signs of a camera malfunction. Later on, in a conversation with the spouses Ye. and V. Cherednychenko, O. Shevchenko talked about the fact that unsuccessful attempt to transfer the photo film of Issue No. 9 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” to the West unsuccessful (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, pp. 65–66). In the end, as a result of the insidious actions of the KGB, the above-mentioned issue of the magazine never saw the light of day.

However, the “operational monitoring” of the dissidents, who restored the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” dragged on for several years due to their skillful use of conspiratorial tactics. In particular, the couriers used conditional passwords and pre-agreed answers during the transfer of self-published materials from Kyiv to Lviv (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1047, p. 64). In the autumn of 1975, S. Khmara revealed that he was kept under the surveillance by a group of the KGB external surveillance service (Stepan Khmara...). After that, the work on new issues of the magazine was suspended. Stepan Khmara and Roman Nakonechnyi behaved very cautiously, they were aware of the presence of operational KGB listening devices in their apartments, and tried to check the premises for secret searches (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 118). In November of 1975, S. Khmara, during a meeting with O. Shevchenko, stated that he suspected the possibility of the KGB monitoring their behaviour (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 117). In 1976 the editor-in-chief of the restored “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” recommended to his acquaintances “to be in the shadow, to be restrained in public, to keep up only patriotic conversations at work and to support everything that is written in newspapers” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 118).

The KGB’s attempt to initiate judicial repression against V. Shevchenko failed in 1976. The Secret Service employees managed to obtain the information that V. Shevchenko showed his friend and like-minded engineer V. Troyak the photocopy of Issues No. 7–8 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in March of 1976. More than 90 titles of self-published documents were discovered, some of which were published on the pages of the magazine during a secret rummage of his apartment. On April 29, the KGB leadership informed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about the sufficiency of the evidence to open criminal proceedings against V. Shevchenko under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code (CC) of the Ukrainian SSR (“anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”). Finally, in July of 1976, the party leadership gave consent to such actions. However, during the second secret rummage on July 21, there were not found any relevant documents in V. Shevchenko’s apartment. As it

turned out, 4 days before that, the dissident and his wife noticed the employees of the external surveillance service (in KGB terminology – the “NN” service) of the KGB, who kept an eye on the apartment. Vitaliy Shevchenko managed to hide all available self-published materials in the apartment (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, pp. 116–117). During one of his later interviews, he recalled these events the following way: “The first carried out search was secret in 1976, because they received information that my secretary was stuffed with the self-published materials. It was so. I noticed that my family members were being followed... And since the children were being followed, it means that it was in order to conduct a secret rummage at my apartment... That is why, I grabbed all the most dangerous things for me... put them in a backpack and took them out” (Interviu z Vitaliiem Shevchenkom, 1998). The cadebists had to suspend the opening of the criminal case until the discovery of the hidden documents. In the report note, the situation around V. Shevchenko was characterized as a “failure” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 117).

Also, due to the suspiciousness of the publishers of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” the KGB employees could not infiltrate their environment for reliable agents for a long period of time. In April of 1976, in one of the leaders of Lviv dissident milieu, Mykhailo Horyn, who knew about the preparation of new issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, there was introduced the agent “Zyhmund”. During the meeting with M. Horyn, the agent “Zyhmund” was invited to carry out certain errands related to the magazine (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 115). However, taking into consideration the lack of information about further “useful” actions taken by the agent “Zyhmund” for the KGB, it can be assumed that the agent did not earn an appropriate level of trust among the dissidents. The attempts made by the agents of “Almara” and “Chesnyi” to spy on S. Khmara and R. Nakonechnyi, were also in vain (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 119). Finally, in October of 1977, the KGB leadership focused on the weaknesses of the agents’ positions among the key drawbacks of the work to identify the editorial office of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1064, p. 108).

However, the collection of information about the publishers of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” carried on. In the report of the KGB on the “Blok” case dated August 14, 1976, S. Khmara and R. Nakonechnyi were characterized as “fanatic nationalists... in whose re-education there is no confidence”. The main task of further work with them was to compromise them in front of like-minded people and the public, as well as possible prosecution for the criminal offences allegedly committed by them. At the same time, V. Shevchenko and O. Shevchenko were classified as “fanatically minded objects of the case... who are unlikely to be re-educated”. It was supposed to “stop monitoring them and, at a politically advantageous moment, abdicate them to criminal responsibility for the anti-Soviet activities, until these individuals became renowned in the West and turned into the newly-emerged “leaders” of nationalist betrayers” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 129).

The last quote indicates a certain dependence of the repressions of the Soviet regime in Ukraine on the international situation. Obviously, the open repression of the creators of the last issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” as of 1976 was not “politically profitable”, including due to the de-escalation of international tensions in relations between the USSR and the USA, and the ongoing negotiation process between the two superpowers. The Soviet authorities feared significant international publicity for future arrests. The leadership of the KGB categorically did not want international resonance to be created around the names of the Ukrainian dissidents, taking into account the possibility of significant campaigns organised by the diaspora in defence of one or another member of the national movement. Such kind of

campaigns in defence of a historian and publicist Valentyn Moroz (Paska, 2018, pp. 172–209) and victims of the “general pogrom” of 1972 were regularly held in the first half of the 1970s and caused significant reputational losses to the USSR. In the end, the Soviet regime resorted to direct repression against the environment of publishers of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” only in 1980, already after the end of detente and the beginning of a new round of confrontation with the USA.

During the year of 1977 the KGB employees, continuing operational measures within the framework of the “Blok” case, intensified intelligence and operational measures against V. Shevchenko’s close acquaintance, an engineer V. Troyak. The operational contact was established with him and written materials were received about the involvement of V. Shevchenko and O. Shevchenko in the resumption of the publication of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1064, p. 104). There was taken the photocopy of Issues No. 7–8 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” during rummages at Mykola Korpaniuk’s and Yaroslav Ostash’s apartments, the contacts of V. Troyak, in the town of Kosiv, Ivano-Frankivsk region (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1060, p. 63). The cadebists also received the application materials for V. Shevchenko from an engineer A. Matviyenko, another acquaintance of his, who was recruited as an agent successfully. They planned to use A. Matviyenko to influence V. Shevchenko in order to induce him to report to the KGB authorities, which, however, was unsuccessful (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1064, p. 104). The agents “Almaz” and “Ramzai” were keeping tracks on S. Khmara (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1054, p. 119; c. 1064, pp. 104–105; c. 1074, p. 87).

In October of 1977, the leadership of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR decided to terminate the “Blok” case, and to organize the monitoring of persons involved in the restoration of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in the newly created case of the group operational development “The Publishers” (in the original “Vydavtsi”) (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1064, pp. 109–110). De facto, this decision was implemented in June of 1978. The “Publishers” case involved 10 people, 7 of whom were the objects of the “Blok” case in the past: O. Shevchenko, V. Shevchenko, the spouses Ye. and V. Cherednychenko, S. Khmara, R. Nakonechnyi, L. Voloshyn, and the others (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, pp. 69–70).

During the years of 1978 – 1980, in the course of work on the “Publishers” case (the third stage of the investigation), the KGB employees discovered quite a lot of valuable information previously unknown to them. Owing to the activities of the agents, it was found out that in 1975, the work on the preparation of regular issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” was temporarily suspended due to pressure by the KGB. Only at this stage, the cadebists receive verified data that the main organizer of Issues No. 7–8 and 9 of the magazine was S. Khmara, who prepared on his own the majority of the materials published on its pages (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, pp. 87–88). According to the reports of “Almaz” and “Ramzai” agents, in April of 1978 he started collecting materials and preparing a new issue of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”. The dissident held several meetings with his associates in order to gather information and prepare documents for the next issues. Having not received a tangible support, S. Khmara did not abandon his intention to resume publication of the magazine and, for this purpose, established contacts with the former UPA soldiers M. Vuyev and V. Levkovich (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1080, p. 152). The special service employees also found out that the subjects of the “Publishers” case do not have their own stable communication channel with the foreign country, but they were trying to establish it. Taking into consideration the issue, there were made attempts to keep S. Khmara under surveillance with the help of the following agents “Lvivsky” and “Krystal”, who had the opportunity to go abroad (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, p. 88).

According to the KGB, the other subjects of the case – O. Shevchenko, V. Shevchenko, the Cherednychenkos, R. Nakonechnyi, they all “remained on nationalist positions”, but did not take part in attempts to restore the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” in April of 1979. Numerous agents were spying on the above-mentioned objects, which made it possible to exercise a reliable control over the behaviour of dissidents fairly. O. Shevchenko and V. Shevchenko were exerted a “deterrent influence” by agents who managed to gain their trust (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, p. 88). The KGB listening devices were installed in the dissidents’ apartments. Later, O. Shevchenko recalled the following: “At that time in my apartment... they drilled holes in the reinforced concrete floors in all rooms, even in the corridor, and inserted the listening devices – miniature microphones. Thus, my apartment was tapped, the phones were tapped. “Tails” were constantly following me, and my wife, even my children” (Interviu z Olesem Shevchenkym, 1998). Serious “preventive” work was carried out in relation to the spouses Ye. and V. Cherednychenko. They were issued an official warning in accordance with the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated December 25, 1972. The KGB operatives held regular meetings with the married couple, which was used both to limit their activity in the direction of dissidents and to compromise them among like-minded people (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, p. 88).

Also, during the years of 1978 – 1980, the actions of the subjects of the “Publishers” case regarding the restoration of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” were documented for the purpose of preparing for further court proceedings. In particular, the KGB employees conducted a series of conversations with R. Nakonechnyi and L. Voloshyn, as a result of which they received written statements about S. Khmara’s “anti-Soviet statements”, the collection and preparation of materials for the latest issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” and attempts to transfer them to the border (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, p. 89).

The KGB employees took active action in March of 1980. In particular, on March 19, the apartment of the driver Budnyi (an acquaintance of R. Nakonechnyi) was searched (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, p. 89; *Khronika represii*, 1981, p. 8), who was probably previously recruited as an agent under the code name “Borets”. The KGB employees knew that he had a damaged photo film of Issue No. 9 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” previously produced by the KGB (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1074, p. 89). The seizure of the photographic film was apparently the reason for the start of a special operation aimed at arresting the members of the magazine’s editorial staff. Finally, on March 28, 1980, the head of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR V. Fedorchuk turned to V. Shcherbytskyi with the following proposal: “Taking into account Khmara’s fanatical anti-Sovietism, his persistent attempts to resume the publication of the anti-Soviet “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” and with the aim of disrupting these plans, we consider it necessary on the basis of documented data on his hostile activities, open a criminal case against him under the specified article and carry out a complex of operational and investigative actions. This will make it possible to fully reveal and procedurally document his and his accomplices’ criminal activities related to publishing, distribution and handing over of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” abroad” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1080, p. 153).

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine sanctioned these actions very quickly, because already on March 31, S. Khmara was arrested, and his apartment was searched. Two days before that event, on March 29, R. Nakonechnyi’s apartment was searched. On March 31, O. Shevchenko was detained in Kyiv, who was taken by the KGB directly from the hospital, and V. Shevchenko’s apartment was searched (*Khronika represii*, 1981, pp. 6–8). On April 14, 1980, two weeks later, the KGB employees

arrested V. Shevchenko, who was expelled from the party previously (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1080, p. 262; *Interviu z Vitaliiem Shevchenkom*, 1998). In April of 1980, on the initiative of V. Shcherbyskyi, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine officially approved the opening of a criminal case against the creators of the last issues of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” (SSA SSU, f. 16, c. 1080, p. 262).

The investigative actions went on for nine months, which ended with the trial of S. Khmara, V. Shevchenko, and O. Shevchenko in Lviv on December 15–24, 1980. All the above-mentioned were convicted under Art. 62, Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. In addition, among other things Stepan Khmara was indicted for creating and distribution of Issue No. 7–8 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” to the West, the authorship of the article “The Ethnocide of the Ukrainians in the USSR” that was published in Issue No. 7–8, V. Shevchenko – storage and distribution of the magazine and authorship of the article “The Czechoslovak Politics through the Eyes of a Ukrainian”, appointed for publication on its pages, and to O. Shevchenko – to collect materials for an illegal magazine and hand them over to S. Khmara. The accusations were based mostly on the testimony of those friends and associates of the arrested, who were persuaded to cooperate with the KGB through increased pressure and several years of intelligence work. In particular, R. Nakonechnyi, a driver Budnyi, RATAU employees, alleged KGB agents Hnatenko and Yaremenko, Kyiv engineers V. Troyak and A. Matviyenko were forced to give such kind of testimony. As a result, S. Khmara received 7 years of strict regime colonies and 5 years of exile with the confiscation of the property, V. Shevchenko – 7 years of colonies and 4 years of exile, and O. Shevchenko, taking into account his recognition of his “guilt” – 5 years of colonies and 3 years of exile (*Khronika represii*, 1981, pp. 5–8).

The Conclusion and Prospects for Further Research. In 1974 – 1975 the resumption of publication of the magazine the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” by S. Khmara, O. Shevchenko and V. Shevchenko was evidence of the continued activity of the Sixtiers human rights protection after the “general pogrom”. Under extremely difficult conditions, the Ukrainian national movement continued its existence, which caused a negative reaction of the Soviet leadership and the KGB of the RM of the Ukrainian SSR. Identifying members of the magazine's editorial staff and dealing with them became one of the main tasks of the special service in the mid-second half of the 1970s. At the same time, the KGB employees used a wide range of unofficial, extrajudicial methods: the use of agents, “external surveillance” services, secret searches, wiretapping of homes, secret reading of correspondence, “preventive” measures, etc. The process of repression began with unsuccessful attempts to track down the editors of the magazine (1974 – 1975), continued during operational work with its participants in the framework of the “Blok” case (1975 – 1978), and ended with the opening of a special case called “The Publishers” (1978) and open judicial repressions against S. Khmara, O. Shevchenko and V. Shevchenko (1980). In the course of the investigation, the KGB employees managed to block the transmission of Issue No. 9 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” abroad and stop attempts to create subsequent issues of the magazine as early as 1975. However, the use of judicial repression against the magazine's editors was delayed for years primarily due to the skillful use of conspiracy tactics by dissidents. Harsh sentences against the members of the editorial board of the renewed “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” proved the repressive essence of the Soviet regime and became the part of a large-scale repressive campaign against the Ukrainian dissident movement at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, aimed at its complete suppression. After all, already during the period of perestroika, after a certain liberalization

of the socio-political situation in the Ukrainian SSR, the edition of “Ukrainskyi Visnyk” was restored by V. Chornovil; during the years of 1987 – 1989, eight more issues of the magazine were published. We consider a detailed analysis of the archival investigative cases of S. Khmara, O. Shevchenko and V. Shevchenko, the study of the contents of Issues No. 7–8 and 9 of the “Ukrainskyi Visnyk”, as well as the subsequent dissident activities of its creators in prison, as promising directions for further research.

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**AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENTAL WORK AS A COMPONENT
OF MODERN NATURAL SCIENCE AND CULTURE OF THE NATION:
HISTORY OF FORMATION AND EVOLUTION OF CONCEPTS**

Abstract. *The purpose of publication is to analyze the formation of domestic agricultural experimentation at the end of the 19th century as a component of modern natural science and culture of the nation. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, application of historical and comparative, historical and systemic, analytical and synthetic, terminological, statistical methods, as well as methods of personalization and source studies and archival analysis of documents. The Scientific Novelty. The evolution of the concept of “agricultural research” has been highlighted, the contribution of prominent and lesser-known agricultural scientists in the development of agricultural research in the Russian Empire and the USSR (in particular, in the Ukrainian and Polish lands) at the end of the 20th century has been outlined. The Conclusion. It has been proved that agricultural research could not fully develop before the events of 1917 due to the lack of a sufficient number of qualified personnel, a significant lag of the obtained research results of domestic scientists from the real success of colleagues from abroad, the level of agricultural production. At the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century there began to develop actively in matters of theory and methodology, another component of agricultural science as a separate branch of knowledge – agricultural economics. Agrarian research is treated as a deep and comprehensive study in specialized research institutions of agronomic, zoo-technical and other agricultural phenomena occurring in natural and specially created conditions, using appropriate methods and tools to develop rational ways and approaches to improve the cultural level of agriculture as well as the search of other means and ways to provide scientific and practical assistance to agricultural production in order to obtain as many as possible and the best quality of environmentally balanced agricultural products.*

Key words: *agricultural experimental work, agricultural scientists, agronomy, branch experimentation.*

СІЛЬСЬКОГОСПОДАРСЬКА ДОСЛІДНА СПРАВА ЯК КОМПОНЕНТ СУЧАСНОГО ПРИРОДОЗНАВСТВА І КУЛЬТУРИ НАЦІЇ: ІСТОРІЯ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ТА ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ ПОНЯТЬ

Анотація. *Метою статті є аналіз становлення вітчизняного аграрного експериментаторства в кінці XIX ст. як складової сучасного природознавства і культури нації. Методологія дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, застосуванні історико-порівняльного, історико-системного, аналітико-синтетичного, термінологічного, статистичного методів, а також методів персоналізації та джерелознавства й архівного аналізу документів. Наукова новизна.* Висвітлено еволюцію поняття “сільськогосподарська дослідна справа”, окреслено внесок видатних та менш відомих учених-аграріїв у розвиток сільськогосподарської дослідної справи на території Російської імперії та СРСР (зокрема, на українських і польських землях) у кінці XIX – XX ст. **Висновки.** Доведено, що сільськогосподарська дослідна справа не змогла повноцінно розвинутися до події 1917 р. через відсутність достатньої кількості кваліфікованих кадрів, суттєве відставання отриманих дослідницьких результатів вітчизняних учених від реальних успіхів колег із-за кордону за рівнем продуктивності сільськогосподарської продукції, здебільшого практичний характер поставлених завдань тощо. Наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. як окрема галузь знань почала активно розвиватися у питаннях теорії та методології ще одна складова сільськогосподарської науки – сільськогосподарська економіка. Трактовано сільськогосподарську дослідну справу як глибоке та всебічне вивчення у спеціалізованих дослідницьких інституціях агрономічних, зоотехнічних та інших сільськогосподарських явищ, що відбуваються у природних і спеціально створених умовах, з використанням відповідних методик та інструментарію з метою відпрацювання раціональних шляхів і підходів до підвищення культурного рівня сільського господарства, а також пошуку інших засобів і способів надання науково-практичної допомоги аграрному виробництву з метою отримання якомога більшої кількості та кращої якості екологічно збалансованої сільськогосподарської продукції.

Ключові слова: сільськогосподарська дослідна справа, вчені-аграрії, агрономія, галузеве експериментаторство.

The Problem Statement. Agriculture in Ukraine has historically continued to be the dominant sector of the country's economy. Its development has greatly influenced the formation of all components of Ukrainian society. According to many modern researchers, owing to the rural way of life, which has been practiced for centuries in modern Ukrainian lands, not only formed the national consciousness, but also preserved the national idea, despite the existence of various state systems and their influence within a common homeland. To this day, agriculture continues to be a guarantor of statehood and, consequently, stability through food security.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Available publications, as well as some definitions proposed by their authors, primarily to industry textbooks, manuals and various encyclopedias from the past, last century and the new millennium, differently interpret the concept of “agricultural research” both in terms of its origin and, respectively, and meaningful content.

In my opinion, the process of accumulation of knowledge about the place of branch research as a component of natural science and culture of the nation has passed certain stages of evolution. This is noted by leading scientists: A. Ya. Buka, V. R. Williams, V. V. Viner, A. A. Ivin, S. I. Danilov, B. K. Enken, S. P. Kulzhinsky, A. V. Lazursky, A. A. Nikonov, N. I. Pshenychny, B. N. Rozhestvensky, V. I. Sazanov, I. A. Stebut, S. K. Chaianov and other researchers of the history of agricultural science.

The purpose of the article – based on the author's interpretation of the concept of “agricultural research”, set out in the three-volume “History of Agricultural Research in

Ukraine” (Verhunov, 2018a; Verhunov, 2018b; Verhunov, 2018c;), to trace the formation of agricultural experimentation at the end of the 19th century as a component of modern natural science and culture of the nation, to outline the contribution of prominent and less prominent agricultural scientists in the development of agricultural research in the Russian Empire and the USSR at the end of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Results of the Research. The book “History of Agricultural Experimental Work in Ukraine”, which consists of 3 parts, united by a common idea – a comprehensive study of the historical stages of development of agricultural experimental work and its management in Ukraine, is a multi-layered, poly-functional study. The work is extremely informative and may be of interest to a wide range of readers of both different ages and different occupations. The scientific novelty of the book is emphasized – at the empirical level – by the author’s scrupulous identification and systematization of a significant array of historical facts; on the theoretical side – the author’s view on the methodological foundations of the formation and evolution of agricultural experimental work in Ukraine.

The first part of the book is devoted to biographical portraits of 100 outstanding agricultural scientists and practitioners who made a significant contribution to the formation and development of agricultural experimental work in Ukraine (Verhunov, 2018). Among them there are also representatives of Polish nationality (M. N. Ochapovsky, I. E. Ovsinsky, B. St. Dobzhansky, S. A. Mokrzhetzky, V. S. Tyshkevich) and those who worked in Poland in the 19th – 20th centuries (P. V. Budrin, E. F. Votchal, V. V. Dokuchaev, etc.), in addition to purely cognitive, it has a powerful educational potential. After all, the rapid growth over several decades of public interest in historical and biographical research has become a hallmark of scientific discourse. In our opinion, it is a reflection of both the general rise of national patriotic consciousness among the general population, and the new spiritual and intellectual processes taking place among the scientific elite (Verhunov, 2018a).

The appeal to the activities of our predecessors, the history of their ideological searches, achievements, civil and scientific asceticism is evidence of the awakening of society from historical nihilism, the desire of people to reassess values, restore lost ties with centuries of experience, humanistic traditions and moral principles. In the biographies of agricultural scientists, a modern Ukrainian is looking for the spiritual support necessary to establish him as an individual and a citizen, a conscious builder of his own destiny and the destiny of the country.

The fact that over the past two decades in the domestic socio-humanitarian science, the “impersonal” schematism was replaced and firmly established by the view of the past precisely through the human dimension, in particular through the prism of biographics, it is not without reason that it the most fully corresponds to the spirit of our time, is filled with humanistic potential, which is in demand nowadays. Therefore, appealing to the creative generative heritage of 100 domestic agrarian scientists and organizers of branch experimentation, who glorified Ukrainian and Polish lands in the world in word and deed, is quite justified and appropriate. This can be safely called “the restoration of the historical memory of the people”, which was marked by the return from oblivion of many names of researchers and practitioners of the agricultural sector.

Personological portraits of agricultural scientists (A. G. Alesho, V. G. Bazhaev, Count A. A. Bobrinsky, S. M. Bogdanov, D. G. Vilensky, E. F. Votchal, D. A. Jovani, A. I. Dushechkin, B. K. Enken, A. E. Zaikevich, M. V. Zubets, A. V. Kvasnitsky, V. V. Kolkunov, Prince A. S. Kudashev, G. G. Makhov, I. E. Ovsinsky, K. I. Osmak, P. D. Pshenichny, B. N. Rozhestvensky, V. I. Sazanov, P. R. Slezkin, P. V. Spesivtsev, K. I. Tarkhov, V. E. Tairov,

P. F. Tushkan, S. L. Frankfurt, K. G. Schindler, A. A. Yanata and the others) (Verhunov, 2020 a; Verhunov, 2020b; Verhunov, 2021) allow us to paint a picture of the personal contribution of each of them to the evolution of agricultural science. Portraits of scientists have an original compositional solution and are characterized by textual specifics.

For the dominant majority of the figures of scientists and organizers of sectoral science considered in the monograph, the object of research was agricultural plants and soil for its needs. However, portrait essays about A. F. Bondarenko, F. F. Eisner, M. F. Ivanov, A. V. Kvasnitsky, N. A. Kravchenko, F. K. Pochernyaev, P. D. Pshenichny, I. V. Smirnov, V. P. Ustyantsev, as well as Baron F. E. Falz-Fein are a tribute to the outstanding achievements and discoveries of these figures of domestic agricultural science of the last century in the field of animal husbandry, who glorified the country on a global scale.

Nowadays it is no secret to anyone that during the Soviet period, for various reasons, mainly political, the contribution of the best representatives of the Ukrainian nation to the formation and development of sectoral scientific thought as a component of culture and natural science was unreasonably reduced. Therefore, in our opinion, another important aspect implemented in the study is the issue of self-determination of the Ukrainians. This three-volume book helps to get closer to solving the problem of identity – not only scientific, but first of all – spiritual, ideological, perhaps even civilizational, because it “fits” experimentation in the vastness of the then Russian Empire and the USSR into the European scientific space. And today, when Ukraine has chosen for itself a European landmark as a direction of movement and is actively implementing European integration processes, this is extremely important.

The study is attributed to the genre of intellectual history, because in it, in addition to the fact that there is a clear tendency towards anthropologization and human-centrism, there is a noticeable appeal to the socio-cultural component of history in its natural, natural for the Ukrainian nation, aspiration – the agrarian plane. In our opinion, the book will help to better understand the essence of the peasant nature of the Ukrainian nation with a powerful potential not only to cultivate the land, but also to conduct fundamental research on it, which surprised both the domestic and the world community. In particular, the 2nd part of the three-volume book outlines the evolutionary progress of agricultural experimental work in Ukraine as an organization and branch of knowledge in the context of concepts definition and state policy, on the basis of which original directions of scientific research were subsequently generated, agrarian scientific schools recognized today were formed (Verhunov, 2018b).

The book is devoted to the problem of self-organization of the scientific community of agricultural scientists. The study implemented, among other things, a network communication model to display corporate communications. Along with this, network analysis actualizes the anthropological component of historiography, the focus of which is not the “impersonal”, depersonalized history of ideas or scientific institutions, but the subject of the process of cognition, the bearer of ideas and the organizer of science.

The third part of the three-volume book accumulates archival documents and generating materials that cover events which conceptually and organizationally contribute to the emergence and further development of the sectoral experimental work (Verhunov, 2018c).

The book is an example of a micro-historical analysis of the activities of the scientific and intellectual environment. It is well known that historical research carried out from the perspective of “micro-history”, as a rule, contributes to the solution of important problems of “history of everyday life”, “intellectual history”, “humanizes” the historical process. In our opinion, the methodological possibilities of the “intellectual community” concept have been

implemented, and the status identity of the agricultural scientist has been designated. The advantage of the three-volume book is the author's appeal to the search for self-identification of agricultural scientists, the determination of biohistoriographic research in the Ukrainian scientific field. The book is characterized by a clear tendency to anthropologization of historical and scientific knowledge, when at the center of any scientific achievements is, first of all, a person, an individual. Within the framework of the modern anthropological approach, the problem of scientific centres in the history of science (professional communities, scientific communications, research teams) is brought to the fore, which, in fact, provides for the reconstruction of intra-scientific communications. Interpersonal communications are the most true part of a reflective layer of science. Such a problematic emphasis made it possible to reproduce the intellectual space on the pages of the three-volume book as a kind of "network of communication" for specialists in agricultural science.

The structure of the book emphasizes the originality of the compositional solution, the organic nature of various aspects of the consideration of the main core line – the institutional process of agricultural experimental work formation in Ukraine at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries as a component of modern natural science and culture of the nation.

Thus, agricultural experimental work is divided into two fundamental components: 1) branch of knowledge ("a set of information and methods for studying agricultural phenomena"); 2) organization ("a set of institutions and activities with the ultimate goal of improving agricultural technology") (Nedokuchaev, 1929, p. 13).

We owe the appearance of the first, first of all, to the success of agro-chemistry science, starting from the second half of the 18th century, and, especially, to the approval of morphological and genetic soil science as a doctrine, which, owing to V. V. Dokuchaev, after defending his doctoral dissertation on December 10, 1883 (Dolotov, 1983, pp. 133–136) and the publication of his book "Russian Chernozem", finally transferred agricultural experimental work from the category of applied to the fundamental field of knowledge. Together with the evolutionary theory of Darwin (1859) and the law of geographical zoning by V. I. Kovalevsky (1884), genetic soil science became the theoretical and methodological foundation for conducting agricultural experimental work (Verhunov, 2019, p. 14).

As for the agricultural experimental work as an organization, we trace its emergence from the opening of the first permanent state experimental institution – the Poltava experimental field, which began its activities in November of 1884 (Verhunov, 2014, pp. 17–19). The formation and development of sectoral experience as a field of knowledge and especially organizations are obliged, first of all, to the initiatives of "social patrons" (Elina, 1995, pp. 48–52) and local creative associations. Their joint efforts, multiplied by the Manifesto of 19.02.1861 of Alexander II "On the Most Merciful Granting to Serfs of the Rights of the State of Free Rural Inhabitants and the Arrangement of their Life" and the appearance, as a result of his Decree of 1.04.1864, in 33 provinces of European Russia zemstvos, contributed formation in the country of a full-fledged agricultural industry with significant export opportunities in the 1890s. As a result, everything comprehensively contributed to the adoption on May 28, 1901 by the Decree of Nicholas II of the first legislative act "Regulations on Agricultural Experimental Institutions" (Polozhenie, 1901, pp. 546–547), regulating, and most importantly, budgetary incentives to engage in agricultural experimentation. Thus, once again proving that any initiative has the right to be a public matter if it is guarded by the state: 1) legislatively, 2) budgetary and 3) regulatory.

Having borrowed the best world experience and drafts of the foundations of structuring the country for research purposes, V. V. Dokuchaev (1892), P. A. Kostychev (1895),

V. G. Rotmistrov (1898), V. V. Viner (1908, 1912), brilliant scientist, extraordinary academician of the Imperial St.-Petersburg Academy of Sciences V. I. Vernadsky (1863 – 1945), implemented a national model for conducting sectoral experimentation with a coordinating body – the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine (nowadays – the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine) (CSAAAU, f. 1061, d. 1, c. 32, p. 202), becoming its first leader (from 11/16/1918) (CSAAAU, f. 1061, d. 1, c. 32, p. 216). Thus, the outstanding thinker, the founder of the doctrine of the biosphere and noosphere, to a certain extent, brought to life the thesis expressed by him in the article “The Ukrainian Question and Russian Society” back in 1916, that “the Ukrainian intelligentsia expects from Russia the full recognition of the rights to national cultural self-determination, those the right to free national work in the sphere of school, science, literature, public life... Since the Ukrainian movement is organic and feeds on the roots of people’s life, it will never go out” (Chepak, 2020, p. 5). It is not for nothing that academic agrarian experimentation has been successfully functioning in Ukraine for more than a century (Verhunov, 2017, pp. 13–15).

Owing to the historic decision of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2287-VIII dated February 8, 2018, which adopted as the evidence base the results of many years of research by the author (Verhunov, 2018c, pp. 28–32), NAAS, despite the Decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR “On the Organization of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences” No. 13/707 dated May 22, 1931 (Pro orghanizaciju, pp. 389–390), celebrated its centennial anniversary at the state level (100 rokiv, 2018, p. 65), thereby realizing to a certain extent a similar desire of individual Russian historians regarding the RAAS, who consider it the forerunner of the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of State Property, founded in 1837 (Goncharov, 2015, pp. 60–64), and not only VASKhNIL, created by the decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR on June 25, 1929 (Ob organizatcii, 1929).

Thus, let’s return to the origins of domestic agricultural experimental work. Based on our own long-term research, we believe that a number of factors became the prerequisites for its emergence: 1) private initiative on the part of “social patrons” during the 17th – 19th centuries; 2) the consequences of the agrarian reform of 1861; 3) numerous droughts of the 17th – 19th centuries; 4) the introduction of the French education system since 1803 and the approval of its own branch; 5) expansion of industrial production of agricultural products, especially from the second half of the 19th century; 6) the educational activities of the zemstvos established since 1864 in 33 provinces of European Russia; 7) holding special congresses of figures in the scientific and educational sphere; 8) representative activities of creative associations; 9) the “visual” activities of the church on rational farming in the 10th – 19th centuries; 10) development of sugar beet production since 1802; 11) the formation and development of a system of familiarization with new technologies through exhibitions and competitions with the support of the state since the 1820’s; 12) deployment of large-scale land reclamation since 1872; 13) the transfer of domestic agriculture for export in the 70’s – 80’s 19th century; 14) development of the bibliography of agricultural literature; 15) approval of statistics as a science (Verhunov, 2018b).

The appearance of the first definitions of the concept of “agricultural experimental business” in the domestic branch scientific discourse dates back to the 80s of the 19th century and then actively continued until the end of the 90s of the 20th century, when the organizational search for the structuring of science was actually completed. Branch experimentation was worked out by state methods, first of all, in 1884 – 1931 – from the experimental field to the

station, and then through their regional and regional construction, ended with the emergence of regional stations and the creation of an industry academy. In our opinion, during this period, the fundamental principles of conducting agricultural experimental work in Ukraine were worked out:

a) performance of special studies on the material and technical basis of permanent institutions (laboratory, strong point (farm), experimental field, experimental farm, experimental station, scientific experimental station, experimental plant or workshop, experimental design bureau, scientific research institute, etc.);

b) these studies are carried out in accordance with the methods (instructions, regulations) developed and approved by the responsible collegiate body;

c) the relevant body determined by the manager of budgetary funds is responsible for its coordination;

d) priorities for conducting experiments under the state order.

The last component has the right to be discussed, but if during the last years of the tsarist era the sectoral experimental work was 75% dependent on the state budget, and everything else was funded by the so-called “social patrons”, then especially during the Soviet period, owing to the decree of V. I. Lenin of February 8, 1919 “On the Acceptance of all Agricultural Experimental Institutions at the Expense of the State”, everything came under the control and financial capabilities of the country. It is interesting that this happened back during the years of the civil war and less than two years after the issuance of another decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR “On the Destruction of Estates and Civil Ranks” dated November 10 (23), 1917, in fact eliminated the existence of modern signs of scientificity in the form of academic titles and scientific degrees.

Confirmation of what was said about the fourth component in the author’s understanding of agricultural experimental work as such is the conclusion of one of the founders of domestic sectoral experimentation as an organization V. V. Viner: “The history of the first two decades shows that in Russia, as in Western Europe, the emergence of owes, first of all, to private initiative, which then met with support and development in the initiative of the public (agricultural societies) and only much later, from the mid-90s (the 19th century – Auth.) the state initiative was manifested”. He adds that “... with the speech of the Ministry of Agriculture ... in the first year after its founding ... Professor of Forestry Institute (at that time he took the post of a director of the Department of Agriculture) P. A. Kostychev ... for the first time raised the issue of planned development of a network of experimental institutions...”, which was “... proposed in 1895 in the discussion of the first session of the Agricultural Council, which was supposedly the first experience of the All-Russian Parliament ... to discuss special agricultural issues and legislative projects ... ” (Viner, 1922, pp. 28–32).

The emergence of the state initiative for the development of branch science in the mid-90s of the 19th century was no accident. Back in 1892, the outstanding practitioner and agricultural scientist A. A. Izmailsky stated regarding agriculture or, in his opinion, the agricultural industry: “... in order to control any phenomenon, we must first of all study it. To study the agricultural industry, the basis of our well-being, we have not yet done anything” (Izmailsky, 1937, p. 72).

It is believed that Professor A. E. Zaikevych introduced the first methodology for conducting experiments into the domestic industry process by publishing the “Instructions for Experimental Fields” in the scientific report for 1892 “Proceedings of Experimental

Fields Organized in Some Private Farms of the Chernozem Zone of Russia”. Although A. Filippovsky suggests that it was developed and applied in a simplified form in the preparation of earlier reports by A. E. Zaikevich to the Kharkiv Society of Agriculture, made by him based on the results on the experimental fields of 1881, 1882 and 1883, which were published in 1889 in Kharkiv (Filipovsky, 1928, p. 15).

Thus, the compilation of the first methods for conducting a field experiment in the modern sense regarding its filling at the beginning of the 80s of the 19th century along with the initiative of “social patrons” prompted the emergence of domestic agricultural experimental work as a component of modern natural science and culture of the nation.

The next generating stage in the formation of agricultural experimental business was the creation on October 28, 1884 of the first permanent state sectoral experimental institution – the Poltava experimental field (Verhunov, 2009, 22–24). Subsequently, the head of the sectoral experimental work of the RSFSR in the 20s of the last century, S. K. Chaianov notes this date as the time of the foundation of the agricultural experimental work in Russia, and the general approaches to his work, in his opinion, were outlined by the All-Russian Assembly of 1908 (Chaianov, 1928, p. 9). In this case, we are talking about the emergence of agricultural experimental work as an organization.

Together with the gradual filling of the three main components of agricultural experimental work as such, by the efforts of those responsible on the part of the state at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries there was a development of all regulatory documents, functions and concepts that accompany the process of organizing its maintenance.

As stated in the “Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia”: “Historical experimental work is associated with the practice of agriculture and the development of scientific knowledge in agronomy” (Doslidna, 1961, p. 311). It is no coincidence that for quite a long time, especially at the end of the 19th century, during the years of its formation, they spoke of agricultural experimental work rather as agronomy. This is also confirmed by the authors of the fundamental publication “Essays on the History of Agronomy”, published in Moscow in 2008: “... in Russia until the 19th century, agronomy was understood as the science of growing plants, breeding and keeping animals, and the economic foundations for organizing the processing of agricultural products”. Nowadays, in their opinion, agronomy should be understood as a complex of agronomic sciences for growing plants, rational use of agricultural land, increasing soil fertility and crop yields, and its theoretical basis is biological sciences, soil science (Ivanov, 2008, pp. 3–5).

The analysis shows that all the mentioned domestic and foreign authors share one key approach, which argues for a fairly worthy existence at the end of the 19th century agronomy or agricultural science. By the way, its first definition in Russian historiography belongs to Professor M. G. Pavlov and dates back to 1837: “Agriculture as a science is an application to the natural sciences for breeding useful plants and animals in the aggregate” (Pavlov, 1837, p. 7). Professor A. E. Zaikevich formulated it even more clearly: “Agricultural science is the physiology and biology of cultivated organisms” (Zaikevich, 1893, pp. 20–21).

Approximately the same is said about agronomy by Professor P. R. Slezkin, recognizing it as “... partial biology or as the biology of cultivated plants”. “In his opinion, agronomy is distinguished from crop production by the presence of two components: “scientific – the biology of cultivated plants and applied – the study of cultivation methods” (Slezkin, 1904, p. 4). Professor S. M. Bogdanov defined the subject of agronomy or agricultural science as “... the study of all phenomena of interest in agricultural terms” (Bogdanov, 1985).

A. G. Doiarenko, recognizing the task of agronomy as “...extraction and processing of organic matter due to solar energy...”, treats experimental work not only as its independent method, but gives it a formulation as an independent scientific discipline, which “...covers the natural-historical and economic aspects of human activities...”, adding that “...both of these principles are equally represented both in the task and in the method” (Doiarenko, 1963, p. 175; Doiarenko, 1926, p. 18). Among the main scientific tasks of his time before agricultural experimental work as a branch of knowledge, the scientist singled out: 1) the study of the factors that form the yield of field crops; 2) questions of the influence of early fallow plowing and surface loosening of the soil; 3) seeding issues; 4) fertilization.

After analyzing the available, primarily leading encyclopedic publications, we come to the conclusion that nowadays agronomy can be considered as a complex of knowledge about agricultural plants. Although not so long ago, at the end of the 19th century and almost until the 20s of the 20th century, this concept in the Russian industry environment generally replaced the name “agriculture” or the science about it. This is partly confirmed by the “Russian Encyclopedia”, published in 1911 in St.-Petersburg, stating that agronomy is an “agricultural science in general”, which contains “phyto-technics (plant growing, agriculture), ... zoo-technics (animal husbandry) ... and ... agricultural technology” (Agronomiia, 1911, p. 92). And the “Great Soviet Encyclopedia” of 1972, emphasizing the significant development of this area of agriculture, writes that it “...is closely connected with the development of crop production, with the intensity of land use” (Lutchenko, 1972, p. 662).

Thus, at the end of the 19th century the separate existence of agricultural experimental work as a fundamental component of agrarian science was not discussed, since the entire accumulated mechanism for implementing the tasks set in its modern reception remained not fully processed. Although at this time they began to actively talk about the origins of adaptation to agricultural science or the agronomy of agricultural experience.

One of the luminaries of domestic branch science, Professor A. I. Stebut (1833 – 1923), the author of the book “Fundamentals of Field Culture and Measures for its Improvement in Russia”, which was widely popular in his time, became the organizer of the First All-Russian Congress of Figures on Agricultural Experimental Business in St. Petersburg in 1901. It should be noted that the merit of Professor I. A. Stebut in holding the first national congress, which specialized in the format of the name “agricultural experimental work”, was colossal in the development of domestic branch experimentation.

By the way, the well-known domestic scientist and methodologist of science A. G. Doiarenko noted the epoch-making nature of this meeting for the emergence of agricultural experimental work, because this “... was the first step towards streamlining experimental work in the country. This congress paved the way for the development of a regulation on experimental work. For the first time it was recognized as a state matter and included in the system of state events...” (Doiarenko, 1965, p. 63). However, in practice, agricultural experimental work became a state necessity only after the final establishment of the Soviet power on Ukrainian lands in 1920.

The evolutionary understanding of agricultural experimental work as a concept should be counted from the interpretation of V. I. Dahl, who considered experimentalism as “an unfounded teaching, showing what can be explained in practice”, and dates back to 1881, that is, even before its formalized appearance. Although, in fairness, it should be noted that for the first time the definition of an experimental case in the understanding of V. I. Dahl was made by him back in 1865: “Experimental work, knowledge by experience, work of experience ...

conclusion (theory), and based on deeds ...” (Opytyvat, 1865, p. 1265). Somewhat earlier, in 1864, another encyclopedic edition of F. Toll claims that under the experience carried out one can see “... the action of the forces of nature, and from their observations to derive the laws of these forces ... which are acquired by true ways, and not by speculation and not a legend” (Tol, 1864, p. 1089).

In the preface to the collection of reference information from the experimental institutions of Russia “The Immediate Tasks of the Experimental Work” (1911), A. G. Doiarenko noted: “... Experimental work is going through in Russia ... a moment of serious historical significance, characterized by a sharp rise in interest in it from different angles and no less pronounced faith in the future of agronomic progress on the basis of experience. In addition, he makes an attempt to distinguish between the tasks of agronomy and agricultural experimental work through the definition of concepts: “Agronomy, which has an independent task – the extraction and processing of organic matter through solar energy and an independent method – experimental work – can be recognized as a more or less independent scientific discipline, covering the natural-historical and economic aspects of human activities, while both of these principles are equally represented both in the task and in the method” (Opytyvat, 1881, pp. 688–689). Thus, for the first time an attempt was made to define the concept of “agricultural experimental work” in relation to domestic agronomy. In addition, it is clearly stated that sectoral experience is a fundamental component of agricultural science.

The Conclusion. We highlight some of reasons why the concept of “agricultural experimental work” and its functioning as an exclusively state request could not fully develop before the events of 1917:

1) the lack of a sufficient number of specially trained qualified personnel significantly hampered the further evolution of all three components of industry experience;

2) a rather significant backlog of the research results obtained by domestic scientists from the real successes of colleagues from abroad in terms of the productivity of agricultural products;

3) the tasks that the state set before the institutions, despite the name “experimental”, continued to remain in the format of exclusively practical ones, did not reach the level of presenting the problems of the theory of the set scientific task;

4) at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century there began to develop actively in matters of theory and methodology, another component of agricultural science as a separate branch of knowledge – agricultural economics, the purpose of which was and remains, first of all, to evaluate the effectiveness of everything new from conducting agricultural production and experimentation for its needs. Given this, Professor P. F. Barakov argued that “... the science of agriculture is divided ... into two large sections: I) agricultural machinery and II) agricultural economics”. Its first component is divided into three parts: 1) the doctrine of growing agricultural plants: agricultural crop production or agriculture (forestry, horticulture, horticulture, etc.); 2) the doctrine of the rational maintenance and breeding of animals – animal husbandry or animal husbandry; 3) the doctrine of the processing of agricultural products to give them greater value – agricultural technology. At the same time, the scientist attached exceptional importance to the study of the laws of agriculture in order to “... provide a scientific basis for choosing such a set of techniques for growing agricultural plants, which, being the most suitable for the given natural-historical and economic conditions of the area, would provide the farmer with a constant high income with area units” (Barakov, 1916, p. 1);

5) the lack of a complete array of knowledge, both in theory and practice, with its separate three components in the modern sense, proposed by the author of the study. It is no coincidence that S. K. Chayanov argued that "... experimental work in breeding, animal husbandry, horticulture, grassland, land reclamation, etc., is the result of the work of the post-revolutionary period". Among the achievements of the revolution, he singled out "... the connection of research with life," when in the second half of the 20s of the last century, it became the "chain of agricultural production". An example of the fact that in Ukraine before the events of 1917 there were no "... special complex experiments ... in the field of horticulture" or, as they say today, vegetable growing, is the opening remarks of the head of Department of Horticulture M. F. Gladky to the annual report of the Poltava Agricultural Experimental Station for 1926. In it, he writes: "Until very recently, all the experimental stations of Ukraine, in particular the Poltava Experimental Station, devoted all its attention and strength to studying the methods of cultivating field plants, while the focus was on grain breads", and "... the experimental stations of Ukraine did not deal with the issues of studying the culture of garden plants at all ... although already from 1910 the question of the need to study the culture of garden plants was raised in the periodical press at experimental stations", because "... the methods of culture practiced in the northern provinces – in provinces that differ significantly in natural and climatic conditions from our rather arid region" (Gladky, 1927, pp. 7–8), are not acceptable for Ukraine. Based on the decisions of the Poltava provincial council of researchers, together with representatives of public agronomy, held in the winter of 1919 – 1920, the Poltava station became the first in Ukraine to start testing varieties of vegetable crops to study the density and timing of sowing, the aftereffects of applying organic fertilizers. To this end, in 1921, a special gardening department was opened at the station, which was responsible for conducting field experiments and summarizing their results, processing special methods for performing relevant work and its evaluating;

6) the emergence of agronomy as such in domestic agriculture only in the 80s of 19th century. The agronomic organization as an advisory collegiate institution in the form of economic councils under provincial and district governments arose no earlier than 1889. This happened owing to the law of 1888 (Chuprov, 1907, p. 132), which introduced the position of provincial government agronomist with the main responsibility of holding public lectures and conversations with the owners specifically on the introduction of new from our own and foreign experience. First of all, this concerned the use of mineral fertilizers and the improvement of seeds as a primary approach among activities that increase the profit of the farmer. Accordingly, they were of great economic importance for the transition from small-scale to industrial economy. Because before that, rational farming was based on costly approaches for the small landowner in the form of melioration, machines, etc., which could only be afforded by big capital endowed with certain agronomic knowledge. As a result, in fact, few were able to make any methodical or encyclopedic definitions, and even more so with regard to agricultural experimental work, which began to develop actively from the 80s of the 19th century, first of all, owing to the achievements of agronomy.

Thus, having accumulated new knowledge in the understanding of agronomic processes over the past 140 years, nowadays agricultural experimental work, according to the author's definition, is interpreted as: "... a deep and comprehensive study in specialized research institutions of agronomic, zoo-technical and other agricultural phenomena occurring in natural and specially created conditions, using appropriate methods and tools in order to develop rational ways and approaches to raising the cultural level of agriculture, as well as to

find other means and methods for providing scientific and practical assistance to agricultural production in order to obtain as much as possible and the best quality of ecologically balanced agricultural products” (Verhunov, 2012, p. 228).

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THE CONCEPT OF “DENAZIFICATION” IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INFORMATION COMPONENT OF THE MODERN RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR

Abstract. *The purpose of the paper is to consider the concept of “denazification” from a historical perspective and follow the current course of its use by the Russian Federation against Ukraine. The Methodology of the Research.* In the article there have been used the methods of analysis, synthesis, generalization, comparative method, methods of historical hermeneutics, and semiotic analysis. **The scientific novelty:** for the first time, the concept of “denazification” has been comprehensively analyzed from a historical perspective and studied in the context of the information component of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. **The Conclusion.** The “denazification” of post-war Germany, along with the task of punishing those guilty of the Nazi crimes, also pursued a “humanitarian” operation to re-educate the Germans after the war and reformat their information and virtual systems under the coercion and control of the victorious states – members of the anti-Hitler coalition, primarily the USA, the USSR, Great Britain and France. The denazification programme was initially reduced to several key blocks: the impossibility of Nazism re-enactment through the liquidation of the Nazi agencies and the

legal dismissal of the Nazis and militarists from public posts and positions of the highest importance; liquidation of the Nazi ideology, the Nazi party, its formations, affiliated associations and supervised organizations; abrogation of all laws and regulations which establish discriminations on grounds of race, nationality, creed, or political opinions; demilitarization; denazification of education; arrests and internment of members of the Nazi organizations. Due to the relative “softness” of denazification, especially in the Western occupation zones, modern historiography often points at its “farce” and even “sabotage”. However, the determination to implement relevant policy in the humanitarian sphere (education, mass media, art, public discourse, etc.) yielded fruit – nowadays Germany is one of the leaders of the democratic world. Instead, the Russian Federation, whose predecessor, the USSR, denazified the East German occupation zone, has turned into a terrorist state. Paradoxically, it produces the ideas of the “denazification of Ukraine”, declaring the practical desovereignization of the Ukrainian state (up to its annihilation) and the latest genocide of the Ukrainian people.

Key words: denazification, Germany, occupation zones, Ukraine, Russian Federation, war.

КОНЦЕПТ “ДЕНАЦИФІКАЦІЯ” У КОНТЕКСТІ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОЇ СКЛАДОВОЇ СУЧАСНОЇ РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у розгляді концепту “денацифікація” з точки зору історичної перспективи та простеженні ходу його використання Російською Федерацією проти України на сучасному етапі. **Методи.** У роботі використано методи аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення, порівняльний, історичної герменевтики та семіотичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна:** вперше комплексно проаналізовано концепт “денацифікація” з історичної перспективи та його дослідження у контексті інформаційної складової сучасної російсько-української війни. **Висновки.** “Денацифікація” повоєнної Німеччини, поряд із завданням покарання винних за нацистські злочини, мала на меті ще й “гуманітарну” операцію з перевиховання німців після війни та переформатування їхніх інформаційних і віртуальних систем під примусом та контролем держав-переможниць – учасників антигітлерівської коаліції, насамперед, США, СРСР, Великобританії, Франції. Початково превентивні заходи з денацифікації зводилися до декількох ключових блоків: унеможливлення відтворення нацизму через ліквідацію нацистських структур і юридичне виключення нацистів і мілітаристів з державних посад та відповідальних постів; ліквідація нацистської ідеології, нацистської партії, її формувань, афілійованих асоціацій і відповідних їм організацій; скасування усіх законів та інших нормативних актів, що запроваджували й закріплювали дискримінацію за ознакою раси, національності, віросповідання або політичних переконань; демілітаризація; денацифікація освіти; арешти та інтернування членів нацистських організацій. Через відносну “м’якість” денацифікації, особливо в західних окупаційних зонах, сьогодні в історіографії часто говорять про її “фарс” та навіть “саботаж”. Однак рішучість у реалізації цієї політики в гуманітарній сфері (освіті, ЗМІ, мистецтві, публічному дискурсі тощо) дали такі помітний результат – Німеччина сьогодні є одним із лідерів демократичного світу. Натомість Російська Федерація, чий попередник СРСР денацифікував східну німецьку окупаційну зону, сама сьогодні перетворилась на державу-терориста, яка, як не парадоксально, продукує ідеї “денацифікації України”, які декларують вже у цілком практичній площині завдання із десуверенізації Української держави (аж до її повного знищення) та новітнього геноциду українського народу.

Ключові слова: денацифікація, Німеччина, окупаційні зони, Україна, Російська Федерація, війна.

The Problem Statement. Along with a “hot” component of the modern war unleashed by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, its information component is equally active. Moreover, the latter often not only complements the Russian military campaign on the Ukrainian territory but also has been a preliminary to many actions, especially the full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022. The above mentioned event encourages Ukrainian researchers to analyze the content of Russian information messages and their ideological origins. This is

particularly important considering that in addition to, at first glance, the exclusive production of theoretical anti-Ukrainian doctrines, which have captured the information space of the Russian Federation in recent decades, it developed political concepts declaring the practical desovereignization of the Ukrainian state (up to its annihilation) and the latest genocide of the Ukrainian people. Needless to say, these go hand in hand with a radical rewriting of the history of Ukraine and the West countries by the Russian scholars, as their works seek to substantiate and justify the current actions of the Russian authorities on the modern geopolitical chessboard, and attempts to use concepts of the past in current aspirations to influence other societies for their further transformation. For this reason, Russia employed the post-war concept of denazification – a system of measures used by the allies of the anti-Hitler coalition after the end of World War II to liberate the economy, politics, culture, media, and jurisprudence of the former Third Reich (Germany and Austria) from the influence and consequences of national socialism. In Russian propaganda discourse, the term “denazification” was increasingly used in recent years, not in the field of history but when considering the future Russian strategy toward Ukraine. As a result, narratives about the need to “denazify” Ukraine were peculiar to the rhetoric of the Russian political leadership. Moreover, it was highlighted by the Russian President Vladimir Putin, announcing the beginning of the so-called “special military operation” – a full-scale war in reality.

Under such circumstances, insight into the concept of “denazification” and its application in the current information component of the Russian-Ukrainian war will allow laying the groundwork for further Ukraine’s development of efficient counter-propaganda tools in the fight against the enemy and, at the same time, for the preparation of the future International Tribunal over the Russian Federation, which currently promotes the Nazi ideas and the geopolitical vision of the world and which must be truly denazified after its military defeat.

The Analysis of Recent Research. Both the history of “denazification” activities in post-war Germany and the course of manipulative use of this concept under modern conditions by the Russian Federation amidst its armed aggression against Ukraine and possible ways of the denazification of Russia have already been partially considered in historiography. Various aspects of the topic concerned were studied by M. Boyko and O. Ivanov (Boyko & Ivanov, 2018), P. Biddiscombe (Biddiscombe, 2006), B. Bonvech (Bonvech, 2017), Yu. Galaktionov (Galaktionov, 2005), M. Kryhel (Kryhel, 2022), T. Kupriy (Kupriy, 2018), O. Zharonkina (Zharonkina, 2008), E. Davidson (Davidson, 1959), J. Dobbins with colleagues from the American analytical center “RAND Corporation” (Dobbins, 2003; Dobbins, 2005; Dobbins, 2008), E. Plischke (Plischke, 1947), H. Pocheptsov (Pocheptsov, 2015), I. Syvachenko (Syvachenko, 2010), and the others. However, there is no comprehensive analysis of the denazification concept and its study in the context of the information component of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. Thus, this article is one of the first attempts in the relevant focus area.

The purpose of the article is to consider the concept of “denazification” from a historical perspective and follow the current course of its use by the Russian Federation against Ukraine.

The Research Results. After a complete and unconditional surrender of Hitler’s Germany in World War II, one of the core components of the post-war arrangement of the world was the implementation of the denazification policy in that state. It provided for compliance with the measures of a strict control over the social life of the Germans, in particular, the dismissal of the Nazi figures from the bodies of the state council, educational institutions, and public discourse as a whole.

Therefore, in addition to the need to punish those guilty of the Nazi crimes, the case touched on a “humanitarian” operation intending to re-educate the Germans after the war and reformat their information and virtual systems under the coercion and control of the victorious states – members of the anti-Hitler coalition, first of all, the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, and France. In this context, the words of political scientist K. Wasmund seem proper “denazification and re-education, in the Allies’ original idea, were as closely related to each other as a piston and cylinder”. It was supposed to educate and re-educate adults, especially children and young people, in dedicated democracies with the help of reliable Germans with politically undamaged reputations, the church, the press, radio, and cinema” (Kun, 2007, p. 44).

The course of denazification consisted of several stages.

The first of them actually began as early as April of 1945. At that moment, the Allied armies’ military practiced “shock therapy” following the presumption of guilt of each adult German: they forced the German population to inspect the concentration camps liberated in their area and be engaged in the reburial of the dead prisoners. “Daily work norms” were prescribed for such sites: women were supposed to “work” for at least 5 working days, men – 10, and the most notorious supporters of national socialism took part in reburying for several months. That sort of practice among allies was initiated by the U. S. General-in-Chief W. Walker, who thus punished the leadership of Ohrdruf – liberated by the US Army on April 4, 1945 – forcing them to visit the local camp (Bonvech, 2017, p. 99).

For the first time in the legal dimension, denazification measures were set out in the JCS Directive 1067 as of April 26, 1945, which were reduced to several key blocks:

1) the impossibility of the reproduction of Nazism through the elimination of its formations and the legal exclusion of Nazis or militarists from public office and from positions of importance in priority enterprises to prevent the uprising of those who could re-establish Nazism, the annihilation of the personal incorporation of the population into the Nazi political system;

2) elimination of the Nazi ideology, the Nazi party, its formations, affiliated associations and supervised organizations;

3) abrogation of all laws and regulations which establish discriminations on grounds of race, nationality, creed, or political opinions;

4) demilitarization, i.e., the dissolution of all militarized armed organizations of the Nazi party, political police, armed forces, emergency and other courts;

5) denazification of education, which provided for: a public process of clearing the entire teaching staff from the Nazi ideology at all levels; a ban on teaching in high and secondary schools for Nazis; suspending the latter from the instruments shaping public opinion (first of all, the media); limiting the influence of former German National Socialists on culture, literature, and art (a temporary ban on publications and creativity); a ban on the use of curricula based on the Nazi and/or militarist doctrines; reinterpretation (de facto, rewriting) of the entire pre-war history of Germany.

6) arrests and internment of members of the Nazi organizations, conviction and criminal prosecution of Nazis, primarily ideologists and senior officials, trials of war criminals, an international military tribunal (Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive, 1945).

In parallel, the Allies started surveying the German population in 1945 – in the American and British occupation zones. Thus, in the British zone, respondents were proposed to answer 133 questions, and in the American one – 131. The survey results were to represent a level and degree of personal incorporation of German society into the National Socialist system.

Real prison terms or monetary fines were supposed for false data in the questionnaire form, and non-granting of ration stamps and permits for the registration of residence, rental housing and employment for attempts to evade the questionnaire (Zharonkina, 2008, p. 65).

Based on the survey results, the German population was divided into 5 categories: 1 – principal culprits, 2 – those responsible, 3 – partially responsible, 4 – fellow travelers, 5 – innocent. However, respondents’ insincerity during a survey, the physical impossibility of qualitatively processing almost 25 million questionnaires for the adult population of the two occupation zones, and the corruption component made their findings scarcely accurate. Moreover, less than 1% of respondents received a prison term because of responses in the questionnaires, and more than 75% paid only a monetary fine for their complicity in establishing the Third Reich (Dobbins, 2008, p. 124).

At the same time, they launched the Nuremberg trial which, in addition to cases involving the main defendants (key Nazi politicians, military and Nazi ideologists), included twelve other trials in parallel, e.g., the cases of doctors, lawyers, concentration camp officials, cases against industrialists who supported the Nazi regime, leaders of racist programs, military formations exterminating the Jews, etc. However, despite their scale, of all accusations, only 5.133 people appeared before the courts in the western occupation zones: 668 defendants were sentenced to death, but not all of them were executed (Lebedeva, 2007; Plischke. 1947, pp. 154–169).

There were also miscalculations in other directions of denazification. Therefore, confusion in cases against people who held senior positions in the SS or the Nazi party arose: lower-rank defendants were more often prosecuted as the evidence base toward them was collected faster than toward influential figures, whose cases were constantly suspended. As a result, after 1948 – when denazification actually ceased in the western zones of German occupation – most of these officials got away with objective punishments (Zharonkina, 2008, p. 67).

On the other hand, by the beginning of 1946, there appeared conflictual consequences in terms of extremely strict and unreasonable criteria for prohibiting the employment of former members of the National Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany – even those who affiliated with it pro forma but were competent in their fields of expertise. Thus, chaos in the administration and economy of some regions of Germany driven by a lack of professional personnel began (Schwabe). This prompted the allies, particularly in the western occupation zones, to reconsider their decisions. Hence, cases of the former Nazis’ re-employment – after awarding their acquittals, which recorded that a certain person played a minor role in the criminal activities of the National Socialists – became widespread (Boiko & Ivanov, 2018, pp. 72–74).

In March and October of 1946, a set of directives by the Allied Control Council, which formed the legal foundations of the social component of the denazification policy, were declared. A key one was the document known today as “Law No. 104”. In fact, it outlined the onset of the second stage of overcoming Nazism in Germany. Its preamble stated: “This law hands the denazification case to the Germans and is an originally fundamental political law... intending to replace temporary measures with a final political purge” (Schullze, 1948).

Accordingly, since that time, German courts have begun to consider cases against the accused in the four zones of occupation. For this purpose, the “Commission for the Detection of War Criminals” and ad hoc tribunal courts, which determined a degree of individual involvement in the Nazi crimes, were established. They should have stepped up the progress of cases, especially with the involvement of German judges, investigators, and prosecutors, because there was a lack of relevant specialists with knowledge of the German language among administration representatives at the occupation zones that also partially inhibited

their consideration. In the end, the above increased the pace – the courts considered almost 3.6 million cases in the western occupation zones by 1949. However, one in six of the indicated number was found guilty to some extent, and only 1.600 people were found to be the principal culprits (Statistical Annex, 1949, p. 280).

In this context, amnesty cases, which were proclaimed in the western occupation zones in the second half of 1946 (“youth” – for people born after January 1, 1919, and “Christmas” – for the disabled and low-income people) had partial consequences, which commenced the third stage in the denazification course (Zharonkina, 2008, p. 65).

The fourth stage began at the turn of 1947 – 1948 when the West allowed German tribunals to reclassify anyone who was not among the principal culprits (there was an absolute majority of them) into “fellow travellers” that significantly reduced the risks of receiving a severe penalty (Germany under Occupation, 1949, pp. 172–173). That fact played a dirty trick: as historian L. Niethammer put it, because of the opportunity to buy the necessary documents for a bribe, the denazification turned even faster into a “factory producing fellow travellers” (Niethammer, 1982, p. 537).

The situation was somewhat different in Soviet-occupied Germany, where denazification actually transformed into the “Sovietization of East Germany”. Thus, they organized 10 special camps, which held 150 thousand prisoners (Leozyna, 2018, p. 200). Yesterday’s SS officers, storm-troopers, and security personnel were confined in prisoner-of-war camps, and some of them were sent for forced labor to the USSR and socialist camp countries. Under such circumstances, more than 44.000 detainees (about 29% of the total) died suffering from intolerable detention conditions and various diseases. The Soviet administration had a better attitude toward former rank-and-file members of the Nazi party, who had more opportunities to integrate into the new post-war society in East Germany (Voigt, 2000, pp. 23–25).

Such configuration favourably overlapped with the Soviet ideological component: like yesterday’s Nazi criminals from among industrialists and large landowners who had brought A. Hitler to power became a thing of the past, and ordinary workers and peasants who did not take a direct part in such crimes should have formed the basis of a new Germany (Hudkov, 2004, pp. 432–433).

In addition, government agencies and secondary and high schools were substantially cleaned of the “Nazi elements”: more than half a million people were dismissed from 1945 – 1948. Consequently, people without legal training but with impeccable, from the Soviet point of view, political started employment with the newly created 1945 Ministry of Justice and the people’s courts, which emerged because of the 1946 judicial reform (Voigt, 2000, p. 47).

At the same time, all four occupation zones were equally radically-minded toward a humanitarian component of denazification: an academic staff, including the Germans who returned from emigration, was considerably renewed everywhere; the curricula of middle and higher studios were rewritten; censorship of books and textbooks prepared by the Germans was in effect; the interpretation of German history changed dramatically: it was emphasized the formation of democratization processes (in the case of the eastern zone – the theses about the development of class struggle) in these territories since the Peasant War of 1524 – 1525 as their starting point through the history of the 19th century with the adoption of the Constitution of 1848 to the Weimar Republic and 1945 as the culmination of the victory of democracy in Germany (Kupriy, 2018, p. 52).

Much attention was also paid to organized leisure and the media: in post-war Germany, the occupation authorities initiated democratic and liberal theatre, music, fine arts, cinema, literature, and the press (in particular, “The New Newspaper” was founded in the American

occupation zone, which immediately had a circulation of 2.5 million copies); the media published propaganda posters depicting the Nazi war crimes with captions “This is your fault!”; the first German post-war feature film by W. Staudte “The Murderers are Among Us” was released in 1947 – it contained appropriate anti-Nazi messages for the German population (Davidson, 1959, p. 79).

In the aggregate, such measures should have achieved a clear goal, namely: “Germany shall change into a country of civilians where everyone will have the opportunity to show their initiative... We will accomplish physical demilitarization, but it cannot guarantee that Germany will not drag the world into war again. All the people around the Earth treat war as something immoral, but the Germans must be re-educated to understand such self-evident truth. In this regard, it is up to the Germans to eradicate the dangerous sprouts of their philosophy” (Schildt & Siegfried, 2009, p. 138).

Therefore, despite the evident miscalculations in the overwhelming purposed, legal punishment of the German population for supporting the long-term policy of the Third Reich, democratic intensities of the denazification campaign (at least in the western occupation zones) yielded fruit. More than 70 years after the completion of denazification (it was officially announced in February of 1948 in the eastern occupation zone and in the summer of 1948 in the western ones, although some court cases lasted until 1949), Germany is one of the leaders of the Western democratic world and Ukraine’s partners in the fight against the Russian aggressor.

Paradoxically the latter, applying a whole armory of prohibited methods of warfare (say nothing of the violation of the norms of international peace order), increasingly uses the term “denazification” in its rhetoric – this time not toward Germany but Ukraine.

As far back as 2017, an article with a noteworthy title “Necessity and Inevitability of Ukraine’s Denazification” was published on the Internet portal of Svobodnaya Mysl. Most likely, it was written by M. Deliahin, Doctor of Economics, Director of the Institute of Globalization Problems, Deputy Chairperson of the Committee of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of RF on Economic Policy, Member of the Scientific Council under the Security Council of RF, and Editor-in-Chief of Svobodnaya Mysl.

In the article, considering the territory of “post-Maidan Ukraine” as a place where, allegedly, under the detrimental influence of the West, “violence, madness, and Russophobia are generated”, the author equates the Ukrainian state with “Nazi”. He argues that to prevent its complete uncontrolled disintegration, which would also be a disaster and threat to Russia, it is necessary to timely “denazify” it on the model of post-war Germany to recapture the Ukrainian part to Russia “not so much in political and administrative as in cultural-value and mental terms” (Neobkhodimost, w. d.).

The publication’s author was not limited to the declaration but also proposed the “denazification concept”, as follows: the need to establish an appropriate commission, which would be the supreme political authority in Ukraine for 5 years; specification of the “qualification characteristics of Ukrainian “Nazi crimes” (involving a positive assessment of the Euromaidan events and such personalities as S. Bandera and R. Shukhevych); calls for the formation of databases on “Nazi criminals in Ukraine”; clarification of the proposed “denazification procedure” and further “preventive measures” in detail, including through the “cleansing of the cultural sector” (Neobkhodimost, w. d.).

In 2017, the book of the Russian journalist A. Gasparyan “Denazification of Ukraine. The Land of Unlearned Lessons” (Denazification of Ukraine. The Land of Unlearned Lessons) was published. Among other things, the author stated that the Ukrainians did not learn lessons from historical events that resulted in “dictatorship of nationalists” – his vision of the victory

of the Revolution of Dignity. Moreover, he persuaded that Ukraine would not be able to exist as an independent state because society “would not stand the hatred of one group of citizens against the others” – consequently, there is the need for its denazification. It is noteworthy that A. Gasparyan proposed implementing it following the post-war case: first, to divide the Ukrainians into several categories based on a forced poll and subsequent trial of each of them with “further sending to filtration camps for “Nazi activity”. The author called to commence the same “denazification” from the borders of the so-called “DPR” and “LPR” and gradually move to the west. However, in 2017, he did not specify whether such “movement” should take place along with the progress of the Russian army or the consolidation of pro-Russian power in Ukraine (Hasparian, 2018, pp. 158–198).

Consequently, on February 24, 2022, a narrative about the need for the “denazification of Ukraine” was also peculiar to the official rhetoric of the Russian authorities. It was declared by the President of the Russian Federation V. Putin as one of the tasks of his so-called “special military operation” in Ukraine – a full-scale war in reality. Although in May of 2022, there was information that Russia gave up on the “denazification” of Ukraine (Putin vidmovliaietsia, 2022) (apparently, they were “dissuaded” by the combat proficiency of the Armed Forces of Ukraine), the situation looks remarkable enough and even symptomatic, taking into account that only a month before, on April 3, 2022, the Russian political technologist T. Sergeytsev had speculated in detail on the Ria portal how to realize the “practical component of denazification” which, in his view, means the literal destruction of the Ukrainian state and part of its most conscious population (Serheitsev, 2022). Paradoxically the Russian Federation, whose predecessor, the USSR, denazified the East Germany occupation zone, has turned into a terrorist state, comparable to the “Third Reich” of 1933 – 1945.

The Conclusion. Thus, the “denazification” of post-war Germany, along with the task of punishing the perpetrators of Nazi crimes, also pursued a “humanitarian” operation to re-educate Germans after the war and reformat their information and virtual systems under the coercion and control of the victorious states – members of the anti-Hitler coalition, first of all, the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, and France. Denazification measures were initially reduced to several key blocks: the impossibility of the reproduction of Nazism through the elimination of its formations and the legal exclusion of Nazis or militarists from public office and from positions of importance; elimination of the Nazi ideology, the Nazi party, its formations, affiliated associations and supervised organizations; abrogation of all laws and regulations which establish discriminations on grounds of race, nationality, creed, or political opinions; demilitarization; denazification of education; arrests and internment of members of the Nazi organizations. Due to the relative “softness” of denazification, especially in the Western occupation zones, today’s historiography often points to its “farce” and even “sabotage”. However, the determination to implement relevant policy in the humanitarian sphere (education, mass media, art, public discourse, etc.) yielded fruit – nowadays, Germany is one of the leaders of the democratic world. Instead, the Russian Federation, whose predecessor, the USSR, denazified the East German occupation zone, has turned into a terrorist state, which paradoxically produces the ideas of “denazification of Ukraine” declaring the practical task of desovereignization of the Ukrainian state (up to its annihilation) and the latest genocide of the Ukrainian people.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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EARLY MODERN UKRAINE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF GLOBAL HISTORY (review of the monograph: D. Vyrsky. The Beginning of Modernity: the Second Wave of Globalization, the End of the Old Order and Ukraine (the 15th – mid-19th centuries). 2nd ed., supplement. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of history of Ukraine, 2022. 217 p.)

РАНЬОМОДЕРНА УКРАЇНА З ПОГЛЯДУ ГЛОБАЛЬНОЇ ІСТОРІЇ (рецензія на монографію: Вирський Д. Початок сучасності: друга хвиля глобалізації, кінець Старого Порядку та Україна (XV – середина XIX ст.). Вид. 2-е, доп. Київ : НАН України, Ін-т історії України, 2022. 217 с.)

The monograph by Dmytro Vyrsky, Doctor of Historical Sciences, covers the Early Modern period in Ukraine in the context of global history. The author set a bold objective: to analyse the course of events on the Ukrainian lands beyond over-engaged concepts of state (imperial and national) modern historiographies. He sought to clarify the European and

world context of challenges that formed modern Ukrainians, as well as to do research on the “structure” of the Ukrainian Early Modern period and its historical experience, which makes this “transitional” period the beginning of modernity.

The researcher used the concept of the French historian Fernand Braudel and his students, in particular Immanuel Wallerstein, the American, according to which the history of Europe and the world is a whole-system (world-economy, world-system) and the formation of global system began in the early modern era precisely. It should be noted that historians and philosophers of history consider a gradual formation of the global world during early modern period to be the second “globalization”. The first “globalization” took place in antiquity supposedly, but such statements are questionable, because the ancient world-system did not have a planetary scale.

The chronological framework of D. Vyrsky’s research needs some explanation. Of course, the 15th century (approximately in 1400) is accepted as a tentative date of the beginning of Early Modern by many European researchers. However, everything is not so clear-cut with the upper chronological limit. For the countries of Western Europe, where the formation of the world-system began, the Great French Revolution of 1789 was a turning point, but for the peripheral countries of the world system, including the Eastern European ones, the early modern period lasted until the middle of the 19th century. That is why, D. Vyrsky chose such a chronological framework for his monograph.

In Chapter I “Macro-Reflections on Early Modern Ukraine: Ecology and Economy – Natural Reconquest and Integration into the World-System”, D. Vyrsky first of all dwells on the description of climatic and demographic changes in the Ukrainian lands. In our opinion, this approach imposes on the traditions of positivist historiography. However, the author writes about global climatic changes, in particular about the cold period (the Little Ice Age), which happened during the period of 1250 and the end of the 19th century. He writes about three cold peaks periods – the middle of the 14th century, approximately the years of 1570 – the 1710s and 1790 – the 1880s – during which it was slightly warmer, and gives many facts about the consequences of cold winters in Ukraine and Europe.

More interesting are the author’s reflections on demography of early modern Ukraine. According to his observations, during the period of the 14th – 15th centuries the population of the then Ukrainian lands decreased, which, to a certain extent, was the consequence of the “Black Death” – the plague of 1346 – 1353. In his opinion, the local population even moved from the former Kyiv and Dnipro-centric core-hinterland to the marginal areas-shelters: Pidhiria-Halychyna, Pokuttia and Bukovyna, Polissia, the Crimea. It should be noted that such considerations are associated with the well-known theory of the Russian historian M. Pohodin (although the latter wrote about the resettlement of people from the middle of the Dnipro region to the north-east as a result of the Mongol conquests of the middle of the 13th century).

The author also notes that in the 14th – 15th centuries economic conditions degraded: the Golden Horde steppe urbanization came to nothing, Podillia declined in its development, the Ukrainian steppe became a Wild Field, the Genoese had to flee from the cities of southern Ukraine, the Greek and Armenian diasporas lost their state metropolises and began the path of integration into local societies, etc. In our opinion, D. Vyrsky, writing about the climate, nature, demography, economic system, cites many facts that were not the direct consequences of climatic and economic changes. For example, about the loss of access to the Black Sea by the Ukrainian-Rusyns (the last port available to them, Bilhorod-Dnistrovsky, was invaded by the Turks in 1484 (p. 30)), the historian mentions in the context of describing economic processes, but this fact is more proper to mention in the military and political canvas of events.

The author of the monograph writes about a gradual colonization of uninhabited lands in the south and east of Ukraine, using the term “natural Reconquista”. D. Vyrsky even considers this process to be the main content and meaning of the history of Ukraine during the early modern period (p. 35). He pays a lot of attention to “feudal capitalism” and the inclusion of Ukraine’s economy in the world system. In his opinion, in the “dimensions of economy”, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is the first state system on the Ukrainian lands that functioned under the conditions of early modern “feudal capitalism”. The latter differed from the classical feudalism of the Middle Ages by the phenomenon of “forced labour for the market economy”. Local (Ukrainian) society began to live for the first time as the part of the world-economy (pp. 39–40). The author draws a logical line between the unification of the majority of the Ukrainian lands in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, huge colonization opportunities in the Ukrainian territories, low population density, the agrarian nature of towns (whose life revolved around town mills) and the prevalence of extraordinary monopolies in them (the right of warehouse in Lviv, Lutsk, Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilsky), a high percentage of the nobility and the spread of transitional “states” (servants-boyars, the Cossacks, ethnic business, etc.), a gradual spread of *filvark* enterprises, minor lordships and emergence of serfdom with the mass use of free-hired labour. To this state of affairs there was added the introduction of civilizational novelties: the Roman/Western civil law, the Renaissance education (“seven liberal arts”), book printing and scholarship (pp. 41–48, 57–58).

It is important that the author denies the myth about Ukraine of the 16th – 17th centuries, which is widespread in romantic and positivist historiography as “the granary of Europe”. Actually from the 16th century till the second half of the 18th century the “world market” considered the Ukrainian lands as not a grain supplier, but a “forest products” supplier (honey, wood, potash, etc.) and beef cattle. The wheat produced in Ukraine was consumed at the “domestic market” mainly – here it was used to make *horilka*, the sale of which brought much higher income than grain trade. The author also calls the stories about the fantastic yield of cereals throughout Ukraine “fairy tales”. The modest level of agriculture rationalization in Ukraine at that time is an important marker. After all, a high level of agricultural technologies achieved earlier is considered a prerequisite for the development of the Industrial Revolution in early modern England (pp. 49–54). Among the export products of the Ukrainian industry, the researcher mentions only the Carpathian salt and linen fabric (however, the majority of fabrics was imported to Ukraine).

Depicting the early modern “economic face” of Ukraine, D. Vyrsky also mentions the Jews, who made up the third largest ethnic group, which, however, did not exceed 10% of the population even in western Ukraine. The researcher also writes about the nomads, in particular, denies the idea of despotism of the Horde people, emphasizes that the level of social solidarity among them was clearly more tangible (and therefore the “level of happiness” of the nomads, as well as the Cossacks, was significantly higher). The historian rejects the image of “bloody lands” for early modern Ukraine, but admits that the frontier was characterized by dosed violence, and human losses, especially among civilians, were not catastrophic. However, Ukraine was not a “country of free will and freedom”, because there were slave practices that already disappeared in the “civilized” world of the West (pp. 61–70).

The author focused on the oriental civilizational component of Ukraine’s existence. Of course, he mainly meant an Islamic prism, although he is not restricted exclusively to it (Christianity – especially Eastern Christianity – also had numerous connections with the East-Orient). However, competition with the civilization of Islam is rather a pan-European than

purely Ukrainian early modern issue (and it is a theme about the movement of the Europeans to catch up with Asia mainly) (pp. 74–75). Therefore, the author writes about the dependence of Western Europe and Ukraine on Eastern spices, emphasizes that the Ukrainian garden culture (“cherry orchard near the house”) appeared precisely under the influence of the East.

In Chapter II ““The Tectonic” 15th Century: Signs of the Future”, D. Vyrsky emphasizes that this century is in many aspects key in the history of Ukraine, although the majority of historians do not accept this. The author enumerated many events and processes of the 15th century that became an impetus for development in the following centuries: the Hussite movement, the Florentine Union of Churches in 1439, Gutenberg’s book printing, the first success of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe, the beginning of the era of Great Geographical Discoveries, the “golden age of labour” (due to the depopulation of post-plague Europe, workers became a great value, that is why, wages increased and the number of working days decreased). Significant events also took place in Ukraine and its neighbours: the congress of European monarchs in Lutsk in 1429, the confederation of the Lesser Poland and Russian nobility in 1439, the mass rebellion headed by Mukha in 1490 – 1492, the appearance of the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks, “urban revolution” (the spread of the Magdeburg law in the Ukrainian cities), the transformation of Lviv into the main “megalopolis” of Ukraine. At the same time, the author writes about the changes experienced by Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Turkey, Moldova, Muscovy in the 15th century. For example, D. Vyrsky writes about the rise of Moldova, the policy of Stephen the Great, the desire of the Moldovans to take over a part of the Russian lands – Podillia and Halychyna (pp. 91–92).

In Chapter III “Enthusiasm of the “Golden” 16th Century: The Noble Revolution – the First Modernizing Revolution on the Ukrainian Territory” D. Vyrsky focuses on the formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its noble system. The author used the concept of the “noble execution movement” of the Polish historian Andrzej Sulima-Kaminski. The revolutionary nobility (inspired by the ideas of the Renaissance and Reformation) determined the vector of the country’s public life from the Radom Constitution of 1505 until the suppression of M. Zebzhidovsky’s rebellion in 1606 – 1608. It was in the context of the Noble Revolution that the conclusion of *pacta conventa* with elected monarchs (first signed in 1573), the Union of Lublin was concluded in 1569, a certain secularization of society was initiated, and the idea of “Sarmatism” was formed. In a diachronic dimension, the author traced the struggle of the nobility representatives for their rights, their relations with kings and magnates, and also attributed the foreign policy success of Poland and Lithuania, for example, military victories over enemies, to the achievements of the Noble Revolution (pp. 110–112). According to the historian, the Nobility Revolution was also one of the impulses of the Cossack revolution.

In Chapter ““Iron” of the 17th century: the Cossack Revolution – the Experience of “National” Transformation of the State and the Church”, D. Vyrsky writes about the exhaustion of extensive development opportunities and the need to move to more intensive practices (England and France were at the forefront of social reformation). The Thirty Years’ War of 1618 – 1648 provided a “new” example of a pan-European military conflict. Medieval and Renaissance dependence on the “antique model” was overcome. “New people” (new elites) appeared, particularly in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – the Cossacks. In the first half of the 17th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was at the peak of its political and economic rise. It took an active part in the Russian Troubles, avoided the grueling Thirty Years’ War, stopped the Turks near Khotyn in 1621, fought for the Swedish inheritance of

the kings of the Vasa dynasty, actively intervened in the affairs of the Crimean Khanate in the 1620s, and maintained influence in Moldova and the Romanian principalities, founded an overseas colony called New Courland on the Caribbean island Tobago (pp. 118–119).

On the other hand, it was during this period that the Cossacks became active, who in the first half of the 17th century reached parity with the crown nobility army (this was especially evident in the Battle of Khotyn, during which the Cossacks saved the Poles from defeat). Writing about the Cossack Revolution, D. Vytsky dates it to the years of 1648 – 1709. As in the case of the Nobility Revolution (1505 – 1608), the historian tied the upper limit of the Cossack Revolution to the date when the development-growth of the “Cossack project” ended and the development-degradation began (the key was the Poltava defeat of Mazepa supporters in 1709. It is positive that the author emphasized an important social advantage of the “Cossack project”, namely the openness of the Cossacks to the common people, which far exceeded all the “social elevators” sanctioned by the Noble Revolution. In 1648 the mass revolutionary Cossack movement among the Ukrainians led to the fact that a few percent of the nobility were opposed by tens of percent of the revolutionized peasants-Cossacks. Of course, it is impossible to talk about the Ukrainian national support for the Cossacks (this is a rather modern rhetoric of the 19th – 20th centuries) (p. 139).

D. Vytsky’s statement that the only chance for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to stop the Cossacks at the beginning of the revolution (somewhere before the year of 1651) was to return to the plans for the Turkish war, which Vladyslav IV had been hatching (p. 142), seems doubtful and debatable. We believe that the war of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Turkey and the involvement of the Cossacks in it would delay the start of the revolution in Ukraine, but would not stop the development of the “Cossack project”. The set of social, religious, national and economic contradictions between the Cossacks and the Polish nobility was already so acute that the explosion would have occurred, if not in 1648, then a decade later. We can’t help mentioning the fact that only 4 years passed from the joint struggle of the Poles and the Cossacks against the Ottoman Empire in 1621 to the next Cossack anti-Polish uprising, and not even ten years passed until Taras Fedorovych’s rather successful war against the Poles.

In Chapter V “Overflow” of the 18th Century: Tsarist Counter-revolution and Resistance of the Old Revolutionaries – the Nobles and the Cossacks. The Choice between Empire and Nations” the author focuses on the description of the influence of the Enlightenment ideas on the fate of the Ukrainian Cossack state and its neighbours. D. Vytsky rightly noted that at that time, when the Great Border (of the Christian and Islamic civilizations) retreated from the Ukrainian lands, the border war ceased to determine the lifestyle of a Ukrainian. The ancient agricultural and nomadic symbiosis in Ukraine also collapsed. There was only one way of development – agriculture. The “historical landscape” changed, because the Russian Empire appeared, the project of which was both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary at the same time. The historian describes the decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, its transformation into a second-rate state, and it was against the background of the rise of the Polish education and science. At the same time, he interprets the Haidamat uprising as the final “degeneration”, the degradation of the Cossack revolution (pp. 134, 170–171).

The author also describes the decline of the “Cossack autonomies”: the Slobid regiments, the Zaporizhzhia Sich and the Hetmanship. D. Vytsky’s opinion on the chronological limit of the end of the “Cossack cycle” of the Ukrainian history appears to be original. If the majority of historians write about the years of 1775 (the liquidation of Zaporizhzhia Sich) and 1783

(the abolition of the Cossack territorial regiments in the Hetman region), the author suggests a different vision. The disappearance of “eternal Ukrainian borders” – Turkish as a consequence of the Russian-Turkish war of 1787 – 1791 and Polish as a consequence, the historian considers the second partition of Poland in 1792 to be the real markers of the “end” of the Cossack revolution’s momentum, the completion of its development-degradation phase.

Summing up, it should be noted that D. Vyrsky’s monograph is, in a word, an interesting study in the global history, full of sound, non-linear considerations and analytical constructions regarding the Ukrainian history of the early modern period. The author’s erudition, his good knowledge of world historiography and new methodological and conceptual scientific trends are evident on the pages of the work. Of course, the work has some shortcomings, such as repetitions (see pp. 16 and 137, pp. 17 and 181–182), lack of general conclusions, lack of Chapter on Ukraine in the first half of the 19th century (because the author declared the upper limit of Early Modern in Ukraine to be the middle of the 19th century). However, D. Vyrsky’s attempt to see the inclusion of Ukraine in the world system during the period of the 15th – 18th centuries, to consider the history of the Ukrainians and their neighbours from the standpoint of Martin Malia’s theory of “institutionalized revolution”, frontier and network concepts, deserves attention and gratitude of scholars.

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**“AND THE IDEA IS: A WOMAN IS A WOMAN ONLY” (review of the monograph:
Natalia Zalietok. Women in the Military Service in Great Britain and the USSR
during World War II. Kyiv: PF “PP “Foliant”, 2022. 432 p.)**

**“А ПО ІДЕЇ: ЖІНКА Ж – ТІЛЬКИ ЖІНКА” (рецензія на монографію:
Залєток Наталія. Жінки на військовій службі у Великій Британії та СРСР
у роки Другої світової війни. Київ : ПФ “ПП “Фоліант”, 2022. 432 с.)**

Natalia Zalietok’s monograph “Women in the Military Service in Great Britain and the USSR during the World War II”, which was published during the acute phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2014 – 2022, is, without exaggeration, of iconic nature. And this iconic nature is determined, on the one hand, by a thorough analysis of the gender policy of two systems – the democratic British and totalitarian Soviet during World War II, emphasizing both differences and coincidences between them, and on the other hand, by the topicality of the research, dictated by the entire set of the military service organization issues of women in our country against the background of the current war.

The selected research methods and methodology contributed to the achievement of the goal and objectives – “to carry out a historical comparative analysis of the policy of Great Britain and the USSR in the field of attracting women to serve in the armed forces during World War II” (p. 8). The author used both general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, analogy, comparison, and generalization), as well as special historical ones (the method of critical analysis of sources and discourse, typological, retrospective, historical comparative, analytical psychological, statistical). The concept of comparative history as a macro-causal analysis singled out by the researchers T. Skocpol and M. Somers was primarily the methodological basis of the reviewed work, as well as the gender approach and the concept of “double helix” by M. R. Higonnet and P. L. R. Higonnet.

The source base of the research is based on a thorough analysis of scientific research works on the topic, deliberate ignoring of those modern research works in which there are “stamps of the Soviet historiography”, because they “do not contribute to the objective coverage of the issue” (p. 32), even “the author’s principled position regarding the usage of feminists words” (p. 49) testify that the peer-reviewed publication claims to become a unique phenomenon in Ukrainian historical science of the present-day. In our opinion, it is crucial to highlight two points in the above-mentioned context. The first point is the spectrum variety of factual material sources: legislative and regulatory acts, executive documents of Great Britain and the USSR, transcripts of meetings of the legislative bodies of these states; memoirs, diaries, interviews, speeches of veterans and officials; award submissions, personal file materials, reference cards; contemporary periodicals and non-periodical publications of Great Britain and the Soviet Union; audio recordings of interviews with the British servicewomen and photographs illustrating the characteristics of women’s life and service in both countries during the war; statistical materials. The second point concerns the theoretical background of intelligence, a significant percentage of which is formed by the English language works.

Chapter II of the reviewed monograph (pp. 51–86), which is to some extent introductory, begins with the representation of factual material selected by N. Zaliatok, the methods of theoretical understanding and generalization. Consequently, Chapter II deals with the life of women in the British and Soviet societies during the period of the 1910s – 1930s and about their participation in paramilitary organizations. The researcher analyzes the history and development specifics of feminist movements in both states (the struggle for political equality in Great Britain and for the education of women and their social employment in tsarist Russia), reveals the peculiarities of suffragism – “the movement for the right to vote for women” (p. 51) in Great Britain and Russia, later the USSR, notes similar features and focuses on discrepancies, establishes the sources of the latter. While making update on the general situation in the field of gender relations and ensuring women’s rights in the democratic British society and the totalitarian Soviet one during the interwar period, the author made a conclusion that the expansion of women’s rights in Great Britain on the eve of the war is the result of a rather long and persistent struggle of feminists, while in the Soviet Union – it was just a formal part of the equality “principle of all citizens declared by the communist regime” (p. 69), since the leadership of the Soviet Union managed to turn the women’s movement into a tool for the promotion of initiatives beneficial for the state from the first days of the Soviet power (p. 61).

We consider N. Zaliatok’s analysis of women’s involvement in paramilitary, i.e. formed by the governments of each country on a military model (p. 70), organizations of the interwar period to be extremely important for further development of the comparative discourse on

the participation of the British and the Soviet women in World War II. The author proved that the political systems of these states were different, as were the prospects of each of them being in the zone of active hostilities, and hence, the taken measures to create a female reserve for their armed forces were also different. Thus, in the 1930s, the British government, pursuing the policy of appeasement of the aggressor (Hitler's Germany), actually did not care about the development of its own military potential, which had a negative impact on the creation and support of women's services (p. 73). But under the pressure of forces that were aware of the future clashes inevitability, the authorities were forced to step up measures in order to prepare for repulsing the enemy. The authorities agreed to the idea to establish the Auxiliary Territorial Service, the successor of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps in force in 1917 – 1921 (September of 1938), to revive the Women's Royal Naval Service (April of 1939), to create the Women's Royal Air Force (June of 1939), but on a civil basis. Instead, the researcher insists, the Bolshevik government, from the very moment of its establishment, never neglected the opportunity to use women “to maintain and strengthen their positions by forceful methods” (p. 78). The Bolshevik government did not establish special women's organizations for training a combat reserve, but used organizations and movements that had been established (Komsomol, pioneer organization, TSOAVIAKHIM, GPO, PPHO schools, etc.), in every way promoting, unlike the British, “equality of men and women”, the relevance of women's inclusion to previously inaccessible spheres (p. 85).

Chapter III of the monograph “Policy on Attracting Women to Serve in the Armed Forces in Great Britain and the USSR (1939 – 1945)” begins with the following statement: “Great Britain became the first country to announce the conscription of women in 1941, and the Soviet Union was the first to make them soldiers in the regular army” (p. 87). N. Zaliotok emphasizes that the hostilities nature in each of these states left an impression on the conscription specifics of women into the army and their use in the war. In Great Britain, there was not such an acute shortage of personnel in combat positions in the army and navy as it was in the USSR, hence, conscription in Great Britain (was carried out under special conditions as the researcher found out) was aimed at attracting women to the performance of duties in the armed forces for the most part without participating in battles, with the exception of some air defense units and the Directorate of Special Operations. In the Soviet Union, as a result of catastrophic losses at the front during the first years of the war, the need for personnel for both non-combat and combat positions could be felt extremely. According to the author, women were conscripted into various branches of the army and sent to the front lines without precaution (p. 100). According to the author's calculations, in the light of events the most difficult year was 1942, during which as many as four waves of mobilization were carried out (p. 97). In addition, N. Zaliotok highlights common features in the governments policies of that time of both states: a gradual increase in the number of women serving in the army and the replacement of men by women in non-combat positions in order to make men available for the front (p. 100).

Regarding the conditions of service and everyday life of women of both societies during the war, the author demonstrates that although they were difficult in both cases, their complexity was different. The results of the comparison (see pp. 100–167) are not in favour of the Soviet ones. It should be noted that in this unit (3.2) the activities of the British and the Soviet women in the ground forces and air defense are also analyzed meticulously; in the Air Force and Navy; intelligence. It should be also emphasized that demobilization and respect for the British and the Soviet female veterans were carried out and expressed differently,

however, as the researcher believes, in both countries – without due and deserved attention to female military personnel.

In Chapter IV of the monograph – “Service of Women in Military Formations in the Public Discourse of Great Britain and the USSR (1939 – 1945)” – there are covered the main ideas of the discourse of the political elite regarding women in the army. According to the author, point of views on this issue of the British establishment evolved clearly: from the patriarchal positions and even double standards that dominated, let’s say, W. Churchill’s attitude to the radical wing of suffragism, from “disgust” “of the idea of admitting women to the front line and giving them the opportunity to participate in combat” (p. 178) on the eve of World War II to the direct conscription of women into the armed forces already during the war. In the totalitarian Soviet Union, the issue of women’s service in military formations was not disclosed, such information was classified. And if before the outbreak of the war there was still some mentioning about the women’s presence in the ranks of the armed forces and even about their conscription for military service, then with the beginning of hostilities on the territory of the USSR the discourse changed radically: there was practically no mention of women serving in regular troops (p. 200).

The subsections on the coverage of issues of women’s service in the armed forces of both states in the British and the Soviet non-periodical and periodicals should be recognized as deeply analytical in the reviewed work. “Even long before the war, the Soviet authorities tried to accumulate in their hands control over the publication of all printed publications, both periodical and non-periodical, and to have a direct influence on their content” (p. 213), so everything that was published during and after World War II, was usually ideological, and among the main messages that the government tried to get across to the audience, there was only a mention of women’s participation in military competitions exclusively for the preservation of the current political regime (p. 230). Large-scale propaganda campaign launched by the publishing houses of Great Britain in order to attract women to the army (p. 230) often came down to the call to “save democracy”. There were significant discrepancies in the nature and content of publications in the media of the USSR and Great Britain, but there was also a number of similarities (p. 294): the print media of both states called the war “people’s”; they emphasized that women were involved in the ranks of the armed forces in order to bring about victory in the war; promoted the participation of women with weapons in their hands in military conflicts of previous historical periods (p. 295), etc.

N. Zalietok’s research concludes with the chapter on the peculiarities of the sociocultural interpretation of the experience of the women’s service of Great Britain and the Soviet Union in the armed forces of their countries during the years of 1939–1945. In the Chapter there are highlighted the views of military femininity of male servicemen and the vision of war and their own participation in it. The researcher puts emphasis on the following: despite the fact that both the British and the Soviet female soldiers very often demonstrated strength, endurance, courage and heroism during hostilities, there remained a lot of factors “that contributed to the formation of their negative image” (p. 299). Taking into account the prejudice against women in the army, declared, but psychologically not aware gender equality, underestimation, often even levelling of women’s participation in the war gives reason to assert that the position of women “remained subordinate to men” (p. 325). The governments of both countries tried in every way to emphasize the inferiority of women’s forces in the war.

Hence, despite the complete opposite of the democratic regime of Great Britain and the totalitarian system of the USSR, Natalia Zalietok managed to find numerous similarities in

the policies of these countries regarding women in the ranks of their armies in 1939 – 1945 and came to the following conclusion: “when it comes to changes in the gender system, the differences between political regimes recede into the background, giving way to their patriarchal essence” (p. 366), which enables a two-fold reading of the quote by brilliant Lina Kostenko, presented in the title of our review.

The peer-reviewed work will undoubtedly find its admirers not only among historians, but also among all those who care about the future fate of Ukraine and the role of women in its development and prosperity.

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