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ЗМІСТ

Микола ТУПЧІЄНКО, Олександр ШАМРАЙ. ПАРАЛЕЛІ В ІНДОІРАНЬСЬКОМУ ТА ДАВНЬОСЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОМУ МІФОЛОГІЧНОМУ МОДЕЛЮВАННІ СВІТУ (СОЛЯРНИЙ АСПЕКТ).....	8
Роман ПУЙДА, Олег ЗАВЕРУХА. ПОБОРОВИЙ РЕЄСТР ДРОГОБИЦЬКОГО ПОВІТУ 1511 РОКУ	20
Юрій СТЕЦИК, Олег БОЛГАР. ДЕРЖАВНА РЕЄСТРАЦІЯ КОРОЛІВСЬКИХ ПРИВІЛЕЇВ ЛШНЯНСЬКОГО МОНАСТИРЯ У ПЕРЕМИШЛЬСЬКИХ ГРОДСЬКИХ АКТАХ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА XVII – ПЕРША ПОЛОВИНА XVIII ст.).....	29
Назар РАДЕЦЬКИЙ. ПІЗНЕ ПОЛЬСЬКЕ ПРОСВІТНИЦТВО ТА РУСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ (КІНЕЦЬ XVIII – ПОЧАТОК XIX ст.).....	38
Ігор СМУТОК, Ігор ЗАВАЛЬНЮК. ЛЬВІВСЬКИЙ ШЛЯХЕТСЬКИЙ СУД (1783 – 1855): ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯ, ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ, ПРАВОВІ ЗАСАДИ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ.....	49
Білик ВІКТОРІЯ, Михайло ВІХЛЯЄВ. ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ КОНФЕСІЙНОГО ЛАНДШАФТУ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОГО САМОДЕРЖАВСТВА.....	58
Микола ДОРОШКО, Юлія ЦИРФА. РОСІЙСЬКИЙ ІМПЕРСЬКИЙ ЕКСПАНСІОНІЗМ ЯК ПРЕДМЕТ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ЗАСНОВНИКІВ МАРКСИЗМУ	70
Вікторія ВЕНГЕРСЬКА, Микола КОЗЛОВЕЦЬ. ІМПЕРСЬКІ ПРАКТИКИ НАЦІЄТВОРЕННЯ В УМОВАХ XIX ст. ТА ЇХ МОДИФІКАЦІЇ ПІД ЧАС ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ: УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КОНТЕКСТ	79
Володимир МЕЛЬНИК, Володимир КАЧМАР. ВНЕСОК НТШ У СТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ У ЛЬВОВІ (КІНЕЦЬ XIX ст. – СЕРЕДИНА 1920-х рр.).....	90
Вадим МАШТАЛІР, Сергій МИСЬКО. ФАЛЕРИСТИЧНІ ЗДОБУТКИ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ВИЗВОЛЬНИХ ЗМАГАНЬ (1917 – 1921) ТА ЇХ ВПЛИВ НА СУЧАСНУ ФАЛЕРИСТИКУ.....	103
Парвана МУСТАФАЗАДЕ. ІНІЦІАТИВА ВСТАНОВЛЕННЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЧНИХ КОНТАКТІВ МІЖ УКРАЇНСЬКОЮ НАРОДНОЮ РЕСПУБЛІКОЮ І АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСЬКОЮ ДЕМОКРАТИЧНОЮ РЕСПУБЛІКОЮ.....	116
Людмила СТРІЛЬЧУК, Мирослава ФІЛПОВИЧ. ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЛІКВІДАЦІЇ ВОЛИНСЬКИХ “ПРОСВІТ” ПОЛЬСЬКОЮ ВЛАДОЮ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД	125
Ігор БЕГЕЙ, Інна КРАВЧУК. “ОБ’ЄДНАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ В АМЕРИЦІ”: ПЕРЕДУМОВИ СТВОРЕННЯ, ЕТАПИ І НАПРЯМИ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ (1922 – 1940)	134

Людмила БЕЛІНСЬКА, Андрій АНОХІН. ЧАСОПИС “WIADOMOŚCI KLUBOWE KRAKOWSKIEGO KLUBU AUTOMOBILOWEGO” (1929 – 1939) ЯК ІСТОРИЧНЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО.....	143
Віталіна ДАНИЛЬЧУК, Михайло МІЩУК. ЛЕГАЛЬНІ ПЕРІОДИЧНІ ВИДАННЯ ДЛЯ ДІТЕЙ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЇ ОКРУГИ “ВОЛИНЬ-ПОДІЛЛЯ” У ПЕРІОД НАЦИСТСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ	159
Геннадій ВАСИЛЬЧУК, Віктор ДРОЗДОВ. РАДЯНСЬКА МІФОТВОРЧІСТЬ У СТАЛІНСЬКУ ЕПОХУ: КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ МІФУ ПРО “ВОЗЗ’ЄДНАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАРОДУ”	170
Віталій КОЦУР, Юрій ВОЙТЕНКО. ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ТА ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЗМІНЮВАНOSTІ ВЛАДИ В УКРАЇНІ І КРАЇНАХ БАЛТІЇ: ПОЛІТИКО-ІСТОРИЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ (1990 – 2004).....	187
Роман ХАРКОВЕНКО. ІСТОРИОГРАФІЯ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ СИСТЕМИ ОХОРОНИ ПАМ’ЯТОК КУЛЬТУРНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ В УКРАЇНІ	200
Оксана МЕМІШ, Андрій КАСЯН. ПОЛІТИКА ТУРЕЧЧИНИ ЩОДО ВРЕГУЛЮВАННЯ “КУРДСЬКОГО ПИТАННЯ” У КОНТЕКСТІ ВИКОНАННЯ КОПЕНГАГЕНСЬКИХ КРИТЕРІЇВ (КІНЕЦЬ ХХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХІ ст.)	211
Тамара ШАРАВАРА, Анастасія НЕКРЯЧ. ПОЛЬСЬКА Й УКРАЇНСЬКА РЕФОРМИ МІСЦЕВОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ (1998 – 2020): ІСТОРИКО-ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ	223
Віктор ВЕРНЕР, Людмила ВОВЧУК. ЦЕНТРАЛЬНІ ПОСТАТІ ТА ПОДІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІСТОРІЇ У СВІТЛІ КОНТЕНТ-АНАЛІЗУ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІСТОРИЧНИХ YOUTUBE-КАНАЛІВ з 2014 до 2022 року.....	239
Юрій МАТЕЛЕШКО. “М’ЯКА СИЛА” УКРАЇНИ: ІСТОРИОГРАФІЯ ПИТАННЯ	253

РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

Микола ГАЛІВ, Олександра СВЙОНТИК. УКРАЇНСЬКІ ІСТОРИКИ НА “ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНОМУ ФРОНТІ” РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ (рецензія на книгу: ПЕРЕЛОМ: Війна Росії проти України у часових пластах і просторах минувшини. Діалоги з істориками. Відпов. ред. Валерій Смолій; упоряд.: Геннадій Боряк, Олексій Ясь, Світлана Блащук. Київ: НАН України. Ін-тут історії України, 2023. Книга 3. 844 с.; іл.)	262
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CONTENTS

Mykola TUPCHIIYENKO, Oleksandr SHAMRAI. PARALLELS
IN THE INDO-IRANIAN AND OLD SLAVIC MYTHOLOGICAL MODELLING
OF THE WORLD (A SOLAR ASPECT)..... 8

Roman PUYDA, Oleg ZAVERUKHA. TAX REGISTER OF DROHOBYCH
POVIT IN 1511 20

Yurii STETSYK, Oleh BOLHAR. STATE REGISTRATION OF THE ROYAL
PRIVILEGES OF LISHNIA MONASTERY IN PEREMYŚL TOWN ACTS
(THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17th – FIRST HALF OF THE 18th CENTURY) 29

Nazar RADETSKYI. LATE POLISH ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE RUTHENIAN
ISSUE (THE END OF THE 18th – BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY) 38

Ihor SMUTOK, Ihor ZAVALNIUK. NOBILITY COURT IN LVIV (1783 – 1855):
ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONING, LEGAL BASIS OF ACTIVITY 49

Victoria BILYK, Mykhailo VIKHLIAIEV. VOLYN HUBERNIA
CONFESSIONAL LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION UNDER THE CONDITIONS
OF THE RUSSIAN AUTOCRACY 58

Mykola DOROSHKO, Iuliia TSYRFA. RUSSIAN IMPERIAL EXPANSIONISM
AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY EXPLORED BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS
OF MARXISM 70

Viktoria VENGERSKA, Mykola KOZLOVETS. IMPERIAL PRACTICES
OF NATION BUILDING UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE 19th AND THEIR
MODIFICATIONS DURING WORLD WAR I: UKRAINIAN CONTEXT 79

Volodymyr MELNYK, Volodymyr KACHMAR. CONTRIBUTION
OF T. SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY TO THE FOUNDING OF UKRAINIAN
UNIVERSITY IN LVIV (THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY – MID-1920s) 90

Vadym MASHTALIR, Sergiy MYSKO. PHALERISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS
OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE (1917 – 1921)
AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON MODERN PHALERISTICS 103

Parvana MUSTAFAZADE. THE INITIATIVE TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC
CONTACT BETWEEN THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC
AND AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC 116

Lyudmyla STRILCHUK, Myroslava FILIPOVYCH. FEATURES
OF THE VOLHYNIA “PROSVITA” SOCIETIES LIQUIDATION
BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD 125

Ihor BEHEI, Inna KRAVCHUK. “UNION OF UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS
IN AMERICA”: PREREQUISITES OF ITS CREATION, STAGES AND DIRECTIONS
OF ACTIVITY (1922 – 1940)..... 134

Lyudmila BELINSKA, Andrii ANOKHIN. THE PERIODICAL “WIADOMOŚCI KLUBOWE KRAKOWSKIEGO KLUBU AUTOMOBILOWEGO” (1929 – 1939) AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE.....	143
Vitalina DANYLCHUK, Mykhailo MISHCHUK. LEGAL PERIODICALS FOR CHILDREN IN THE TERRITORY OF THE GENERAL DISTRICT “VOLYN-PODILLIA” DURING THE NAZI OCCUPATION.....	159
Hennadii VASYLCHUK, Viktor DROZDOV. SOVIET MYTHMAKING IN THE STALIN ERA: CONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF “THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE’S REUNIFICATION”.....	170
Vitalii KOTSUR, Yurii VOITENKO. PREREQUISITES AND FEATURES OF THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC COUNTRIES: POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL ASPEKT (1990 – 2004).....	187
Roman KHARKOVENKO. THE STATE SYSTEM FORMATION HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE MONUMENTS PROTECTION IN UKRAINE.....	200
Oksana MEMISH, Andii KASIAN. POLICY OF TURKEY ON “THE KURDISH ISSUE” SETTLEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA ENFORCEMENT (THE END OF THE 20th – THE BEGINNING OF THE 21st CENTURY).....	211
Tamara SHARAVARA, Anastasiia NEKRIACH. POLISH AND UKRAINIAN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT REFORMS (1998 – 2020): HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS.....	223
Wiktor WERNER, Liudmyla VOVCHUK. CENTRAL FIGURES AND EVENTS OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL YOUTUBE CHANNELS FROM 2014 TO 2022.....	239
Yurii MATELESHKO. UKRAINE’S SOFT POWER: HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ISSUE.....	253

РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

Mykola HALIV, Oleksandra SVIONTYK. UKRAINIAN HISTORIANS ON “HISTORIOGRAPHIC FRONT” OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR (review on the book: TURNING POINT: Russia's War against Ukraine in the Time Layers and Spaces of the Past. Dialogues with Historians. Editor-in-Chief Valeriy Smoliy; editor: Hennadiy Boriak, Oleksiy Yas, Svitlana Blaschuk. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Institute of History of Ukraine, 2023. Book 3. 844 pp.; ill.).....	262
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PARALLELS IN THE INDO-IRANIAN AND OLD SLAVIC MYTHOLOGICAL MODELLING OF THE WORLD (A SOLAR ASPECT)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to present a comprehensive study results on the parallels of the solar aspect formation of the world mythological modelling among the Indo-Iranian peoples and the ancient Slavs as an inherently ambivalent worldview phenomenon. The pre-Christian beliefs image of the Slavs became an inseparable component of the folk dualism system and is manifested in calendar to this day, funeral, wedding poetry and rituals, in sacred and socio-cultural terminology of modern Ukraine population. This study aims at elucidating the world solar model formation and place in the pre-Christian beliefs of the Slavs. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and comprehensiveness in combination with the use of general scientific methods – analysis, synthesis, abstraction. The specificity of the research topic and sources used led to an interdisciplinary application of such methods as historical, comparative linguistics, structural anthropology, comparative mythology, ethnographic analogy, as well as semiotic and hermeneutic.*

Culture reception as a secondary modelling system, in which its individual components are fragments of a cultural text consisting of separate codes that express their meaning only in a context of reading within a text and interaction with other texts, led to the use of the above-mentioned methods. Owing to the use of these methods, it was possible to trace the mythological ideas formation evolution, to carry out the analysis of social, religious, ritual terms, to elucidate a primary meaning of funeral rites elements, and, finally, to reconstruct a solar model of the world mythological structure among the ancient Indo-Iranians and the Slavs. The above-mentioned reconstruction is of a metaphysical nature, the basis of which is the myth and its ritual derivatives interpretation. At the same time, the authors, represented the ethno-historical issues, and following K. Ivanhorodskiy's admonition, they tried to be as careful as possible in their conclusions, "because the past is an insidious advisor for a modern image vision", (Ivanhorodskiy, 2018, p. 149), in spite of the fact that a modern postmodern interpretation of a human being considers him/her as a product of all previous eras. **The scientific novelty** of the research consists in singling out a solar model of a mythological space structure among the ancient Indo-Iranians and the Slavs, which was of an utmost importance in the context of the basic "law" implementation in both ethno-cultural traditions. **The Conclusion.** Thus, it should be stated that the image of the sun, which is presented in its various manifestations, was one of significant, and perhaps the most crucial model of the universe, in both the Indo-Iranian and the ancient Slavic mythological systems, in which the basic "law" of both ethno- and socio-cultural formations was implemented, that was expressed with the help of complementary cultural symbols. On the one hand, such closeness of the Indo-Iranian and Slavic ideas regarding the world modelling during the pre-Christian period was due to a more or less common Indo-European mythological heritage, and on the other hand, to a long-term proximity of the Slavs and their ancestors to various Iranian-speaking peoples during the period between 3000 BC – 10th century AD, in connection with which a number of solar gods from Indo-Iranian etymology emerged in the Slavic pantheon: Svaroh, Dazhbog, Khors, Veles, Perun.

Key words: Indo-Iranians, mythology, world model, funeral rites, Slavs, solar symbolism, tradition.

ПАРАЛЕЛІ В ІНДОІРАНСЬКОМУ ТА ДАВНЬОСЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОМУ МІФОЛОГІЧНОМУ МОДЕЛЮВАННІ СВІТУ (СОЛЯРНИЙ АСПЕКТ)

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у комплексному дослідженні паралелей формування солярного аспекту міфологічного моделювання світу в індоіранських народів і давніх слов'ян як амбівалентного за своєю природою світоглядного явища. Цей образ дохристиянських вірувань слов'ян невіддільним компонентом увійшов до системи народного двовір'я і до сьогодні проявляється у календарній, поховальній, весільній поезії і обрядовості, у сакральній та соціокультурній термінології населення сучасної України. Це дослідження покликане розкрити особливості формування та місце солярної моделі світу в дохристиянських віруваннях слов'ян.

Методологія дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності та всебічності у поєднанні з використанням загальнонаукових методів – аналізу, синтезу, абстрагування. Специфіка теми дослідження та використаних джерел зумовили міждисциплінарне застосування таких методів, як історичний, порівняльної лінгвістики, структурної антропології, порівняльної міфології, етнографічної аналогії, а також семіотичного і герменевтичного. Сприйняття культури як вторинної моделювальної системи, де окремі її складові становлять фрагменти культурного тексту, що складається з окремих кодів, які розкривають своє значення лише в контекстному прочитанні у межах тексту та взаємодії з іншими текстами, зумовило залучення всієї сукупності згаданих методів. Це уможливило простеження еволюції формування міфологічних уявлень, здійснення аналізу соціальних, релігійних, обрядових термінів, розкриття первинного значення елементів поховальної обрядовості, вреїсти реконструювання солярної моделі міфологічної будови світу у давніх індоіранців та слов'ян. Така реконструкція має метафізичний характер, основою якої є інтерпретація міфу та його обрядових похідних. Водночас, репрезентуючи етноісторичну проблематику, автори, враховуючи застереження К. Івангородського, намагалися бути максимально обережними у висновках, "оскільки минуле є підступним порадином для бачення сучасного образу" (Ivanhorodskiy, 2018, p. 149), незважаючи на те, що сучасне постмодерне тлумачення людини розглядає її як витвір усіх попередніх епох.

Наукова новизна дослідження полягає у виділенні солярної моделі будови міфологічного простору у давніх індоіранців та слов'ян, що набувала особливого значення у контексті реалізації основного “закону” в обох етнокультурних традиціях.

Висновки. У результаті проведеного дослідження можна констатувати, що образ сонця, який представлений в його різних проявах, був і в індоіранській, і в давньослов'янській міфологічних системах однією зі значущих, а можливо, і найважливішою моделлю всесвіту, в якій реалізувався основний «Закон» обох етно- та соціокультурних утворень, що виражалася через комплементарно замінювані культурні символи. Така близькість індоіранських і слов'янських уявлень про моделювання світу в дохристиянський період була обумовлена, з одного боку, більш-менш спільною міфологічною індоєвропейською спадщиною, архетипічністю природи цих уявлень, а з іншого, тривалим сусідством слов'ян та їх предків з різними іраномовними народами в проміжку між III тис. до н. е – X ст. н. е., у зв'язку з чим у слов'янському пантеоні з'явилася ціла низка богів, наділених солярними ознаками, з індоіранською етимологією: Сварог, Даждьбог, Хорс, Велес, Перун.

Серед перспективних для подальшого дослідження аспектів проблеми, на нашу думку, можна виділити поглиблене дослідження солярної символічної складової пантеону слов'янських богів і, зокрема, бога Сварога, який ототожнювався з богом-ковалем грецької міфології Гефестом.

Ключові слова: індоіранці, міфологія, модель світу, поховальний обряд, слов'яни, солярна символіка, традиція.

The Problem Statement. Due to Volodymyr the Great, who baptized Kyiv residents in 988, a new worldview formation among the population of Ukraine-Rus' emerged – a folk dualism in which the Christian and pagan mythological plots, symbols and rituals were combined syncretically. The basic features of a new worldview form developed by the 14th – 15th centuries and it is preserved by large till nowadays. At the same time, this phenomenon is a vivid example of the complexity of the Slavic peoples' cultural genesis of a spiritual (mythological and religious) component evolution, which was closely related to ethnogenetic processes and phenomena. The ethnogenetic processes and phenomena study is determined by methodological and theoretical complexities of interaction of the post-Soviet heritage and introduction of postmodern innovations (Ivanhorodskyi, 2018, pp. 147–149). The Slavic peoples' ancient ethnic history complexity, in particular the Ukrainians, is determined by three main aspects: 1) significant periods of incorporation into the ethno-linguistic conglomerations, similar to the Balto-Slavs; 2) lingering evolutionary processes through the passage of the proto-, and early Slavic stages of the ethnic differentiation formation; 3) neighbourhood and interaction at each of the specified stages with neighbouring ethnic communities, which was accompanied by linguistic and cultural borrowings. Borrowings occurred at different levels: a direct contact among speakers of cultures and languages; penetration of material culture objects, including coins, even from fairly remote areas as a result of trade and exchange processes (Mielczarek, 1989; Mielczarek & Orlyk, 2019; Orlyk, 2020; Orlyk, 2021a; Orlyk, 2021b; Orlyk & Orlyk, 2020; Orlyk, 2022; Orlyk & Mekh, 2022a; Orlyk & Mekh, 2022b; Nikolaev, 2020; Peter & Stolba, 2022), finally, mediated through third-party informants. The Indo-Iranians of the Northern Black Sea steppes were one of such ethnic conglomerations, with whom the Slavs ancestors lived in 3000 BC – the first centuries of 1000 AD (Balushok, 2004, pp. 61–64). As a result of the above-mentioned interaction, several dozen words related to religious, ritual, healing and evaluation spheres penetrated from the Iranian to the Slavic languages (Heishtor, 2015, pp. 65–67), i. e. those that determined worldviews and value orientations. At the same time, there is a discrepancy between these two linguistic and ethnic communities (the Indo-Iranians and the Slavs) as they differ not only in different state of ancient mythological heritage preservation, but also in historically determined time of their ethno-

linguistic and cultural identification in historical science. In order to elucidate the nature and scale of the Indo-Iranian cultural tradition influence, in particular, in the world mythological modelling issue there is a sense of perspective to involve the Indo-Iranian mythology and rituals in an attempt to reconstruct specific ancient Slavic mythological images and ideas of the pre-Christian era. In addition, there was the lack of a complete mythological Old Slavic heritage, hence, the authors had to use not only mythological texts and their interpretations, but also data from comparative linguistics, ethnology, and archeological research materials in the research process.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. There is a significant array of scientific literature which deals with the study of mythological ideas aspects of both ancient Indo-Iranian and the Slavic peoples and counts at least 2,5 thousand years of history, starting from Herodotus. It should be noted that the latest studies conducted by V. Saenko and D. Pikalov in the field of the Scythian mythology and funeral rites are significant. In the monograph and article, written by Valeriy Saenko, there is provided a panorama of the Scythian cosmology and eschatology reconstruction based on the data of burial structures, in particular, a chief focus was on the Scythian societies life subordination to the basic “law”, in which the solar cult and its symbolism occupied a prominent place. The Scythians eschatological ideas were also subject to this “law”, including the Afterlife modelling, with the construction of burial mounds, graves, surrounding mound structures (rivchaky, cromlechs, shafts) filled with the solar symbolism. Due to the above-mentioned, the author noted ambivalent fullness of the solar symbolism, which was focused on both the world of the living beings and the world of the dead (Saenko, 2007, pp. 15, 30, 41, 46, 52–54; 2011, pp. 76–80).

There was reconstruction of a broad picture in the research, done by Dmytro Pikalov “Mythology and Cosmogony of the Iranian-speaking Nomads from Eurasia”: the Scythian-Sarmatian cosmology and cosmogony, which was based on the principles of the main Indo-European myth theory (Pikalov, 2011). The scholars were interested in a solar symbolism of the horse in funerary rites of the Scythian-Sauromatians and Sarmatians, as well as its ambivalent nature in the research context, which allowed them to connect a funerary rite with a solar symbolism (Pikalov, 2011, p. 27). The author reduced a number of symbols found in funeral rites to one semantic series: a horse (deer) – fire – swastika – snake, some of which (swastika and snake) were associated with three zones of the mythical cosmos. According to the author, it allowed us to consider Tabitha as the personification of fire as an element associated with the three zones of space, endowed with the solar signs (Pikalov, 2011, pp. 93–106), but the author did not pursue the idea of the presence in the Scythian to the Sauromatian and Sarmatian tradition of the idea of a universal solar model of the mythological universe.

The monograph “Slavic Mythology”, written by the Polish scholar Oleksandr Heishtor stood out from the works on the Slavic mythology (Heishtor, 2015), as there was a separate section on the Slavs contacts with their neighbours (including the Iranian-speaking ones) in ancient times. According to the author, a long-term neighbourhood with the Iranian peoples had influence on the ancient Slavs development, which was of a particular importance to comparative studies of religion. The above-mentioned neighbourhood was interrupted only during the first centuries of our era. The author also noted that “the Iranian influence on the Proto-Slavs happened due to the presence of a common Indo-European heritage, enriched with specific elements that since have become characteristic of both ethno-cultural groups, distinguishing them from other Indo-European communities” (Heishtor, 2015, p. 65). In addition, the author highlighted that this neighbourhood was limited to

certain “political influences, as well as borrowing of certain elements of myths and rituals, the reason for which was a higher level of organization of the Sarmatian religious cults” (Heishtor, 2015, p. 68). As a result, there were borrowings from the Slavic languages, in particular, more than 30 words of a religious meaning, religious actions, ritual, healing terms, pejorative expressions, positive designations, which determined the position of numerous scholars, about a significant influence of the Sarmatians on the formation of the Slavic pantheon and rituals. However, as the author noted, there were no direct coincidences in the names of deities between the Iranian and the Slavic pantheons, instead there was “almost a complete secularization of the Iranian pantheon among the Proto-Slavs. The Proto-Slavs deprived some Iranian mythological names of a sacred meaning, including them in the commonly used vocabulary. ... In this regard, the Slavic-Iranian language connections should be considered as a means by which there was determined the place of the Slavic beliefs in the array of the Indo-European heritage. They make it possible to determine that no later than in 1000 BC the Proto-Slavs had a developed apparatus of moral ethical and ritual religious concepts sufficiently, they were formulated in categories common to the Indo-European peoples” (Heishtor, 2015, pp. 63–72).

The Russian scholar V. Toporov, unlike A. Heishtor, analyzing Volodymyr’s pantheon of the gods etymology and functions, came to the conclusion that the god Khors emerged in the Kyivan pantheon quite late, in the 10th century AD, under the influence of the Iranian Khorezmian pledge of the Khazar Khaganate in Kyiv (Toporov, 1989, pp. 23–60), which, on the one hand, indicated foreignness to local religious and mythological traditions, and on the other hand, marked rather late religious borrowings of the Iranian tradition in the Slavic one.

Taking everything into consideration, there are two controversial issues regarding duration and nature of the Iranian-speaking religious tradition influence on the Slavic religious tradition.

The purpose of the research is to present a comprehensive study results on the parallels of the solar aspect formation of the world mythological modelling among the Indo-Iranian peoples and the ancient Slavs as an inherently ambivalent worldview phenomenon. The pre-Christian beliefs image of the Slavs became an inseparable component of the folk dualism system and is manifested in calendar to this day, funeral, wedding poetry and rituals, in the sacred and socio-cultural terminology of modern Ukraine population. This study aims at elucidating the world solar model formation and place in the pre-Christian beliefs of the Slavs.

The Results of the Research. The issue of the universe as a whole, i. e. organization and functioning of nature and society life was the most important in the ancient peoples' worldview. Different peoples often imagined the universe in the form of numerous symbols or models (a world tree, an egg, an animal, a human being, a mountain, a temple, a throne, a vessel, etc.), many of which were in imagination of the same peoples, duplicating each other. The cosmic models of the ancient Indo-Iranians were determined by ideas about a universal law of the type of the ancient Indian *rita* “rita” largely, which originally meant an established path of the world, the sun, the moon and the stars, morning and evening, day and night (Chmykhov & Tupchienko, 1987, p. 87), and later on acquired, along with a cosmological, moral and ethical meaning of order, law; a human collective; areas of application of the law; time; a geocentric model of the world (zodiac) (Chmykhov, 1985, p. 23). An important role in the law of rita was attributed to the sun gods Mitra and Varuna in the Indo-Iranian mythological tradition (the guardians of rita, the sun god-goddess Surya, who in the Vedas are called the face, then the eye of rita or the rita itself, the most important holidays of which

were the sun phases veneration (the Indian calendar tradition distinguished winter, spring, and autumn beginning of the year (Keyper, 1986), as well as the idea of the sun or the sun god as the first ancestor of people (Ind. Yama, Avest. Yima) (Lelekov, 1991, p. 599).

There were similar ideas also typical of the Slavic pre-Christian beliefs. Different sociocultural terms are associated with the circle of “rita”, which, in turn, are associated with the names of the Slavic gods, wardens and guardians of the law, with a more or less pronounced solar nature, for example: vlada (power) (vlast) – volost – Volos – Veles, lad (order) – Lado (Lada), myr (peace) – Myr (Mitra), pora (season) – Poryvit, Porynut, Perun, riad (row) – Radost, rid (family) (rod) – Rid, storona (side) – strana (country) – prostir (space) – Stribog, yar (ravine) – yaryi – Yarylo, Yarovyit, svit (world) – Svitovyit, etc (Sivolap & Chmykhov, 1985). The Ukrainian Kupala ritual poetry preserved very archaic ideas about the sun as the eye of Lada, the guardian or the embodiment of rita:

*Hey, eye of Lada, Lele Ladove, Hey, eye of Lada,
the night disappears, because Lada's eye comes out of the water,
Lada brings us a holiday, Hey Lado! And you,
Perun, let Lada wait Kupala (Yushchuk, 1995, p. 33).*

The greatest holidays were also related to the sun veneration directly in the Slavic calendar holiday tradition, similar to the Indo-Iranian. These are well-known Koliada and Christmas holidays, Masliana and Kupalo. In the Slavic tradition the beginning of the year migrated from spring to autumn equinox, and then to winter solstice. The idea of the sun (a solar deity) as the first ancestor of people could also be found in the Slavic mythological tradition. In “Slovo o Polku Ihorevim” (The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign), the author called the singer Boyan Velesov’s grandson (while Veles was of a transparent solar nature, (Potebnya, 1989, p. 259), and all kniazi were Dazhbog’s grandsons (Dazhbog was the sun) (Toporov, 1989, pp. 23–40). At the same time, the All-Seeing Father/Did-Vsevyd (the sun) is recognized as the ancestor in the Ukrainian ritual poetry, while in the “Bohemian Chronicle” (the 15th century), written by Ioann Maringol it was said that “the essence of the Slavs originates from Helios” (Darkevich, 1960, p. 60). In addition, according to Ya. I. Borovsky, the Slavs ethnonym may be related to the words “slava” (glory) and “sun”, which are derived from the Indo-European *sou* “to shine”, in Sanskrit – *svar* “sky, light, sun” (Borovsky, 1977, p. 20), hence, there is a hidden idea about the solar origin of the Slavs in the very ethnonym.

The most important deities were connected, directly or indirectly, with the cult of the sun or heavenly fire among the Indo-Iranians and the Slavs. There were the following deities among the ancient Indians: Surya, Vishnu, Mitra, Varuna, Savitar, Indra, Yama, Vivasvant; there were among the Iranians: Mitra and Yima; the Scythians had Papai, Hoitosyr, Tabeti, Kolaksai, Tagimasat; and among the Slavs – Svaroh, Svarozhich-Radhost, Dazhbog, Sviatovid, Yarylo, Khors, Perun, the functions of which were the creation of the world, people, family, society, regulation of fertility, calculation of time, connection with the Afterlife, that is, all those the most important elements of the universal law of the functioning of the universe.

Archaeological and ethnographic studies confirm a wide spread of not only rituals among the Indo-Iranian and the Slavic peoples, but also symbols associated with veneration of the sun as the most important cosmic element. First of all, these were the solar signs images (circles, concentric circles, a circle with an inscribed cross, a swastika, a swastika of horse heads, a wheel, a rosette, etc.), on objects of both domestic and sacred purpose: on dishes and ornaments of the Indo-Iranian according to the reliability of archaeological cultures (pit, catacomb, log, the Scythian, the Scythian-Sarmatian); archaeological cultures of the

proto-, and early Slavic circle (Bilohrud, Chernolisk, Scythian forest-steppe, Zarubynets, Chernyakhiv, Kyiv, etc.). The solar signs could be also found on architectural structures: on the paintings of St. Sophia's Cathedral (griffins, eagles, circles with an inscribed eagle, swastikas, etc.) (Vagner, 1974); on ethnographic dwellings there were sockets, crosses, etc. (Toporov, 1971, pp. 11–13), Due to the studies, conducted by O. K. Bayburin (Bayburin, 1983), V. M. Toporov (1971, pp. 11–13), M. O. Chmykhov (Chmykhov, 1993, pp. 33–60) the semantic meaning of a temple, a house, dishes as models of the world were depicted, therefore, the solar signs, which occupy a central position in the ornamental compositions of dishes, houses, temples, defined both the centre of the universe and its container, according to the principle of a part of the whole.

There is evidence of the sun identification with a vessel as a whole, which could be found in the Indo-Iranian mythological texts (Rigveda, VIII. 89. 17), in which the vessel was a receptacle for the sun, where Vishnu or Indra was compared to a cup of soma (Rigveda, VI. 69. 2). There were also similar ideas in Greek mythology (Apollodorus, V, 10), which took them beyond the Indo-Iranian circle. At the same time, in the Indian Atharvaveda (XVIII, 4, 30), the vessel used in the funeral rite is called the goddess Aditi, who personifies the entire universe (Chmykhov, 1993, pp. 132–133), the above-mentioned allowed us to assume that a pot with cremated remains of a buried person could be also identified with the universe in the pre-Christian burial rituals of the Slavs and their ancestors, which was widespread until the adoption of Christianity in 988.

In other Indo-Iranian texts, the sun in the form of a wheel is called a container of all living beings, the whole world: “A wheel that does not grow old (scil-sun) turns with its rim; they are led by ten (scil – horses of the sun) harnessed to a horizontal bridle. The Eye of the Sun moves, even covered in darkness” (Rigveda, I.164.14), it contains all beings and also “He (Indra) rides out on horses harnessed by Rta, filling the universe with the sun-bearing hub of the wheel” (Rigveda, VI.39.4).

The Iranians either had a similar idea of the sun-wheel, containing all living things. In the Avesta, the sun is one of the four spheres that surround the world, and in another place, Mitra (the god of the sun) is depicted as an avenging god, who catches up with the criminal even at the end of the world, i. e. Mitra fills or includes the universe. In Avestan texts the Earth is depicted in the form of a wheel divided into seven *krashvars* (parts), while the names of these *krashvars* are related to winds (air space) (Makovelskiy, 1960, pp. 32–35). The sun is a wheel depicted in the form of the wheel of *Balsag*, is also known in the Nart epic of the Ossetians (the Scythians-Sarmatians descendants) (Narty, 1957).

Hence, there is an idea of placing the Earth in some sphere or circle (wheel) in the Indo-Iranian mythological tradition. Worshiping the sun in the form of a wheel was widespread among the Slavs. V. Darkevich provided a record from the Ishymskiy povit that the ancestors “lived in the forest, prayed to the wheel” (Darkevich, 1960, p. 59). In his research Pavlo Chubinskiy wrote that in the 19th century the Ukrainians also called the sun a wheel, and burning Kupala wheels were a widespread image of the sun in the solar ritual of the Slavs (Chubinskiy, 1878).

Thus, the solar circle (wheel) was one of the widespread mythological models of the universe among the Indo-Iranians and the ancient Slavic tribes. The same model was also reflected in the Slavic funeral rite with the terminology associated with it. According to the scholars O. Freydenberg (Freydenberg, 1978) and M. Chmykhov (Chmykhov, 1993), the burial structures and burial terminology are well-known cosmic symbols and reflect the most

conservative view of a particular people about the world. Hence, the etymological sequence of the term “to bury” provides the following meaning “to protect, to eat (i. e. to hide food in the middle)” (Fassmer, 1983), which is close to the Proto-Slavic *xorn* “to eat”, the Slavic Khors “sun” (Toporov, 1989, p. 58). The word “to bury” (khoronyty) is also etymologically close to *khoramyt* “to build”, chorus “house, building, protection”, temple “cult building or church” (Fassmer, 1983). The process of construction, and, accordingly, protection of the designed, closed, organized world from the unorganized (Cosmos from Chaos) (Bayburin, 1983, pp. 55–75), which is confirmed in the etymological proximity of the Slavic temple, and the Greek *chora* – “possession, country” (enclosed space), Greek *chorus* (a group of dancers), the Slavic round dance (a group of dancers in a circle), the Proto-Slavic and Prohetian *hord* “kind” (a limited group of people), Ossetian *khor* “sun”, the Slavic *khors* (god of the sun), derived from Iranian *horset* the sun, (Popovich, 1985, pp. 13–24), but which at the same time can be close to the Slavic “*khorovod*”.

A circle is one of the oldest symbols of a protected, organized space. These are protective circles against evil forces, circular detours (bypasses) around a new house, destruction of villages during the plague in the Slavic tradition. At the same time, according to A. Bayburin the Slavic term – crown/wreath “the first trunks tied into a log” (Bayburin, 1983, pp. 55–60), initially denoted the same circle. The Polish *obejskie*, the Ukrainian *obistia* – “places that go around in a circle”, “estate, manor”, again give a closed curved line – a circle, i. e. a solar sign.

It should be also noted that in the Slavic tradition, both mounded and moundless burial grounds were called *kolomyshcha* popularly (Kotlyarevskiy, 1968), i. e. a gathering of circles. The following elements of burial structures as barrows – *rivchaks*, *cromlechs*, crepe ids – also bear the solar circle symbolism. The following actions as sprinkling the deceased with grain, where the grain was “a ray of the sun” indicated an ethnographic funeral rite connection among the Slavs with the cult of the sun, a heavenly fire (Danilenko, 1974, pp. 8–15). At the same time, such ritual actions as burning a funeral building, cremating the deceased, placing them in a vessel, using a boat or a sleigh instead of a bed, involve numerous symbols duplication of the same idea of the world solar model, an inverted reflection of which is the Afterlife of the dead. At the same time, there is connection of the sun worship calendar holidays, Christmas and Whitsun, Ivana Kupala, Masliana with the cult of ancestors, and therefore with the Afterlife in Slavic ethnography.

The idea of the world of the dead as a solar world was preserved in the relics of a mythological worldview of both the Slavs and the Iranians. In the Slavic tradition, there were the following figures, who appeared constantly: Alatyry, Zlatyry, and Bil-horyuch kamin’ (stone), on which there was either Bis or Solchak (the Sun); the riddles about the sun, in which the way to the other world was coded as the way to the trydev’iate zolote tsarstvo (the thirty-ninth golden kingdom); the fairy tales heroes of the Fenist type – Yasnyi Sokil (a Bright Falcon), Zorky and the others, who visit the trydev’iate zolote tsarstvo (the thirty-ninth golden kingdom) (Propp, 1986, pp. 281–287); as well as mythological complexes associated with the ladybug – the sun (Toporov, 1981), the poppy, the Kupala rites (in general, connected with the idea of death – the birth of the sun), in which the symbolism of a wreath dropped on the water is associated with happiness and unhappiness, life – death, wedding – divorce, etc. As, such a wreath was a symbolic image of the same sun travelling across the world ocean.

The scholar D. S. Raevskiy interpreted the rite of circumambulation on horseback in a certain territory, which could be found in the Scythian ceremonial tradition, as circumambulation of Kolaksai, the “Sun-king”, the sacred territory of Exampai (Raevskiy, 1977, pp. 126–137).

Therefore, this rite also modelled the universe in the form of a solar circle, in addition, Herodotus' story about the country of the Hyperboreans, in which Apollo (the god of the sun) reigns, also belongs to the Scythian mythological tradition of Scythian ideas about the Afterlife (Bongard-Levin & Grantovskiy, 1983, pp. 66–75), i. e. about the world of the kingdom of the sun. The Ossetian epic about the Narts also directly connects the sunny hero with the other world. Hence, in the legend about the journey of Sozyrko (the Sun) to the underworld, it was said that he drew a circle with the ring he received in the world of the dead and created a steel palace, i. e. the same simulation of the world in the form of a solar circle happened again (Sozyrko = Sun = ring = circle = steel palace). At the same time, the simulation was carried out by an object (ring-sun), which was related to the world of the dead by its origin. And in another place, Sozyrko was a solar hero, who had under his power the wheel of Balsah (the sun) in the land of the dead, (Narty. (1957). And finally, the idea of Mitra (the sun) as one of the dead souls' judges was preserved in the Avesta (Makovelskiy, 1960, pp. 40–45).

The Old Ruthenian New Testament apocrypha “Khodinnia Bohorodytsi po Mykakh” placed the god Khors (along with other pagan gods) in hell (Toporov, 1989, p. 58), which was quite logical in light of the paganism condemnation by Christian ideology. But, probably, there was also a reflection of something else, in particular, pagan ideas about the nature of their gods. The location of Khors in hell as one of the Afterlife components, where the sinners suffer, to some extent explained the etymological proximity of Khors to the word “to bury”. It should be noted that the Khors connection with khor(o)khor – the designation of a rooster (Toporov, 1989, p. 58), a bird of the sun, but also a mandatory sacrificial animal in the rite of commemoration of the dead. In our opinion, the plot from “Slovo o Polky Ihorevim” about Kniaz Vseslav, who crosses Khors road at night as a wolf, also pointed at the Afterlife, nocturnal, image of this sun god.

Thus, the solar model of the universe idea was able to be designed not only in the Iranians funeral rites, but also of the Slavs on several symbolic levels: sun=vessel; sun=home (grave); sun=horse; sun=circle of cromlech, rivchak, crepid, mound perimeter, etc. It should be noted that the sun-universe idea modelling in both traditions in the funeral rite, in different chronological periods, could be duplicated at different levels in the same funeral rite, burial structure. For example, we can mention the typical Scythian burials: in a mound with a rivchak and a cromlech, in a mound with a rivchak or a cromlech and a burial chamber filled with a wheel, cultic burials of children in amphorae, pots, burials in a crypt with the image of a winged horse and a solar sign in Scythian Naples, burials with a horse or horses. Accordingly, these were mound burials with cremation, cremation in a pot, mounds with rivchaks and crepids, burial in sleighs, boats, sprinkling the deceased with grain, and, finally, in the cremation ceremony itself among the Slavs and their ancestors. It is possible that the idea of the sun – the world of the dead also found its expression in the numerous burials of the steppe Scythians with gold objects, where gold is a renowned symbol of another world (Propp, 1986, pp. 192–202).

The Conclusion. Taking everything into account, it can be stated that the sun in the ideas of the ancient Slavs and their ancestors, just like the Indo-Iranians, was accepted as an all-powerful deity that rules both the world of the living and the world of the dead, i. e. the universe as a whole. It is exactly how Surya acts in the Rigveda, who in the image of Vishnu supports all the worlds (where Vishnu is the god of three spheres, who has a world instead of a body) (Rigveda, I.21.154). We could make an assumption that in the Slavic mythological tradition, the equivalent of Surya-Vishnu could be the mysterious Slavic Trojan in the “Slovo o Polku Ihorevim”, the essence of which was revealed in Yaroslavna's cry: “Svitle I try-svitle

sontse (Bright and three-bright sun)!” – in this context the sun shone in the three worlds. At the same time, depending on the functions of this deity, the place of its action, it could bear different names, for example, different parts of the earth in the Avesta. The two solar gods, Khors and Dazh(d)god presence in Volodymyr’s pantheon was a vivid example such a division of functions, where Khors was the Afterlife sun, and Dazh(d)god was the day sun.

It should also be noted that initially the sun identification with the universe could be connected with the sun representation in the Indo-Iranian and the Slavic traditions as a feminine principle that holds the world in itself like a fetus. The Scythian equivalent of the Indian Surya, a female solar deity, was most likely Tabitha, who, according to D. S. Raevskiy, embodied the entire Cosmos and was closely connected with the solar symbolism (Raevskiy, 1977). In turn, the Slavic folklore tradition also preserved the image of the female solar deity Solon’ (the sun is a woman), Lada. There was recorded the distinction between “round”, internal, feminine, associated with female fire goddesses and the home fire, and “four-cornered” fire, associated with the male principle and the sky in the Indo-European mythological tradition (Toporov, 1991, p. 531). But the much greater archaism of round houses, compared to rectangular ones, the long thousand-year tradition of burying the dead in round mounds, often surrounded by mounds with rounded structures, early oval burial pits, the thousand-year-old symbolism of modelling the world in the form of a solar circle (wheel), allowed us to claim that a replacement took place a male symbol in a patriarchal society of an earlier female symbol of the sun, heavenly fire, the universe, and the level of sacredness of this symbol was also lowered.

Thus, it is legitimate to assume that the image of the sun, which was presented in its various manifestations, was in both the Indo-Iranian and the ancient Slavic mythological systems one of the significant, and perhaps the most crucial model of the universe, which was expressed through various symbols (among which dominated circle-wheel), which could be duplicated. On the one hand, such closeness of the Indo-Iranian and the Slavic ideas regarding the modelling of the world in the pre-Christian period was due to a more or less common Indo-European mythological heritage, and on the other hand, to the long-term proximity of the Slavs and their ancestors to various Iranian-speaking peoples during the period between 3000 BC – the 10th century AD, in connection with which a number of solar gods with Indo-Iranian etymology emerged in the Slavic pantheon: Svaroh, Dazhbog, Khors, Veles, Perun.

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TAX REGISTER OF DROHOBYCH POVIT IN 1511

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze and publish the tax register of Drohobych povit (district) of 1511 as a historical source. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism and source science methods, in particular the method of internal criticism of sources, as well as on archeography requirements. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time the analysis of the tax register of Drohobych povit of 1511 as a historical source. The Conclusion.* Thus, the 1511 tax register of Przemyśl and Sianok lands is kept in the Central Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw. It was included in the so-called “Księgi Poborowej”, which also contains other levy registers and fiscal reporting documents for the period from 1501 to 1589. The publishing of this document is connected with the attacks of the Tatars and the Vlachs (the Moldavians), which prompted the Polish royal authorities to collect taxes for the military protection of the territories under their control. In view of this, on February 7, 1511, the General Sejm in Piotrków approved the collection of the state levy (“contributio publicarum”), which, in fact, was a continuation of the “contribution” levy (“contributio fertonum”), but it was to be collected for two years. In the Ruthenian Voivodeship the collector of this tax was the nobleman Dobesław Chmielecki. During the levy collection, a written record was made of its size and economic “units” that acted as payers: lans (peasant farms that were located on such a conventional unit of land measurement as a yard (lan), which occupied from 22 to 40 or more hectares of arable land and meadow), mills, inns, parishes. From the tax register it becomes known that there were 40 villages in Drohobych povit, in addition to the suburbs of Drohobych. They occupied 328 lans and a half-lan (of which royal – 150 lans, noble – 178 and a half-lan). At that time, 12 inns

operated on the territory of the povit, among them one inn-brewery. In the register of 1511, 15 mills were recorded, of which 8 were also mills (foliushi), as well as 25 parishes, which gives reason to state about the existence of the same number of Orthodox parishes of the Przemyśl Diocese of the Kyiv Orthodox Metropolis. In 1511 the total amount of taxes collected from the settlements of Drohobych povit amounted to more than 164 marks (hryvnias).

Key words: tax register, Przemyśl land, Drohobych povit, Dobeslaw Chmielecki, yard (lan), inn, mill, parish.

ПОБОРОВИЙ РЕЄСТР ДРОГОБИЦЬКОГО ПОВІТУ 1511 РОКУ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати та опублікувати поборовий реєстр Дрогобицького староства 1511 р. як історичне джерело. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципі історизму та джерелознавчих методах, зокрема методі внутрішньої критики джерел, а також на вимогах археографії. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше в історичній науці публікується поборовий реєстр Дрогобицького повіту 1511 року й аналізується як історичне джерело. **Висновки.** Отже, поборовий реєстр Перемишльської і Сяноцької земель 1511 р. зберігається у фонді “Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego” Головного Архіву давніх актів у Варшаві. Він увійшов до так званої “Księgi Poborowej”, котра поза тим містить інші поборові реєстри та фіскально-звітні документи за період з 1501 по 1589 р. Поява цього документу пов’язана з нападами татар і волохів (молдаван), що спонукала королівський уряд збирати податки для військового захисту підвладних територій. З огляду на це вальний Сейм в Пйотркові 7 лютого 1511 р. ухвалив збирання державного податку (“contributio publicarum”), який, по суті, був продовженням “в’ярдуноквого” податку (“contributio fertonum”), але мав збиратися впродовж двох років. Збирачем цього податку у Руському воєводстві був шляхтич Добеслав Хмелецький. Під час збирання податку здійснювалася письмова фіксація його розмірів та господарських “одиниць”, які виступали платниками: лани (селянські господарства, містилися на такій умовній одиниці виміру землі як дворище (лан), котре займало від 22 до 40 і більше гектарів орної землі і лук), млини, корчми, повіства. З поборового реєстру випливає, що в Дрогобицькому повіті, крім передмістя Дрогобича, було 40 сіл. Вони займали 328 ланів і півлану (з них королівських – 150 ланів, шляхетських – 178 і півлану). На території повіту на той час діяло 12 корчем, серед них і одна корчма-пивоварня. У реєстрі 1511 р. зафіксовано 15 млинів, з них 8 були вальниками (фолюшами), а також 25 повіств, що дає підстави говорити про існування такої ж кількості православних парафій Перемишльської єпархії Київської православної митрополії. Загальна кількість зібраних 1511 р. податків із поселень Дрогобицького повіту становила понад 164 марки (гривні).

Ключові слова: поборовий реєстр, Перемишльська земля, Дрогобицький повіт, Добеслав Хмелецький, дворище (лан), корчма, млин, повіство.

The Problem Statement. Medieval and early modern tax (levies) registers are extremely valuable sources of the economic life history of countries and regions, as they are marked by the coverage of a significant array of economic units, which in those days were peasant yards, inns, mills, priests’ estates, etc. The tax registers in the Kingdom of Poland, which covered the issues of voivodeships or certain lands, are no exception. The Ukrainian and Polish scholars have been publishing these descriptive and statistical sources for a long time, but this work is still incomplete. In this context, the task of source studies historians is, in particular, to publish the tax registers of Przemyśl and Sianok lands of the beginning of the 16th century.

The Analysis of Researches and Publications. The first place in the publication of such tax acts concerning Przemyśl land belongs to the Polish historian Olexander Jablonowski, who at the beginning of the 20th century made public the tax registers of 1508 (inherited estates), 1515 and 1589 (Jablonowski, 1902, pp. 1–45, 108–145). Many scholars relied on these publications later. For example, in 1939, I. Krypiakewych, and the participants of a seminar operating at the Theological Academy in Lviv, published “The List of Galician Parishes of the 12th – 16th Centuries”, in which he used the printed materials of O. Jablonowski actively (Krypiakewych, 1939). In 1990, the Polish researcher Zdislaw Budzyński based on the tax registers of the 16th century (of course, with the exception of the registers of 1577 and 1589) carried out a successful reconstruction of the

parishes network of the Orthodox Przemyśl Diocese of the end of the 15th – the beginning of the 16th centuries (Budziński, 1990, pp. 135–155). Subsequently, he and Kazimierz Przyboś published the tax registers of Przemyśl land of 1628, 1651, 1658 and 1674 (Budziński & Przyboś, 1997a; Budziński & Przyboś, 1997b; Budziński & Przyboś, 2000a; Budziński & Przyboś, 2000b). Marian Butkiewicz, a historian from Lublin, characterized the importance of tax registers for the study of a social and economic situation of the small nobility of the 16th – 17th centuries (Butkiewicz, 1997). Historians Krystyna Górską and Bohdan Smereka critically analyzed the Polish tax registers of the 16th century (Górską, 1957; Smereka, 2015). The historians from Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University continued publishing descriptive and statistical sources, focusing on the publication of the inventories of Drohobych starostvo in 1568 and 1621 (Smutok & Tymoshenko, 2002; Smutok & Tymoshenko, 2006; Smutok & Tymoshenko, 2008). Subsequently, the historians Mykola Haliv and Lesia Smutok published the tax register of Drohobych Povit based on the tax register of Przemyśl and Sianok lands in 1507 (Haliv & Smutok, 2014). They declared the need to continue publishing these documents as a source for the economic history of Drohobych povit – one of the four povits of the Przemyśl Land of the Ruthenian Voivodeship (Ruske Voyevodstvo).

The purpose of the article is to analyze and publish the tax register of Drohobych Povit of 1511 as a historical source.

The Results of the Research. The tax register of Przemyśl and Sianok lands in 1511 is stored in “Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego” Fund of the Central Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw (Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych w Warszawie). It was included in “Księgi Poborowej” (sygnatura 20), which also contains other conscription registers and fiscal reporting documents for the period from 1501 to 1589. The publication of this document is connected with circumstances of a military and political nature. At the beginning of the 16th century the Ukrainian lands within the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued to be attacked by the Tatars, the Vlachs (the Moldavians) and the Muscovites.

After the devastating attacks of the Turks and the Tatars in 1498 and 1507, the Ukrainian lands, which at that time were part of Poland, were attacked by Moldavia, which claimed Pokuttia. In 1509, the Moldavians (about 40,000) led by Voivode Bohdan III attacked the south-eastern lands of the Polish Crown. At the end of June, they crossed the Dniester and tried to capture Kamianets-Podilskyi, plundering its surroundings. Subsequently, they unsuccessfully tried to capture Halych and Lviv, and they robbed Rohatyn and Stryi (Walawender, 1935, p. 36; Niemczyk, 2017, pp. 40–41).

In 1510, 15,000 the Tatars invaded Lithuania and reached Vilno. The following year, the Tatars ravaged the outskirts of Kyiv, but were defeated by princes Yury Semenovych and Andriy Nemyrovych. In 1512, the Tatars attacked the territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship, reaching Lviv and Przemyśl (Walawender, 1935, pp. 36–37). Actually, during the session of the Diet in Piotrków, the need for protection from frequent Tatar attacks (ut contra tam frequentes impetus Tartarorum) justified the need to collect an extraordinary tax. The Diet adopted the state levy – “contributio publicarum”, which, in fact, was the so-called “verdunkovy” levy (“contributio fertonum”), which was imposed on Crown lands (Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and the Ruthenian Voivodeship, excluding Prussia). The basic rate of taxation was 1 ferton (in Polish – “wiardunek”, Latin – “ferton”), which was the fourth part of a mark (hryvnia), otherwise 12 grosze (Haliv & Smutok, 2014, p. 442).

On February 7, 1511, the general Diet in Piotrków adopted the following norms for this tax, which was to be collected over two years: 1) all people of a secular and spiritual age, who have property, must pay 6 grosze every year, and from each lan and field (with the exception of small plots) – 1 ferton, namely on the feast of the Exile of the Holy Spirit – 6 grosze and on the feast of Michael – 6 grosze; 2) an innkeeper who manages the land pays 1 ferton per lan (according to the number of fields), and an innkeeper who produces beer pays 6 grosze per year; 3) nobles, saltysy and viyts who did not have subjects – 1 ferton from a lan (6 grosze twice a year – on the fourth Sunday of Great Lent and on the feast of Michael); 4) mayors pay the same as viyts, saltysy, nobles – 1 ferton; 4) mills and breweries, based on previous receipts, must pay half of the amount this year,

and the entire amount the following year; at the same time hereditary mills with one circle must pay 1 ferton both this year and the next; hand mills and mills-foliushi – 6 grosze; 5) iron ore fishing – 1 mark (hryvnia); 6) Ruthenian priest-popes (popones Rutheni) from one church – 1 florin; 7) owners of 100 sheep – 1 ferton. At the same time, it was stipulated that towns and villages of the Ruthenian Voivodeship and neighbouring lands, which were previously devastated, destroyed and exempted from tribute by their owners, are not subject to levy payment, with the exception of czopowe (Balzer, 1906, pp. 143–144).

Since the fourth Sunday of Great Lent fell on March 30 in 1511, and the feasts of Pentecost and St. Michael, respectively, on June 8 and September 29 (Księgi prawa polskiego, 1906, p. 143), then the collection of the tax should have lasted about six months. As the researchers noted, in the Ruthenian Voivodeship the tax collector was Dobeslaw Chmielecki (1495 – 1529), a Przemyśl groom (1500 – 1529), an owner of Stobenychi, Malniw, Gnevnowyczy settlements in Przemyśl County. From 1501 to 1520, he was a collector of levies in Przemyśl territory, and from 1507 to 1518 he was a Ruthenian tax collector, i. e. a collector of taxes imposed by the General Diet in the Ruthenian Voivodeship (Haliv & Smutok, 2014, p. 442; Chmielecki, 1937, pp. 316–317). It is important that during the collection of the levy, its size and the economic “units” that acted as payers were recorded in writing.

Settlements of Drohobych povit in the text of the tax register are highlighted under the heading “Drohobycz”. In contrast to the tax conscription register of 1507, these settlements are divided into two parts: the royal ones, which belonged to the Drohobytzkyi eldership, and the noble ones. Drohobych is represented only by a description of a levy in the suburbs, not in the town, which was under Magdeburg law. In addition to Drohobych suburbs, there were 40 villages in the povit, so as compared to the register of 1507, one more village was added – Boyary, which, however, was completely burned down and did not rebuilt until 1515. (Jabłonowski, 1902, p. 143). The village of Mykhailevychi is mentioned twice, because the settlement of a new village took place next to the old settlement (however, according to our calculations, we consider them as one whole). In addition, the villages of Hai Verkhni and Hai Nyzhni are recorded in the register as one settlement, albeit with the indication “uterque” (both), so in fact we can talk about 41 villages in Drohobych povit. The list of villages includes the village of Vivnia, which later belonged to Stryi povit, but there are no villages of Dobrohostiv, Tyniv, Oriv, which were not founded or separated from other villages. The village of Voloshcha, which apparently did not belong to Drohobych povit at that time, is not included in the list either. As before, some villages continued to pay taxes together, being a single economic complex, and perhaps forming a common community: 1) Dovhe, Ripchytzi, Opari – estates of the Korava family; Vatsyevychi, Snyatynchychi (Sniatynka) and Volia (Vatsevka Volia) are the property of the Vachevsky family; 3) Medynychi and Letnia are royal property. The villages of Truskavets, Ulychno, Tustanovychi, Kavsko were divided among several noble families, which mainly belonged to the Tustanivsky family.

The levy register of 1511 makes it possible to find out the number of manors owned, as well as korchma, mills, and parishes in Drohobych povit at the beginning of the 16th century. In total, 40 villages and suburbs of Drohobych occupied 328 lans and half-lans (of which 150 were royal lans, 178 half-lans of nobles). Of course, we can see an increase in the amount of managed land compared to 1507, when there were 306 and a half lans in the povit, of which 77 lans were devastated by the previous Tatar and Moldavian attacks. Thus, we observe an increase of 22 lans. In some villages, the number of cultivated lans increased. For example, in Medenychi and Letnia there were 30, and now there are 33 lans; in Stebnyk – there were 9, then – 11; in Roliv – 9, then –12; in Krynytsia – there were 5, then – 8 lans, in Derezhychi – there were 2 lans, then –12 (the case of Derezhychi causes a particular surprise and suspicion regarding the objectivity of the previous register). In many villages, one field was added (in Horutsko, Bolekhivtsi, Ranevychi, Bilche, Solets, Pochayevychi and the others). Unfortunately, the register of 1511 does not record the ravaged lands, some of which, apparently, were re-owned by

the peasants. On the other hand, in the register of 1511, villages were recorded that were completely or partially devastated, but in the previous register of 1507, they were recorded as having many lans. In particular, according to the register of 1507, the village of Dobrivliany there were 10 lans and 5 desolate, and in 1511 it was marked as completely burned (*funditus cremati*). The village of Boyary was also devastated, and it was not restored until 1515.

According to the register of 1511, 12 inns (*korchmas*) functioned on the territory of Drohobych povit (5 in royal estates, 7 in noble estates). There was only one inn-brewery in which beer was produced (*brazeatoria*) – in the village of Horutsko. The rest of the inns did not have the right to produce drinks, and therefore traded imported liquors (*vectoria*). Economic complexes from several villages had one inn for all settlements. Another inn, which was located in the newly located settlement of Mykhailevychi (Lokovienka), was called deserted. An inn-brewery paid one *ferton*, and other innkeepers paid 6 *groczy*.

In 1511, 15 mills were recorded in the villages of the povit (this is two more than in 1507), of which 8 also performed the functions of woolen mills, *foliushi*, and cloth mills. If in 1507, almost all *foliushi* were in privately owned estates, then three of them appeared in royal villages (*Medenychi-Letnia*; *Ranevychi*, *Bilche*). The rest of the mills belonged to the “manual” type (*molendinum manuale*), i.e. large millstones, which were powered by a muscular power of people or, possibly, animals. By 1515, the number of *foliushi* had decreased to three (*Jabłonowski*, 1902, pp. 142–143). *Foliushi* mills paid one *ferton*, and manual mills – 6 *groczy*.

As compared to 1507, the number of parishes in the settlements of Drohobych povit increased: if there were 21 before, now there are 25. However, in one parish (in the newly located village of Mykhailevychi) there was no priest: in the register it was marked as “*pop suspensus*”, that is why, we assume that he was taken prisoner by the Tatars or Vlachs during military raids. We should also note another important thing: the register of 1507 did not mention the papacy in the suburbs of Drohobych, and in 1511 two of them were already recorded: “*pop pyatnyhzyky*” (at the church of St. Paraskeva *Piatnytsia*) and “*Pop czessnoho chrestha*” (at Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross). Of course, these are not the first written mentions of these churches (and papacy) in Drohobych, but the first in the tax registers. As before, the majority of priests paid three *fertons*. However, some priests paid less than the others – half a *kopa* (medium *sexagenta*) – 30 *groczy*: in the villages of *Hai*, *Voroblevychi*, *Hubychi*, *Boryslav*, *Tustanovychi* (share of *Ivashko Tustanovsky*). It should be emphasized that according to the above-mentioned Diet resolution, the Ruthenian priests were supposed to pay one *floryn* (i. e. 30 *groczy*), but they paid three *fertons* (36 *groczy*).

In contrast to the previous register, the register of 1511 did not record fence-keepers (*ortulani*) and storekeepers-shacklings (*inquilini*) as taxpayers, since the Diet resolution did not provide for their special taxation.

The total number of taxes collected in 1511 from the settlements of Drohobych povit was 155 marks, 12 *fertons* and 289 *groczy* (i. e. 164 marks and 1 *groczy*, or 262 Polish *zl* and 13 *groczy*). This is almost 40 marks more than in 1507.

The Conclusion. Thus, the 1511 tax register of *Przemyśl* and *Sianok* lands is kept in the Central Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw. It was included in the so-called “*Księgi Poborowej*”, which also contains other levy registers and fiscal reporting documents for the period from 1501 to 1589. The publishing of this document is connected with the attacks of the Tatars and the Vlachs (the Moldavians), which prompted the Polish royal authorities to collect taxes for the military protection of the territories under their control. In view of this, on February 7, 1511, the General Sejm in *Piotrków* approved the collection of the state levy (“*contributio publicarum*”), which, in fact, was a continuation of the “contribution” levy (“*contributio fertorum*”), but it was to be collected for two years. In the Ruthenian Voivodeship the collector of this tax was the nobleman *Dobeslaw Chmielecki* (1495 – 1529). During the levy collection, a written record was made of its size and economic “units” that acted as payers: *lans* (peasant farms that were located on such a conventional unit of land measurement as a yard (*lan*), which occupied from 22 to 40 or more hectares of

arable land and meadow), mills, inns, parishes. From the tax register it becomes known that there were 40 villages in Drohobych povit, in addition to the suburbs of Drohobych. They occupied 328 lans and a half-lan (of which royal – 150 lans, noble – 178 and a half-lan). At that time, 12 inns operated on the territory of the povit (5 in royal estates, 7 in noble estates), among them one inn-brewery. In the register of 1511, 15 mills were recorded, of which 8 were also mills (foliushi, cloth mills), as well as 25 parishes, which gives reason to state about the existence of the same number of Orthodox parishes of the Przemyśl Diocese of the Kyiv Orthodox Metropolis. In 1511 the total amount of taxes collected from the settlements of Drohobych povit amounted to more than 164 marks (hryvnias).

The publication of the source is carried out in the original language (Latin) taking into account necessary archeographical requirements, which obliges us to indicate missing letters or parts of abbreviated words in square brackets.

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Document

Drohobycz	
Suburbium de XIX lan[eis] pop pyatnyhzky III fert[ones] Pop czessnoho chrestha tres fert[ones]	VIII m[a]rc[ae] media gr[ossi] VI solv[it]
Horuczka De XXI lan[eis], taberna braxa[tio]nis fert[o] pop tres fert[ones]	XIII m[a]rc[ae] m[edium] gr[ossi] XVIII s[olvit]
Hrusszowa de VII lan[eis] taberna ve[cto]r[i]a XII gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	IIII m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Medenyce Lyethnya de XXXIII lan[eis] molend[inum] valnyk fert[o] taberna vect[oria] VI gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	XIII m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XVI [solvit]
Bolochovcze de XXII lan[eis] pop tres fert[ones]	VII m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Ranyovcze De XII lan[eis] molend[inum] valnyk fert[o]	XI m[a]rc[ae], gr[ossi] XII solv[it]
Bylyecz de VII lan[eis] molendinu[m] valnyk fert[o] pop tres fert[ones]	IIII m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] VI solv[it]
Lyesznya de IX lan[eis] pop tres fert[ones]	IIII m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] VI solv[it]
Owniia de IIII lan[eis]	II m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Izdepnik de XI lan[eis] molendinu[m] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi] taberna VI gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	V m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] VI solv[it]

Solyecz de VII lan[eis] taberna vector[ia] VI gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	III m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Ter[r]igenar[um]	
Richezicze de XI lan[eis] molendinu[m] valnyk fert[o] taberna vect[oria] VI gr[ossi]	X m[a]rc[ae], solv[it]
Poczayovycze de VI lan[eis] pop tres fert[ones]	III m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Gay uterq[uj] de XII lan[eis] pop [medium] sexag[in]t[a] gr[ossi]	VI m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XII solv[it]
Hunyatycze de tribus lan[eis] pop tres fert[ones]	II m[a]rc[a] XVIII gr[ossi] solv[it]
Vroblyovycze de XV lan[eis] molend[inum] valnyk fert[o], taberna vect[oria] VI gr[ossi], pop med[ium] sexagen[t]a	VII m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] VI solv[it]
Dubrowlyany funditus c[re]mati	
Rolyow de XII lan[eis] molend[inum] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi] taberna vector[ia] VI gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	V m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Hubycze de VII lan[eis] molend[inum] valnyk fert[o], pop med[ium] sexag[in]t[a] gr[ossi]	III m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Michaluovycze de VI lan[eis] taberna vector[ia] VI gr[ossi]	II m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XVIII solv[it]
Stanylya de II lan[eis]	III fert[ones] solv[it]
Truskavycz** Sor[s] Jurgy de octo lan[eis]	III m[a]rc[ae] [solvit]
Sor[s] Nahorny de III lan[eis] solv[it] pop tres fert[ones]	II m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XII solv[it]
Sor[s] Muchaylo funditus desz[er]t[i]	
Borzyszlaw de tribus lan[eis] pop med[ium] sexag[in]t[a] [grossi]	II m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XII solv[it]
Lyethynya de III lan[eis] molendinu[m] valnyk fert[o] pop tres fert[ones]	III m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]
Kr[y]nycza [...] de octo lan[eis] molend[inum] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	III m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XVIII solv[it]
Kawsko sor[s] Tustanowsky fundita desz[er]t[u]m Sor[s] Ilie de III lan[eis]	II m[a]rc[ae] solv[it]

Vlyczno Sor[s] Tustanowsky de II lan[eis]	III fert[ones] solv[it]
Sor[s] Boryslavski de III lan[eis]	III fert[ones] gr[ossi] IX solv[it]
Dolhe Rapczicze Opary de V lan[eis] taberna vect[oria] VI gr[ossi] molendinu[m] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi]	II m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] VI solv[it]
Slonsko de II lan[eis]	III fert[ones] solv[it]
Michalovycze Lokowyenka de VI lan[ei] molend[inum] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi] taberna desz[er]ta pop suspensus	II m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XVIII solv[it]
Deraszycze de XII lan[eis]	III m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XII solv[it]
Colpyecz de medio quinto lan[eis] taberna vect[oria] VI gr[ossi] pop tres fert[ones]	III m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] VI solv[it]
Modrycz de III lan[eis]	m[a]rc[a] 1 [solvit] gr[ossi] XV solv[it]
Vaczowycze Snyatynczicze Volya de XVIII lan[eis] molend[inum] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi] taberna vector[ia] VI gr[ossi] molend[in]um valnyk fert[o] pop tres fert[ones]	VIII m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XII solv[it]
Tustanovycze Sor[s] Iwasko de octo lan[eis] molendinu[m] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi] pop med[ium] sexag[in]t[a] [grossi]	III m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XII solvi[t]
Sor[s] Ihnat de III lan[eis]	II m[a]rc[ae] solvi[t]
Sor[s] Michalowski de VI lan[eis] molendinu[m] m[anua]le VI gr[ossi]	II m[a]rc[ae] gr[ossi] XVIII solvi[t]
Boyary fundita c[re]mata	
Popyelye de II lan[eis] pop tres fert[ones]	m[a]rc[a] 1 gr[ossi] XV solv[it]

The source: AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, sygn. 20, pp. 361v – 363.

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**STATE REGISTRATION OF THE ROYAL PRIVILEGES
OF LISHNIA MONASTERY IN PEREMYŚL TOWN ACTS
(THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17th – FIRST HALF OF THE 18th CENTURY)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to find out the significance of royal privileges registration in Przemyśl town court acts for determining the property and legal status of Lishnia monastery. The scientific novelty of the research consists in the analysis of the found copies of royal privileges and compilation of their registration list. The research methodology is based on the use of an analytical and synthetic criticism of historical documents. The comparison methods of various copies of royal privileges, which have survived to our time and were included into the town act books during different historical periods, have been used. The Conclusion.* Thus, at the end of the 17th century the monastery filvarok of Lishnia monastery took on a clear outline. Owing to the royal privileges, economic support was created for the operation of the monastery. The privileges analyzed by us, in addition to the economic component, contained the issue of regulating the administrative management of the monastery. After all, the abode under consideration was located on the lands that were part of the royal dining estates of Sambir economy.

Accordingly, the royal right of patronage and the right of submission extended to the monastery. Since, as evidenced by the privileges, the kings not only granted land for the monastic filvark, but also approved the abbots of the monasteries. However, with the formation of the Holy Intercession Province (1739) and the withdrawal of the Union monasteries from the jurisdiction of the local bishops, the Polish kings, as well as the local nobility, lost the right to approve the abbots of the monasteries, and instead, they retained the right of the colliers – the granting of various economic rights and freedoms (the right to cut down the forest, milling, innkeeping, salt making, provision of soil, buildings, etc.). The appointment of abbots was transferred to the competences of provincial administration (archabbot and four advisers). The state registration of the royal privileges granted to Lishnia monastery in Przemyśl town court act books gave them legal validity for the protection of their property rights. The discovery and study of these privileges allows modern researchers to outline the material foundations of the monastery's existence, determine its abbots, and trace the legal relations of church institutions with secular authorities. It was determined that in the absence of primary monastery foundation documentation, royal privileges as act sources recorded information about the monastery existence.

Key words: royal chancellery, privilege, monastery, town act books, obliata, register of documentation.

ДЕРЖАВНА РЕЄСТРАЦІЯ КОРОЛІВСЬКИХ ПРИВІЛЕЇВ ЛІШНЯНСЬКОГО МОНАСТІРЯ У ПЕРЕМИШЛЬСЬКИХ ГРОДСЬКИХ АКТАХ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА XVII – ПЕРША ПОЛОВИНА XVIII СТ.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити значення реєстрації королівських привілеїв у Перемишльських гродських судових актах для визначення майнового і правового становища Лішнянського монастиря. **Наукова новизна** дослідження вбачається у віднайденні копій королівських привілеїв та укладенні їхнього реєстраційного списку. **Методологія дослідження** – базується на використанні аналітичної та синтетичної критики історичних документів. Використано методи співставлення та порівняння різних копій королівських привілеїв, які збереглися до нашого часу і в різні історичні періоди вносилися до гродських актових книг. **Висновки.** На кінець XVII ст. монастирський фільварок Лішнянського монастиря набрав чіткого окреслення. Завдяки королівським привілеям було створене економічне підґрунтя для функціонування обителі. Розглянуті нами привілеї, окрім економічної складової, містили в собі питання про регулювання адміністративного управління монастирем. Адже розглядувана нами обитель була розташована на ґрунтах, які входили до складу королівських столових маєтків Самбірської економії. Відповідно на монастир поширювалося королівське право патронату та право подання. Оскільки, як засвідчують привілеї, королі не тільки надавали ґрунти для монастирського фільварку, але й затверджували настоятелів монастирів. Проте із утворенням Святопокровської провінції (1739 р.) та виходом унійних монастирів із юрисдикції місцевих єпископів польські королі, як і місцева шляхта, втратили право затверджувати настоятелів обителі, а натомість за ними збережено право коляторів – надання різних економічних прав і вольностей (право вирубу лісу, млинарства, корчмарства, солеваріння, надання ґрунтів, будівель тощо). Призначення ігуменів переходило до компетенцій провінційної управи (протоігумена та чотирьох консулторів). Державна реєстрація королівських привілеїв наданих Лішнянському монастиреві у Перемишльських гродських судових актових книгах надавала їм правової чинності для захисту своїх майнових прав. Віднайдення та опрацювання цих привілеїв дозволяє сучасним дослідникам окреслити матеріальні засади існування обителі, визначити її настоятелів та простежити юридично-правові відносини церковних інституцій із світськими органами влади. Встановлено, що за умов відсутності первинної монастирської фундаційної документації королівські привілеї як актові джерела фіксували відомості про існування обителі.

Ключові слова: королівська канцелярія, привілеї, монастир, гродські актові книги, облята, реєстр документації.

The Problem Statement. Under modern conditions of the Ukrainian legal democratic state development, historical and legal studies, which are aimed at studying a legal

experience of past generations, are of great importance. After all, a number of modern forms of act documentation take their origins from the past centuries. Both historical and legal science rely on official material, which is considered the basic and most verified source of information. It is in the act documentation that various aspects of society's life are elucidated: from a material to spiritual culture. Peculiarities of registration of acts allow to trace a gradual development of legal documentation. At the same time, the procedure for registering the act documentation, which gave it legitimacy, also becomes important. Over the centuries, this procedure underwent changes that were determined by the development of social needs. The more ordinary citizens of the country became involved in financial and property relations, the more the need arose to register their property rights.

The Analysis of Sources and Publications. The basic source for conducting the research was the entries (oblation) of royal privileges in Przemysł town court act books of the 17th – 18th centuries (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 377, pp. 113–115; c. 380, pp. 165–167). The addition to them was legitimization of these privileges by the Austrian authorities in the 1880s (CSHAUL, f. 575, d. 1, c. 245, pp. 135–136, 141–143). The first attempts to draw up a registration list of royal privileges were made during a visitation inspection of the archives of Lishnia monastery dated July 9, 1764 (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4b, c. 1917, p. 351).

Unfortunately, to this day, a special edition of the corpus of sources, which would be thematically devoted to the monastic history, has not been written. Instead, in the Ukrainian historical archeography, we come across a whole series of documentary collections, which are addressed to famous cities of Ukraine (Kapral, 2007; Kapral, 1998; Kapral, 2000). Some aspects of the use of documentation of zemstvo and town court act books were elucidated by researchers of state entities (Kupchynskyi, 2004), administrative structures (Boiko, 2009; Krykun, 1994), archival funds (Kupchynskyi, 1998), genealogies of noble families (Smutok, 2011), culture and religion (Isaievych, 1996; Slobodian, 1998; Stetsyk, 2013; Stetsyk, 2018).

The purpose of the research is to find out the significance of royal privileges registration in Przemysł town court acts for determining the property and legal status of Lishnia monastery.

The Results of the Research. First of all, let's analyse the history of emergence and spread of zemstvo and town courts in the Galician lands. In 1435, a judicial reform was carried out in the Kingdom of Poland, and zemstvo and town courts were established. At that time, the Ruthenian Voivodeship consisted of four lands (Lviv, Przemysł, Halych, Sianok), and in the 16th century the fifth land (Chełm) was added. In each of these lands there were courts established. In turn, the lands were divided into povits. In every povit there was a judicial institution. For example, Przemysł land was divided into two judicial povits: Przemysł and Przeworsk. With the spread of the Polish law in the povits of the Ruthenian Voivodeship, meetings of the newly formed courts were held once a month, and later their frequency decreased to six times a year. Over time, in 1530, the Polish king transferred Sambir povit, which belonged to the royal estates, to the legal competence of Przemysł town and zemstvo courts.

Zemstvo court was a collegial, elected body. Candidates for judges and defendants were recommended to the king for approval by zemstvo sejms and also elected judges. Among the four candidates recommended by the noble sejm, the king appointed only one to the post of a judge, who received lifelong powers. It should be noted that there were no requirements regarding education and legal practice before a judge candidate. The main selection criterion was the expression of trust by the local nobility. Since 1422, it had been forbidden for starosta to hold the post of a judge (Boiko, 2009, p. 237).

The powers of zemstvo court included consideration of civil cases related to the local nobility: property and financial disputes, issues of distribution of inheritance. The office of zemstvo court was subject to the notarial right of “perpetuity”: a document entered in the register of zemstvo court became legally valid. Accordingly, it was not enough to obtain a royal privilege (with the signature and seal of the royal chancery), but it had to be recorded in the local act books for it to acquire a legal force. Lviv, Zhydachiv, Halych, Przemyśl, Sianok, Terebovlia, Kolomyia, Krasnostav, Chełm zemstvo courts functioned on the territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1783 they ceased their activities after the accession to the Austrian Empire and implementation of judicial reforms by the new administration.

As the state’s primary institutions, criminal cases related to the nobility and the bourgeoisie were considered in town courts. These judges sat constantly, except for public holidays and Sunday holidays, and thus, gradually took over some of the powers of zemstvo courts in the consideration of civil cases, which convened several times a year. It is from the second half of the 14th century in the Galician lands that were part of the Kingdom of Poland, mandatory proceedings of court act books were introduced in which private documents had to be entered and registered in order for them to acquire a legal force.

As in other countries of medieval Europe, in the Galician lands of the Kingdom of Poland, notarial functions were entrusted to the chancellery of zemstvo and town courts. The documents (wills, contracts, pledges, privileges) entered by a clerk of a court in the act book became legally valid and in the event of future disputes became a basic, irrefutable evidence. In the beginning, the scribe’s functions were limited only to a recording of court hearings and decisions, and later expanded to the entry of records of private documents into act books in order to give them a legal recognition. Therefore, the powers of court scribes were expanded and they were assigned permanent government. Accordingly, a permanent office was created at town courts, which registered, entered and certified official documents, private contracts, donations, sales, and inheritance of property. However, in the beginning, the documents registered by town court office still had to be certified in zemstvo court. Only in the 16th century this dualistic procedure for registering private act documents was simplified by granting town judicial institutions the right of “perpetuity”. It was from that time that financial and property act documents became legally valid if they were entered in town act books.

The oldest town and zemstvo act books, which were kept on the Galician lands under the authority of the Kingdom of Poland and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, have been preserved to this day in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in the city of Lviv. In the 16th century the powers of the city court and the city government were demarcated. If town court is entrusted with the authority to consider criminal cases, then town government receives civil cases that were within the competence of zemstvo courts. However, the latter did not meet often, and people had urgent private property issues that could be considered due to urgency in town government.

Town courts sat in castles (townships) and were headed by elders, that is why, they are often called starostynsky courts. Every six weeks, the town court sat under the chairmanship of a mayor or deputy mayor to consider criminal cases. Also, the deputy headman could conduct the trial every two weeks. In the absence of a headman, he could be replaced by a zemstvo official – a voivode. Mayors and judges were assisted by scribes who made entries in town books, registering court verdicts, agreements, statements of private individuals, wills, privileges, and sales contracts.

On the territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship of the Kingdom of Poland, and in the future of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Halych, Zhydachiv, Lviv, Przemyśl, Sianok,

and Terebovlia town courts functioned. These courts, like the aforementioned zemstvo courts, were liquidated during the judicial reforms by the Austrian administration in 1783 (Boiko, 2009, pp. 240–241).

To some extent, competences expansion of town courts was facilitated by the practice of recording state and national (public) orders, circulars and letters of the king and high-ranking state officials in town registers, for example: records of the Diet constitutions, the Diet decisions, lustrations of the kingdom, tax tariffs, and from 1764 – birth records (Kupchynskyi, 1998, p. 15).

From the 16th century town courts received the right of “perpetuity”, analogous to the one previously used only by zemstvo courts, i.e. it was established that entries in town books should have the same permanent legal force as entries in zemsky records. From that time, to give the document a legal force, it was enough to certify it in town court (Kupchynskyi, 1998, p. 16).

From that time, town courts acted in two directions – as an independent judicial institution that operated during sessions, and during non-session period, accepted statements and kept records of confessions in books, and as an auxiliary administrative institution of a town, and sometimes of entire county. The administrative functions of a town court included, for example, delivering judgments to counterparties, executing judgments. These functions were closely related to the role of a headman, who in one person headed the court and the administrative power. At the same time, the elders were responsible for the execution of judgments of other courts. However, the competences of a town court as an institution have never been combined with the voivodship board or other governments (of the same) county or land. Among other institutions, it had clearly defined functions (Kupchynskyi, 1998, pp. 16–17).

In the 16th century, in general, depending on the content there was a fairly clear division of documents into main and a number of secondary categories, which contribute to the emergence of two groups of act books:

1) the books that actually contain records of all important acts or, as they are otherwise called, public acts (*Acta publica*), which served for general (public) announcement and confirmation of legal relations. In the books there were entered, and from the end of the 18th century certified original documents. Acts included in these books occupy an important place among primary sources;

2) the books that contain auxiliary or, often, secondary acts created in the offices of zemstvos and towns and used for the internal and current needs of the court. This also includes reference books. Each of the named books was further divided into a number of types of books, or collections of acts, differing in their content. In addition to books, the documentary funds of zemstvo and town judicial administrative institutions contain numerous fascicles – bundles of copies or original documents that were sent to the office for recording in books in the form of oblation, as well as lawsuits, complaints, etc. A distinction is made between fascicles of copies that were transcribed into induct books (*Fasciculi copiarum inductarum*) and fasciculi of copies that remained untranscribed (*Fasciculi copiarum non inductarum*). In addition, some fascicles contain minor clerical acts and reference materials.

The receipt of a large number of documents with different content led to the fact that in some town courts there was a significant separation among the act material, as a result of which new types of act books are distinguished. However, this did not apply to all courts. At the same time, in different courts, acts of the same nomenclature were not always identically systematized and separated into books. The latter led to certain inconsistencies, on the one hand, it created new books with a clearly defined topic of documents, and on the other hand, far from identical types of acts were placed under the same names.

Among the collection of town books of CSHA of Ukraine in Lviv, there are also books of oblations documents (*Libri oblatorum*). They were exclusively intended for records of oblation original documents (Kupchynskyi, 1998, pp. 23–24).

The records of zemstvo and town chancelleries in the Ruthenian and Belz Voivodeships, in contrast to other similar institutions in the Ukrainian territories, were conducted in Latin. This was stipulated by the law, which began to operate on the territory of the voivodships immediately after the liquidation of Ruthenian law in 1435 and establishment of courts. However, the Latin language of acts and their spelling cannot be called classical. Especially in spelling, the Ukrainian and other Slavic words are often used, as well as proper names of people and settlements. The Latin language reigned supreme until 1543, since that time it was allowed to use the Polish language in courts alongside Latin. It is allowed, in particular, to enter lawsuits and decrees in the act books in Polish. But court scribes of that time continued to give preference to the Latin language in current business administration, since it was much easier for them to draft acts in the language to which they were accustomed and which already had long-established formulas for the presentation of many legal concepts. In this regard, the Polish language was mainly used only from the 17th century. Act books were not kept in Ukrainian (as was the case in Volyn, Bratslav, Kyiv and other voivodships on the Ukrainian lands) (Kupchynskyi, 1998, pp. 33–34).

Not all judicial and administrative zemstvo and town institutions that were located in voivodship and povit towns come down to us with documentary materials that were formed in the past in act books. Documents were subject to destruction and were constantly lost from their appearance until our time. For some cities, they preserved almost completely (Lviv), for the others, individual act books or fascicles have been lost (Przemyśl), for the others there are no groups of books for many years, and almost no fascicles have been preserved (Busk zemstvo court). Once again, from the activities of the judicial institutions of towns such as Horodok and Liubachiv, only one book has been preserved, for Hlyniany, Shchyrets, Sokal, Stryi – only fragments and separate entries (oblations) in the act books of other zemstvo and town courts. We find only fragmentary references to the judicial and administrative institutions of the Ruthenian Voivodeship and their acts, for example, in such areas as Koropets, Chervonohorod and the others. The reasons for the loss of these documentary monuments were different, but most often they are fires in towns, floods, destruction during their movement and during periods of military battles.

In this regard, in order to clarify the issue of the preservation of the documentary base of zemstvo and town courts, the smallest documentary references are drawn, primarily about the existence of document-creating institutions, the presence of court officials or references, which often may not be the product of the zemstvo or town courts themselves, and higher state institutions. Information on the resolutions of the Diets, which affect the activities of the courts, royal decrees, and constitutions, are also used. It is not always clear whether these data are comprehensive and reliable. With a gradual discovery of new historical facts, information about availability and composition of documents of zemstvo and town courts may be clarified and changed (Kupchynskyi, 1998, pp. 35–36).

The documents of zemstvo and town courts, by their content, reflect the judicial system, administration and interests of the state in the Middle Ages and early modern times, and reflect the aspirations of people, primarily landowners. At the same time, in many cases, the acts reflect the life of lower strata of population of that time – the peasantry and burghers-artisans. All documentary records of zemstvo and town courts (as well as other courts whose acts are included in these court records) can generally be divided into five main groups by content: 1) documents about population (composition, its location, language); 2) documents on the organization of political power, on the law and territory within which this power operates, the armed forces; 3) documents on a historically defined set of social and industrial relations characterizing the economic system of society, its basis and general management,

ownership of means of production, purchase and sale of movable and immovable property, i.e. documents that elucidate issues of economy, finance and trade; 4) documents about a social and political life of the country; 5) documents about everyday life, culture and the church (Kupchynskyi, 1998, p. 39).

Confirmation of privileges was granted for various cities, institutions, brotherhoods, churches, monasteries, individuals and was entered into zemstvo and town court act books. On the pages of the above-mentioned books, we can find information about measures to confirm privileges, about exposing false privileges and their cancellation, announcements about arrival of representatives of organizations, societies, institutions and individuals to check privileges (Kupchynskyi, 1998, p. 57).

Royal privileges, in the absence of foundation documentation, created legal and material foundations for the functioning of monastic communities. These privileges were granted both to monasteries and to individual monks who were elected to the positions of archimandrites. After all, most of the archimandria were under royal patronage.

Foundational and confirmatory types of documentation can be singled out among the privileges. If the foundational privileges regulated the issue of establishing monasteries or their legalization, then the confirmation privileges were aimed at confirming not only their economic rights and freedoms, but also at determining the main directions of the spiritual work of monasticism. Upon receiving the privilege, the monks entered it into town registers, and this copy acquired a legal force in case of loss of the original. After all, the wooden monastery premises were often destroyed by fire and documentation of the archive was burnt as well. Under such circumstances, the administration of the monastery turned to the notary of the registers of town about production of extracts about the ablated privileges.

Foundation privileges for monasteries, which were both in royal and private noble estates, were confirmed by the monarch. The possession of arable land was the basis of a material support of each monastic community at that time. Monastic foundations were increased by income from the hayloft, garden, and mill. The monks received some income from interest on the amount recorded on the estates. Privileges were also supplemented by various servitudes: the right to freely collect wood in the forest for heating and construction work, salting, brewing, milling, and innkeeping (Stetsyk, 2018, p. 46).

We will consider the peculiarities of the use of royal privileges on the example of Lishnia Monastery of St. Illyia. The history of the foundation and functioning of this monastery is still poorly researched. After all, the archive of the monastery office has practically not been preserved in a complete complex to this day. Single documents are found among various manuscript collections stored in archival institutions, scientific libraries and museums (Stetsyk, 2013, p. 211).

In the absence of foundation documentation, which is instead replaced by royal privileges as legal acts, the issue of the beginnings of the monastery foundation remains debatable. Thus, V. Slobodian, relying on financial and property documentation of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, derives the first documentary mention of the monastery from 1570 (Slobodian, 1998, p. 160). On the other hand, in the minutes of 1764 the visitors of the monastery note that due to the lack of foundation acts, it is impossible to determine the time of formation of the monastery and its founders. At the same time, it was noted that its origins should be sought during princely times (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 46, c. 1917, p. 351). However, the documentation of the period of the Galicia-Volhynia state does not provide any hints about the existence of a monastic centre in the vicinity of the village of Lishnia (Kupchynskyi, 2004). We believe that under such circumstances, an approximate date – 1650 – as the time of official recognition by the Polish authorities of Lishnia monastery can become scientifically acceptable.

After all, oblation (a notarial registration) of Jan Casimir's privilege dated 10.30.1650, entered into Przemyśl town acts (1650), about the appointment of Fr. Sylwester Lenkevych, a hegumen of Lishnia Monastery (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 377, pp. 113–115).

On February 12, 1652, the Polish King Jan Casimir reconfirmed with a new privilege the appointment of Fr. Sylwester Lenkevych with the donation of land and rights to free felling of forest and grinding in the royal mill. The availability of small profits forced the king to allow the construction of a brewery, an inn, and a vineyard on the monastery border. It was assumed that all profits received from them would be used for the needs of the monastery. However, apparently, the monastic monastery did not exist for so long and continued to be developed, expanding the boundaries of the monastery compound (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 380, pp. 165–167).

The granting of the next privilege dated 02.07.1666 was connected with the death of the abbot, Fr. Sylwester Lenkevych and with the appointment of hegumen Fr. Sylwester Twarowski. According to the content of the privilege, the boundaries of the monastery's land holdings, possessions and liberties are described: arable land, soil, income, free felling of trees in Lishnia and Medvezhitsky forests for heating and other monastic needs, free grinding in Lishnia mill without measure and queue, free brewing and trade drinks that were brought from all over for the holiday of St. Illia (CSHAUL, f. 159, d. 9, c. 3595, p. 1).

The next king Jan III Sobieski (1674 – 1697) significantly expanded the monastic estates by granting a privilege dated 31.03.1681 to own the land of Ranevtsky papacy (CSHAUL, f. 575, d. 1, c. 245, pp. 141–143). At the request of the monastery administration, on July 6, 1691, John III issued a privilege to supplement the land fund of the monastery filvark with soils that were designated by the toponymic names “Mindyna Poliana” and the tract “Pohar” with the surrounding streams and old courtyards from the old village, which extended to the monastery fences. In connection with the death of the abbot, Fr. Sylwester Twarowski the Polish king appointed Mitrofan Radzynski as the abbot of the monastery. Under the management of a new hegumen, in addition to fields, arable land, meadows, gardens, orchards, houses, forests, ponds with a mill and an inn and subjects with all their duties, haymakers in Psina Manor and Pohar tract with surrounding streams and old courtyards were granted. These lands were not recorded in ancient inventories and did not belong to the royal economic accounting. Land on the outskirts of Drohobych was also donated with the right of free salting for the needs of the monastery (CSHAUL, f. 575, d. 1, c. 245, pp. 135–136).

The Conclusion. Thus, at the end of the 17th century the monastery filvarok of Lishnia monastery took on a clear outline. Owing to the royal privileges, economic support was created for the operation of the monastery. The privileges analyzed by us, in addition to the economic component, contained the issue of regulating the administrative management of the monastery. After all, the abode under consideration was located on the lands that were part of the royal dining estates of Sambir economy. Accordingly, the royal right of patronage and the right of submission extended to the monastery. Since, as evidenced by the privileges, the kings not only granted land for the monastic filvark, but also approved the abbots of the monasteries. However, with the formation of the Holy Intercession Province (1739) and the withdrawal of the Union monasteries from the jurisdiction of the local bishops, the Polish kings, as well as the local nobility, lost the right to approve the abbots of the monasteries, and instead, they retained the right of the colliers – the granting of various economic rights and freedoms (the right to cut down the forest, milling, innkeeping, salt making, provision of soil, buildings, etc.). The appointment of abbots was transferred to the competences of provincial administration (archabbot and four advisers). The state registration of the royal privileges granted to Lishnia monastery in Przemyśl town court act books gave them legal validity for the protection of their property rights. The discovery and study of these privileges

allows modern researchers to outline the material foundations of the monastery's existence, determine its abbots, and trace the legal relations of church institutions with secular authorities. It was determined that in the absence of primary monastery foundation documentation, royal privileges as act sources recorded information about the monastery existence.

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LATE POLISH ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE RUTHENIAN ISSUE (THE END OF THE 18th – BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article* to elucidate the influence peculiarities of the Enlightenment on the views formation about the nation in general and the Ruthenian issue in the Polish society at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. To analyze how the worldview foundations laid by the Enlightenment influenced the reception of the Ruthenians by the Poles. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, scientific research. In the research there have been used general scientific principles of analysis, synthesis and generalization. **The scientific novelty** consists in the analysis of the Ruthenian issue through the prism of the Polish Enlightenment, and also in tracing the influence of the Enlightenment on the Polish scientific thought after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It has been clarified how socio-political views influenced the cameralistic studies of the Polish scholars. The meaning of the term “Ukraine” in the ideas of the Polish figures of that time has been studied. **The Conclusion.** The development of enlightened ideas in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth caused radical social transformations. There was a change in the very understanding of the word “enlightenment”: from education or training without any religious content to the use of this word in opposition to the words “superstition” and “fanaticism”, which contributed to the growth of a religious tolerance in the country. The spread of enlightened ideas in the Polish lands is also connected with a social demand of the population to solve the problems of the political system. There appeared research papers with a moderate criticism of noble democracy and the ideas of Sarmatism, which were associated with traditions, the connection with which was often interpreted by enlightened people negatively. There was transition from reception of a person as a subject belonging to a certain ancestry to a broader category – the Motherland. Such conceptual changes in the minds of the Polish intellectuals led to the interpretation of the Ruthenians as part of the Polish nation. After all, for the Polish intellectuals of that time, the nation was a political community, and ethnic and cultural features were not of a particular importance. This conclusion is confirmed by the analyzed letters, papers, acts of F. Jezierski, H. Kołłątaj, T. Kościuszko, S. Staszic, T. Czacki, which show us that religion receded into the background, and state affiliation and common history became more important. The consolidating factor was to become the Polish language, which was to spread to religious rites, education, etc. In the era of the late Polish Enlightenment (1795 – 1822), an important change took place in the consciousness of the Polish public figures. They began to

move away from didacticism, and the main emphasis was placed on proving through science, literature and education the viability of the Polish nation under the conditions of statelessness. It was at that time that the papers of T. Czacki, T. Świącki and W. Marczyński appeared with descriptions of the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. These research papers are characterized by the fact that all the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are considered as its integral parts and there is no focus on ethnic differences of inhabitants of these territories. It is obvious that this happened because of political reception of the nation.

Key words: Polish enlightenment, Ruthenian issue, F. Jezierski, T. Świącki, W. Marczyński.

ПІЗНЄ ПОЛЬСЬКЕ ПРОСВІТНИЦТВО ТА РУСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ (КІНЕЦЬ XVIII – ПОЧАТОК XIX ст.)

Анотація. Мета статті – розкрити особливості впливу Просвітництва на формування поглядів про націю загалом та руське питання у польському суспільстві наприкінці XVIII – на початку XIX ст. Проаналізувати, як закладені Просвітництвом світоглядні основи вплинули на сприйняття русинів поляками. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, науковості також використано загальнонаукові принципи аналізу, синтезу й узагальнення. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що руське питання в статті проаналізовано крізь призму польського Просвітництва, а також простежено вплив Просвітництва на польську наукову думку після поділів Речі Посполитої. З'ясовано, як суспільно-політичні погляди вплинули на камералістичні дослідження польських учених. Досліджено значення терміна “Україна” в уявленнях тодішніх польських діячів. **Висновки.** Розвиток просвітницьких ідей на території Речі Посполитої спричинив кардинальні суспільні трансформації. Відбулася зміна розуміння слова “просвітництво”: від освіти чи навчання без будь-якого релігійного змісту до його вживання у протиставленні до слів “забобон” і “фанатизм”, що сприяло зростанню в країні віротерпимості. Поширення просвітницьких ідей на польських землях пов'язане також із соціальним запитом населення для розв'язання проблем політичного устрою. З'явилися праці з поміркованою критикою шляхетської демократії та ідей сарматизму, які асоціювалися з традиціями, зв'язок з якими часто негативно трактувався просвітниками. Відбувся перехід від сприйняття особи як суб'єкта, приналежного до певного роду, до ширшої категорії – Вітчизни. Такі концептуальні зміни у свідомості польських інтелектуалів спричинили трактування русинів як частини польської нації. Адже нація для тодішніх польських інтелектуалів була політичною спільнотою, а етнічно-культурні особливості не мали особливого значення. Такий висновок підтверджують проаналізовані листи, праці, акти Ф. Єзерського, Г. Коллонтая, Т. Костюшка, С. Сташиця, Т. Чацького, які показують нам, що віросповідання відступило на другий план, а важливішими ставали державна приналежність та спільна історія. Фактором консолідації мала стати польська мова, поширювана на релігійні обряди, освіту і т. д. В епоху пізнього польського Просвітництва (1795 – 1822) відбулася важлива зміна у свідомості польських суспільних діячів. Вони почали відходити від дидактизму, а головний акцент зробили на доведенні через науку, літературу й освіту життєздатності польської нації в умовах бездержавності. Саме в цей час з'явилися твори Т. Чацького, Т. Свенцького та В. Марчинського з описами територій колишньої Речі Посполитої. Характерним для цих праць є те, що вони розглядають усі території колишньої Речі Посполитої її невід'ємними частинами та не надають етнічним відмінностям їх мешканців помітного значення. Очевидно, що це відбувалося через політичне сприйняття нації.

Ключові слова: польське Просвітництво, руське питання, Ф. Єзерський, Т. Свенцький, В. Марчинський.

The Problem Statement. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, being part of the European intellectual space, was influenced by Enlightenment ideas. The time frame for the existence of this phenomenon on its territory was from the 1740s to 1822. The spread of enlightened ideas on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had a number of features, because it was primarily related to a social demand of the educated population to solve the instability problem of the political situation in the country. That is why, treatises

with a moderate criticism of aristocratic democracy and the tradition of Sarmatism began to appear during this period. Enlighteners rejected Sarmatism as a cause of backwardness, because this concept involved reliance on traditions and religion. They tried to consider the problems of relations between a person and a state rationally, rejecting religious and emotional aspects. The Age of Enlightenment contributed to transition from the category of belonging to a certain ancestry, which was relevant during previous eras for the nobility, to a broader category – the Motherland, which implied the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Of course, this term was not equally significant for representatives of the crown and Great Lithuanian nobility (Tarasiuk, 2013, pp. 81–89). We will not analyze all aspects of the Polish Enlightenment and peculiarities of its spread comprehensively (Shek Brnardić, 2006, pp. 411–435). Let's dwell on only on those ones that influenced the attitude to the Ruthenian issue in detail. By the ethnonym “Rusyn” we mean modern Ukrainians. Certainly, in the context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, this term could also refer to representatives of modern Belarusian nation, but the majority of the analyzed materials still refer to modern Ukrainian lands, that is why, it makes no sense to focus on a clear division of nations.

The spread of enlightened ideas led to the beginning of education in the Polish language, i.e. a language of instruction. One of the first to promote Polish as a language of instruction was Stanisław Konarski, a writer and education reformer. He spoke about the doom of learning Latin and introduced Polish as a language of instruction in several classes of the Noble College in 1740 (Coleman, 1934, p. 161). Later, this movement became more widespread. Another important aspect was that the word “enlightenment” acquired a new meaning, in addition to the main one – education or training without any religious content – it was also often used in opposition to the words “superstition” and “fanaticism” (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 23). This transformation contributed to the growth of religious tolerance among the Polish intellectuals. A vivid example was the work of the Catholic priest Piotr Szwitkowski (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 23).

In the political dimension, the Polish educators, unlike their Western colleagues, sought to overcome noble liberties (Zashkilniak & Krykun, 2002, p. 250). It was at that time that the process of understanding of the concept “nation” began. Representatives of one of the key currents – noble republicans – considered “nation” as a political and legal concept without linguistic or ethnic characteristics. Nation, in their view, included active citizens, i.e. all members of the nobility, regardless of their native language or ethnic origin. The central element of the republican view of nation was the idea of people's sovereignty. It is characteristic that noble republicans did not defend the position of representing the nation by only one state. Despite these differences, both camps neglected ethnic and cultural features, because the political understanding of the nation was more important (Walicki, 1997), i.e. belonging to a single state. In fact, the concept of “nation” (“narodowość”) – as a form of ethnic unity – could simply be ignored during the Enlightenment. As noted by A. Walicki, the Polish reformers understood that there was some difference among the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but for them the main task was to unite all its parts and form the Polish nationality (Walicki, 2009, p. 167). For example, a famous Polish figure of that time Franziszek Jezierski understood the nation as a group of people who spoke the same language, had the same traditions and customs contained in the same legislation for all citizens. That is why, ethnic and regional differences were considered harmful and sometimes dangerous (Tazbir). F. Jezierski, in order to elucidate his reasoning in more

detail, gave examples of the Italians and the Germans who did not have their own state, but were nevertheless a separate nation (Jeziński, 1952, pp. 217–218). This statement became especially relevant during the last years of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth existence and during the period after partitions. It was the last years of “a mature phase” (“faza dojrzała”) (1764 – 1795) and the entire “period of the late Polish Enlightenment” (“faza schyłkowa”) (1795 – 1822), which we will focus on, are of a particular interest to us.

Late Polish Enlightenment – the period from the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the collection publication of “Ballads and Romances” by Adam Mickiewicz in 1822. At that time, there was a departure from didacticism – emphasizing the educational or informational qualities of any literature. Proving the viability of the Polish people through science and literature became more important for the Polish intellectuals. In 1800, the Warsaw Friends Society of Science was established, the main purpose of which was to preserve and improve the native language, history, and to learn about the native land (Danyliak, 2009, p. 55).

The political events of that time (the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) caused the Polish educators to emphasize that the nation can exist without a state and remain a subject of social relations. Finally, the process ended in the era of romanticism, when the opposition between the nation and the state began, and the nation was considered a creation of God (Walicki, 2009, p. 75). The anti-Polish policy of the states participating in the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth intensified the efforts of the Polish intellectuals to preserve the language and memory of the Polish state and to learn about their homeland. During these studies the Ruthenians acted as an integral part of the Polish nation and an ally. This approach became possible due to the fact that, as mentioned above, the influence of the Age of Enlightenment relegated religious and ethnic affiliation to the background, and staying in a once unified state became more important. It is also not worth rejecting the fact that the Poles, finding themselves in a difficult political situation, needed allies, who could be the Ruthenians of the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox faith in the struggle for restoration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It should not be forgotten that, in addition to the Enlightenment, the Polish intellectuals were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution at that time.

The Analysis of Recent Research. In the Polish social and political thought the Ruthenian issue often attracted attention of both Ukrainian and Polish researchers. However, the late Polish Enlightenment and the Ruthenian issue are usually covered in a fragmentary way, which does not allow a comprehensive consideration of the problem and tracing the tendencies of that time. For example, in Janusz Tazbir’s research on the Polish language, there is a brief analysis of the attitude of the Polish intellectuals to the Ruthenian language (Tazbir). Andrzej Walicki, in his research on the Polish public figures of the Enlightenment era, focused on the Ruthenian issue in the context of views of a certain intellectual (Walicki, 2009). A small, generalized section devoted to this issue can be found in Adam Świątek’s monograph (Świątek, 2014).

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the influence peculiarities of the Enlightenment on the views formation about the nation in general and the Ruthenian issue in the Polish society at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.

The Results of the Research. The spread of the Enlightenment ideas, as well as the events of the French Revolution (1789 – 1799), during which the focus was on the unification of the language and attempts to get rid of dialects, had a significant impact on the Polish intellectual circles. For example, during the French Revolution, a politician and lawyer

Bertrand Barère's draft law on compulsory study of the French language appeared. We can trace similar ideas in the views of the Polish military leader Tadeusz Kościuszko. Most often, they appear in correspondence and various documents from the time of the 1794 uprising. In order to understand the ideas of a military figure better, it is necessary to consider his social and political views in general.

In modern Polish historiography, T. Kościuszko is often classified as a "new" republican. First of all, only because of his views on religious issues. If the "old" republicans called themselves "Servants of Mary" and fought for "faith and freedom", then T. Kościuszko clearly separated freedom from faith. He proclaimed equality of believers of all denominations – not only the Christians, but also the Muslims and the Jews (Askenazi & Dzwonkowski, 1918, p. XLVIII). During the uprising of 1794, he tried to put these ideas into practice. In Warsaw, there was an attempt to create Orthodox chapel and organize religious services for evangelists who were prisoners of war. He was especially concerned about the Orthodox and the Uniates, who were the largest population group after the Catholics in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He did not consider the Orthodox and Greek Catholics, who were usually the Ukrainians, as a separate entity, but believed that they were the Poles, and wanted to attract them to Polishness, providing them with full freedom of religion, including a decent salary for priests. For this purpose, in 1794 he introduced an Orthodox priest to the Supreme Council and recommended other state institutions to follow his example (Walicki, 2009, p. 142). However, it should be understood that these attempts were intended to contribute to Polonization of the Ruthenians, because as early as 1789, T. Kościuszko wrote in a letter to Michal Zalewski that the Ruthenians should be accustomed to the Polish language, so that the Ruthenian priests would conduct services in Polish, and over time the Polish spirit will enter their souls. The transition of the Ruthenians to celebrating religious holidays according to the Catholic calendar was important for the military leader. All these changes were supposed to lead to the fact that the moment should come when those people who do not know the national language – the Muscovites, the Prussians and the Austrians – will be considered enemies. All this is necessary for the "public good" (Tazbir).

The clergy occupied an important place in the views of T. Kościuszko, which can be seen from his address near Polianets in 1794. It contained strong anti-Moscow sentiments, and most importantly, appeals to the Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy to maintain their loyalty to the Motherland – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: "Do not fear that the difference of religion and rite prevents us from loving you as brothers and countrymen, and indeed we consider it our chief duty to make you feel the difference between the harsh and unjust government you are under, and the rule of law, the freedoms we call you to. [...] We, our brothers, want to tie you to our common homeland with favours and blessings. Therefore, connect your hearts with the Poles who are looking for their freedom and yours" (Mościcki, 1947, pp. 108–109).

From the content of this document, we can understand that the Orthodox population – the Ruthenians, the Belarusians – in T. Kościuszko's views belonged to the Polish nation, just like the Catholics. Affiliation was actually determined by political loyalty rather than religious or ethnic characteristics. Having analyzed the statement of 1789, one can understand that the final idea of T. Kościuszko was linguistic assimilation of the Ruthenians. It should be noted that his ideas did not include a mass conversion to the Catholic faith, which is quite natural, because the leader of the uprising was a supporter of the idea of separating state and church institutions. In his reasoning, T. Kościuszko went further and claimed that upbringing and education of the youth should be done by secular authorities (Humeniuk, 1965).

Such statements indicate that the Enlightenment era brought important changes in the socio-political views of the contemporary figures, because religious affiliation began to play a smaller role in determining nationality. Of course, T. Kościuszko was well aware of the role of the clergy in society, that is why, he always appealed to all representatives of the clergy to self-sacrifice for the sake of national interests. Appeals to representatives of the clergy of all faiths additionally show that T. Kościuszko viewed the nation as a political category that encompasses the entire population of the state, regardless of a religious affiliation.

It became obvious to the Polish social and political figures that the Roman Catholic religion could not act as a criterion of the Polish national identity, because identification of a representative of the Polish nation with the Catholic religion would contradict political tradition and desire to preserve and restore the state borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to statistical data, only about 53% of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were Catholics (Próchnik, 1920, p. 13; Kukiel, 1966, p. 50). Accordingly, giving up the remaining 47% would mean the loss of a significant amount of territory.

T. Kościuszko did not ignore the peasant issue either. In his opinion, the peasantry of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth needed to be inculcated with Polish national consciousness through abolition of lordship and granting of political and electoral rights. According to the ideas of the military figure, the spread of Polish education and ensuring true equality of the Orthodox, the Uniate and the Roman Catholics was supposed to help acquire the Polish national identity (Mościcki, 1947, p. 45).

In fact, the activity of T. Kościuszko contributed to the spread of the idea of the Polish nation in the Polish society, in which the identification of a Pole with a Catholic was rejected, which allowed all the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to be included into the Polish nation. Linguistic differences were to be levelled due to the spread of education. After all, the Ruthenian language was often accepted as a dialect of Polish. It is worth understanding that these ideas laid the foundations for subsequent generations of the Polish social and political figures of the first half of the 19th century (Radetskyi, 2019).

At that time the spread of the Enlightenment ideas and the French Revolution ideas among representatives of the Polish intelligentsia confirmed the conviction of the need for assimilation of inhabitants of the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Assimilation was supposed to contribute to the state security due to the growth of loyalty in the eastern territories, as well as to weaken the influence of neighbouring countries on these territories. This was especially important because of the constant flirtation of the Russian Empire with the population of the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For example, Hugo Kołłątaj argued that the Ruthenian uprisings occurred only where the population did not know the Polish language and bordered on the Muscovite state. He believed that one of the most important tasks of the Polish educators was the unification of regional differences in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. First of all, it was about uniform legislation for all provinces (Kołłątaj, 1954, p. 367). In the style of the French Jacobins, H. Kołłątaj believed that after the unification of legislation, there should come a language unification. Such a process, according to the thinker's views, had to take place gradually, through the Polish culture, especially in the case of the Ruthenian lands. In his opinion, the nobility was the basis of the Polish culture, because they understood "the native language", unlike the peasants of the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who still spoke Ruthenian. One of the reasons for this, the religious figure considered the Orthodox clergy, which spread a different language, faith and hostility to the government. H. Kołłątaj

argued that it was necessary to erase the boundaries between “dialects” and introduce the Polish language. This should apply not only to the eastern territories, but also to Zhmuda and Lithuania. The spread of the Polish language should take place through its introduction in educational and state institutions. The language was supposed to contribute to the unification of the provinces and formation of the nation (Kołłataj, 1954, p. 370).

In H. Kołłataj’s views, we also find a condemnation of the Polish clergy for the fact that in part of the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the foundations of the Catholic faith were spread not in Polish, but in a local language. Such was his vision regarding the spread of the Polish culture in the Ruthenian lands. Considering a difficult political situation, the author often made quite moderate statements about the then and past Ruthenian-Polish relations. For example, he despaired of the failure of the Treaty of Hadiach (1658), and considered the Russian incitement and ignorance of the Ruthenians as the causes of the Haidamak movement. The spread of science among the peasantry and the clergy was supposed to correct this situation. H. Kołłataj advocated the establishment of University on the Ukrainian lands and theological seminaries for local priests (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 27). At the same time, the religious figure spoke against the educational monopoly of the Basilian Order among the Uniates, because in this way it was not possible to instill mercy and humanity (Butterwick-Pawlikowski, 2005, p. 106).

In general, this approach to the promotion of the Polish culture in Polish historiography is often assessed as moderate. This is especially noticeable against the background of T. Kościuszko’s views, who argued that the Ruthenian religious calendar should be abolished and the Polish language should be introduced in Orthodox services. He believed that this would be the best way to liberate the Ruthenians from fanaticism and ignorance, and over time “...the Polish spirit will enter them” (Walicki, 2009, p. 120).

Stanisław Staszic’s views help better understand the influence of Enlightenment ideas on the national issue in the Polish social and political thought. The scholar considered the nation as a political and legal community, which was especially evident during the period of the Great Diet (1788 – 1792). He rejected “Catholic Sarmatism” as a determinant of Polishness. Such an approach would make it possible to use the multiculturalism of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to attract representatives of other nationalities and religions (Matłęgiewicz, 2011, pp. 21–22). S. Staszic interpreted the nation as the totality of all its citizens, regardless of an ethnic origin. In the text “Notes on the Life of Jan Zamoiski” we can trace that this approach could have been caused by the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the desire to compensate for the significant loss of population caused by this partition (Staszic, 1926, pp. 3–193). Tomasz Matłęgiewicz made a similar conclusion, but the researcher added that such an approach should contribute to the development of culture and economy (Matłęgiewicz, 2011, p. 22).

S. Staszic’s views, his attitude towards the Jewish population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth help understand the concept of the nation. He believed that the Jews should be subject to nationwide legislation, judicial proceedings, and also switch to speak the Polish language. He was ready to recognize as the Poles those Jews who conducted their religious rites and studies in Polish, on a par with representatives of other religious minorities in Poland (Staszic, 1954, pp. 298–303). The Ruthenian population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is rarely considered in S. Staszic’s research papers, but even those mentions that exist confirm that it was considered the Polish population. For example, during the period after the partitions of Poland, the researcher, characterizing the Poles, sometimes calls them a

tribe, sometimes uses the term “szczep” (an ethnic group), which consists of several subjects, one of which was the Ruthenians. In addition, in the work “On the Origin of the Carpathians and other Mountains and Plains of Poland” the Ruthenian lands are considered an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Staszic, 1815). A similar principle was used in the work “Cautions for Poland”, in which it is mentioned that the richest Polish families are connected to Ruthenian voivodeships, and at the time of doing the research these lands were taken from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Austrians (Staszic, 1790, p. 34).

We can see the influence of the described ideas in the practical plane even after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They became especially important after the Third Partition (1795). The policy of the states that participated in the partitions was aimed at eradicating any traces of the Polish domination on historical maps. New administrative and territorial units were created, old local names were replaced by new ones, and the use of the Polish language was restricted. However, Enlightenment ideas and the beginning of the cameralistic studies development contributed to the process of territorial description of the Polish lands by contemporary intellectuals. In fact, through the descriptions of the former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, an attempt was made to form territorial self-awareness. The Ukrainian lands and many other territories were considered Polish, and any ethnic differences were eliminated. For example, in 1801, the Polish historian Tadeusz Czacki did research under the title “On the Name “Ukraine” and the Beginnings of the Cossacks” (“O nazwisku Ukrainy i początku Kozaków”), in which he tried to explain the term “Ukraine”. The scholar formed his views in a somewhat chaotic manner and not quite consistently, and in the 19th century another Polish historian Julian Bartoszewicz mentioned about it (Bartoszewicz, 1864, p. 2). Therefore, we will emphasize only the key points of the research. The author assumed that Ukraine, the territory on both banks of the Dnieper, can be called the homeland of the Ukrivs who came to Europe from the Transvolga region (Czacki, 1801, p. 32). The concept of Ukraine that was modern for him, as the author suggests after long reflections, appeared not earlier than the last years of the 15th century and underwent a certain transformation:

“The name Ukraine is new: it appeared in the last years of the 15th century. Under Olexander, it was called the empty land, then Ukraine. King Stefan called the lands Ukraine, which bordered on the Turks” (Czacki, 1801, p. 33).

According to the author the etymology of the term Ukraine is quite obvious and means a borderland, a territory bordering on a neighbouring country. He tried to substantiate his argument by citing examples from the reigns of Stefan Batory and Sigismund III, and even believed that the analogue of the word Ukraine in German is “mark” (Czacki, 1801, p. 34). In further reflections, the author writes about the division of Ukraine into Polish and Muscovite. According to the Constitution of 1580, Polish Ukraine was Kyiv and Bratslav Voivodeships with parts of Volhynia and Podillia.

These reflections of the Polish historian show that he considered the Ukrainian lands to be an integral part of Poland and such that they were actually inhabited only during the Polish rule. This approach completely denied any claims of the Ukrainian national movement, which emerged at that time. Comparing the ideas of T. Czacki and the views expressed in the “History of the Ruthenians”, which appeared at the same period time approximately, we can see a certain rivalry for the Ukrainian lands. The “History of the Ruthenians” primarily defended the interests of the Cossacks in the Russian Empire, but elements of the national narrative and attempts to oppose the “others” can be traced in it. The introduction contains a denial of ideas similar to those expressed by T. Czacki. The

author of the “History of the Ruthenians” claimed: “The Polish and Lithuanian historians, rightly suspected of fabrications and boasting, describing the actions of the Ruthenians, who tried to be the Polish subjects, overshadowed all kinds of great feats of the Ruthenians, performed for the benefit of the common homeland and Poland (...) Some new land above the Dnieper, is named Ukraine here, and in it new settlements are built by the Polish Kings and the Ukrainian Cossacks are founded; and before that the land was desert and deserted, and there were no Cossacks in Rus” (Drach). The theses presented in the “History of the Ruthenians” most likely did not concern the statements of Tadeusz Czacki specifically (Plochy, 2006, p. 342). But the theses show that, despite the needs and demands of the Ukrainian national movement, the Polish intellectual and political milieu did not try to go beyond the worldview foundations laid by the Enlightenment.

The works of a lawyer Tomasz Święcki, a regional historian and lawyer Wawzyniec Marczyński help us analyze the formation of the Polish territorial consciousness in more detail. Tomasz Święcki laid the beginning of descriptions of the Polish territories and created a certain canon scheme for describing Poland (Dybiec, 2021, p. 192). In 1816, he published the two-volume work “Description of Ancient Poland” (“Opis starożytnej Polski”). In his research T. Święcki described that the Polish territories included the lands from the banks of the Oder to the sources of the Dvina and the Dnieper (Święcki, 1861, p. 7). In the text we find many sentimental descriptions: “From the banks of the Oder to the sources of the Dvina and Dnieper lie the ruins of the once great and so famous in the history of Europe the Kingdom of Poland. Instead of towns that flourished with trade and crafts, travellers find heaps of ruins...” (Święcki, 1861, p. 7). In addition to pity for old Poland, we find in it a detailed description of the territories that the researcher considered to be Polish: “Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Kuyavia, Mazovia, Pomerania, Prussia, Red Rus (Red Ruthenia), Volhynia, Podillia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Livonia, Courland and Moldova with Wallachia” (Święcki, 1861).

We can also see reception of the Ukrainian lands as part of the Polish ones in the work of Wawzynets Marczyński. In 1820, he published “Statistical, Topographical and Historical Description of the Podilska Province”, in which, in a manner similar to T. Święcki, he explained the history of Podillia from biblical times to the 19th century, and only then, according to the principles of cameralistics, he did research on the administrative and territorial system and power, dioceses, church and church hierarchy. The author, describing the peasantry, reduced its mission to several key aspects: “to love God, pay taxes to the monarch, serve the motherland in need and work without complaint for the common good” (Marczyński, 1820, p. 133). From this description, we can see that the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was considered as a monolithic structure, because if the peasantry was interpreted in the state context, then the ethnic issue was almost completely ignored.

The Conclusion. The Age of Enlightenment caused significant intellectual transformations in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Firstly, instead of receiving oneself as a subject belonging to a certain genus, there was a transition to receiving oneself as a being belonging to a broader category – the Motherland. The beginning of such a transition became possible due to criticism of the Sarmatian ideology, which was based on traditions and religion. This criticism allowed the Polish educators to think seriously about the possibility of involving different strata of the population in a political life. Reception of religion, which began to play a smaller role, changed, especially due to the fact that the word “enlightenment” began to be interpreted as opposed to “superstition” and “fanaticism”, which in turn gave an impetus to the growth of a religious tolerance. Active reception of the nation as a political unity began, and ethnic and cultural features were secondary. Another

very important transformation for us took place precisely during the period of the late Polish Enlightenment – departure from didacticism and an attempt to preserve the memory of the Polish state, which led to the appearance of works describing the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, history, etc.

The above mentioned worldview foundations allowed the Polish educators to form their view on the Ruthenian issue. Since the intellectuals were based on a political understanding of the nation, the inclusion of the Ruthenians in the Polish nation was logical for them. Religious affiliation was not of great importance, therefore, for example, for T. Kościuszko, it was logical to introduce an Orthodox priest to the Supreme Council, because the main thing was a political loyalty. Ethnic and cultural features were secondary, because it was believed that all territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth should be included in the Polish nationality. This was due to the spread the Polish language as the language of instruction, which was one of the key aspects of the nation's consolidation. We traced this issue in the letter of T. Kościuszko to M. Zalewski, moreover, the leader of the uprising advocated that the Ruthenian priests conduct services in Polish. H. Kołłątaj and S. Staszic held similar ideas, the latter was ready to include the Jews who use the Polish language in their practices into the Polish nation. Any language differences on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were interpreted as “regional”, i. e. the Ruthenian language was actually considered a dialect of Polish. The spread of education in the Polish language was supposed to eliminate these differences. In 1795 disappearance of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the political map of Europe led to attempts by the Polish social and political figures to preserve the memory of the former state through descriptions of its territories, history, language, etc., which we traced in the works of T. Czacki, T. Świącki, W. Marczyński, where the Ruthenian lands were an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

A promising direction for further research is the search and study of views on the Ruthenian issue of representatives of the local Polish intelligentsia of Galicia and Right-Bank Ukraine.

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**NOBILITY COURT IN LVIV (1783 – 1855):
ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONING, LEGAL BASIS OF ACTIVITY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to do analysis on the activities of the Lviv Nobility Court in the context of its origin, functioning, and organization of work. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, verification and the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (prosopographic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. The scientific novelty: the history of establishing and functioning of the Lviv Nobility Court has been elucidated. The management apparatus has been analyzed through the prism of duties division and selection of government officials, the competences of the court have been outlined; the legal principles of the court functioning have been clarified. The Conclusion. The Lviv Nobility Court emerged as an integral part of a new judicial system that was formed during the first decades on the territory of Galicia after its entry into the Austrian Empire. The Lviv Nobility Court began its activities in 1783. In the German-language version, it was named Landrecht in Lemberg, in the Polish-language version – “sąd szlachecki”, in the Latin-language version – “Forum nobilium”. The court had a developed judicial and administrative apparatus that ensured its work. The management team was represented by the chairman and advisers. Current document circulation was provided by a large*

staff of secretaries, record keepers, etc. Its jurisdiction extended to the whole of Galicia, and with the creation of similar courts in Stanisławów and Tarnów, it was limited to the territory of Berezhany, Zhovkva, Zolochiv, Lviv, Przemyśl, and Sambir povits. In each of the povits, the court had its own representation, which consisted of storekeepers, tax assessors, and inspectors. The authorities of the court created a diverse group based on their ethnic, social and religious affiliation. Obviously, they were selected based on their professional qualities primarily. The Lviv Nobility Court considered property disputes in which the nobility was one of the parties. First of all, these were the owners of domains, but the court did not refuse to consider cases in which the “free” nobility was one of the parties. Individual institutions and territorial communities could also apply to the Lviv Nobility Court. The legal activity of the court was based on Austrian legislation, since 1812 it was the civil code. Procedural issues were also regulated by a separate regulatory document. To organize work of individual employees, the court issued its own regulatory documents.

Key words: the Lviv nobility court, Landrechte in Lemberg, Forum Nobilium, judiciary in Galicia in the 19th century, Galician society in the 19th century.

ЛЬВІВСЬКИЙ ШЛЯХЕТСЬКИЙ СУД (1783 – 1855): ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯ, ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ, ПРАВОВІ ЗАСАДИ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – здійснити інституційний аналіз діяльності Львівського шляхетського суду у контексті його виникнення, функціонування, організації роботи. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, верифікації, а також використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (просопографічних, історико-типологічних, історико-системних) методів. **Наукова новизна:** висвітлена історія створення і функціонування Львівського шляхетського суду. Проаналізовано урядовий апарат через призму розподілу обов'язків та добору урядовців, окреслено компетенції діяльності суду; з'ясовано правові засади його функціонування. **Висновки:** Львівський шляхетський суд постав як складова частина нової судової системи, що формувалася у перші десятиліття на теренах Галичини після входження її до складу Австрійської імперії. Львівський шляхетський суд розпочав діяльність у 1783 р. У німецькомовній версії за ним закріпилася назва *Landrecht in Lemberg*, у польськомовній – “*sąd szlachecki*”, у латиномовній – “*Forum nobilium*”. Суд мав розвинутий судово-урядницький апарат, що забезпечував його роботу. Керівний склад був представлений головою і радниками. Поточний документообіг забезпечували численний штат секретарів, протоколістів тощо. Його юрисдикція поширювалася на усю Галичину, а зі створенням аналогічних судів у Станіславові і Тарнові обмежилася територією Бережанського, Жовківського, Золочівського, Львівського, Перемишльського, Самбірського округів. У кожному з округів суд мав своє представництво, що складалося з коморників, таксаторів, інспекторів. Урядовці суду за етнічною, соціальною і конфесійною приналежністю творили строкату групу. Вочевидь, їх добирали, керуючись передовсім професійними якостями. Львівський шляхетський суд розглядав майнові суперечки, де однією зі сторін була шляхта. Насамперед це були власники домінії, однак не відмовляв у розгляді справ “вільній” шляхті. Окремі інституції, територіальні громади також могли звертатися до Львівського шляхетського суду. Правова діяльність суду опиралася на австрійське законодавство, з 1812 р. це був цивільний кодекс. Процесуальні питання також регулювалися окремим нормативним документом. Для організації роботи окремих працівників суд видавав власні нормативні документи.

Ключові слова: Львівський шляхетський суд, *Landrechte in Lemberg*, *Forum Nobilium*, судочинство у Галичині у XIX ст., галицьке суспільство XIX ст.

The Problem Statement. The history of the judiciary organization on the territory of Galicia during the period of Austrian rule is one of the promising directions of institutional history. Its study allows us to deepen knowledge of the history of the state and law of Ukraine at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries; as well as to deepen knowledge about the history of civil service on Ukrainian territory; to expand the idea of the Austrian bureaucratic apparatus functioning. The latter, in turn, is the key to clarifying the history

of document circulation and facilitates the research of the archival heritage of judicial and administrative institutions of Galicia. The Lviv Nobility Court was an integral part of the judicial system in Galicia. Thus, studying broader contexts of the history of the legal system of the Austrian era on the territory of Western Ukraine, it is impossible to bypass the activity of the Lviv Nobility Court.

The Analysis on Recent Research Papers and Publications. The research on the activities of the Lviv Nobility Court was done by legal historians at the end of the 19th century. Relevant information can be found in J. Louis Wawel, who studied the formation of the Austrian legal system in Galicia and mentioned the Lviv Nobility Court succinctly (Louis-Wawel, 1899, p. 404). During the interwar period, the Lviv Nobility Court was mentioned in the research papers of L. Łysiak and D. Kaminsky. Both historians studied the history of similar institutions that existed in Tarnów and Stanisławiv (Łysiak, 1955; Kaminski, 1972). It's quite surprising, however, the Lviv Nobility Court never became the subject of their research. Among modern Polish historians, K. Ślusarek mentioned the Forum Nobilium, studying the history of the Galician small nobility of the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries. However, he used the court documents only to factually confirm his reasoning regarding the legal status of the nobility factually (Ślusarek, 2017, p. 391; Ślusarek, 1994, pp. 79, 87–88). In Austrian historiography, the Lviv Nobility Court is mentioned in the context of administrative territorial and socio-political changes implemented by the Viennese imperial court on the newly annexed territories of the former Ruthenian Voivodeship of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The information about the Court contained in the studies of Austrian historians is of a general nature and lacks details about the organization, functioning and legal basis of the functioning of this institution. It is primarily about the research of H. Glassl, who studied the history of Galicia during the first decades of the Austrian rule (Glassl, 1975, pp. 84–85), and also about the works of Mark Rudolph and Roskau-Rydel (Roskau-Rydel, 1993, p. 37; Mark Rudolf, 2019, pp. 586–589; Mark Rudolf, 1994, pp. 4–13). Some information about the Lviv Nobility Court can be found in the works of modern Ukrainian historians of state and law. It is also extremely concise and does not contain qualitatively new information (Eder, 2019). Experts in genealogy wrote about the documents of the Lviv Nobility Court, analyzing their potential as sources (Smutok, Lyseyko & Smutok, 2020).

The purpose of the article is to do analysis on the activities of the Lviv Nobility Court in the context of its origin, functioning, and organization of work.

The Results of the Research. In 1772 the first division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led to territorial changes, in particular, the territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship fell to the Austrian Empire. Therefore, during the first decades, a gradual process of the social system reconstruction and its integration into Austrian realities unfolded in the annexed territories. Among other things, these changes provided for reorganization of judicial and administrative institutions of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the creation of new ones. The reform was carried out gradually and lasted for several years. It was previously planned to create Court of Appeal in Lviv instead of Town and Zemstvo courts, as well as courts of Armenian and Jewish jurisdiction; noble courts in Lviv, Stanisławiv, Tarnów; criminal courts in Lviv, Myslenychi, Sambir, Stanisławiv, Pilsen; there were to be separate courts for the burghers, as, after all, for the peasants (Louis-Wawel, 1899, pp. 353–354). However, implementation of these ideas was extremely slow and was not implemented until the end. In particular, in July of 1774, the government forbade Town and Zemstvo courts to accept new cases, limiting their activity to the study and sentencing of cases that had been

initiated before the specified deadline. The latter were also planned to be considered by 1777. In parallel, in 1774, the royal tribunal in Lviv began its work, which would take over the jurisdiction of the Town and Zemstvo courts. However, the reform was developed by a special commission (Rectifications-Hofcommission), and was not fully implemented. In 1778, the work of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth judicial institutions was continued and continued for several more years. In 1780, the Regional Tabula was established at the Lviv Royal Tribunal, where property agreements of the nobility were registered. Thus, Town and Zemstvo courts lost the right to notarize property transactions. In 1783, they were finally liquidated, as, in the end, the activity of the royal tribunal was terminated. All issues that were subject to their jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, concerning the nobility of Galicia, were transferred to the Nobility Court, which began its activity on January 1, 1783 (Łysiak, 1955, pp. 306–307).

The official name of the new institution (Landrecht) is literally translated from German as “land court”. Obviously, this corresponded to the Austrian tradition and the ideas of the Austrian government officials about the competence and specificity of the Court activity. In the Latin version of the name of the Court (Forum Nobilium), as well as the Polish version (Sąd szlachecki), certainly there were taken into account local historical traditions, but the versions did not correspond to each other completely. In the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there were Zemstvo courts, which, among other things, were also located in Lviv, Przemysł, Halych, Sianok, Kholm (in Polish – Chełm), Perevorsk (in Polish – Pszeworsk), but they differed from the Austrian counterpart in the scope of their powers. Therefore, soon there was a need to distinguish between the two institutions, and the Zemstvo court of the Austrian era was defined by several definitions, i. e. alongside the name Landrecht in government documents, and therefore in historiography, another name was used – Forum Nobilium or Sąd szlachecki (Łysiak, 1955, p. 306).

The structure of the Lviv Nobility Court was developed and it was multi-level. Basically, it remained unchanged, although certain variations in the nomenclature and number of management officials are recorded in different years. In particular, the leadership was represented by a chairman (präsident), vice-chairman (vece-präsident) and two dozen regional councilors (landrätthe). The latter had to be at least 18. For example, in 1799 there were 21 of them, in 1836 – 17 and one vacant place, in 1850 – 19. The secretariat was staffed with various categories of management officials, numbering two dozen. In 1799, these were: 5 secretaries (sekretare); 4 auditors (Auskultanten) and 5 regional protocolists (Rathaprotokollisten), and in 1836 – 6 secretaries, 5 regional protocolists and 8 auditors. The Lviv Nobility Court had separate registry and expedition departments, staffed by a large staff of clerks. For example, in 1850 the expedition department consisted of a director, 1 adjunct, 19 recorders, 11 assistants, and 2 accountants. The archive of Zemstvo and Town acts was also subordinated to the Lviv Nobility Court, where up to two dozen government officials-chancellors worked (Szematysmus, 1799, pp. 223–224; Szematysmus, 1836, pp. 159–161; Szematysmus, 1850, pp. 222–224).

The jurisdiction of the court extended to the entire territory of Galicia. In 1787, similar nobility courts were established in Stanislaviv and Tarnów. These nobility courts limited the activities of the Lviv Nobility Court to the territories of Berezhany, Zhovkva, Zolochiv, Lviv, Przemysł, and Sambir districts (in Polish – cyrkuł). However, the Lviv Nobility Court continued to control property circulation of real estate, i.e. Kraiyeva Tabulia remained under its supervision. At the same time, it retained control of fiscal (tax) matters throughout the

territory of the “regium Galiciae et Lodomeriae”. In each of the six districts there was a peculiar representation of the Lviv Nobility Court, which consisted of several people (Judicial-Kreis-Gränzkämmerer des Lemberger landrechtlichen Bzeiks). As a rule, they resided in different places, representing certain areas. Their location was determined by the appellate tribunal, which at the same time appointed them. For example, in Berezhany district, these were: Jan Khryzostom Hordynskyi from Svir, Yosyf Zayachkovskyi from Berezhany and Vincentiy Romanskyi from Rohatyn. In 1836, Przemyśl district was represented by Yuliy Veher from Mostyska, Philip Yachymovych from Jaroslavl, and Stanislav Gzdova Sychevsky from Przemyśl (Szematismus, 1836, p. 163).

At local places, staff of management officials was supplemented by the so-called property appraisers or, in other words, tax assessors (Gerichtliche Güterabschätzer des k.k. Lemberger landrechtlichen Beziks). There were about a dozen of them in each district. Appraisers had their own defined territory-district. For example, in 1850 in Sambir district, these were Karol Belkhayskyi from Roliv, Jan Stsheletskyi from Komarnyky, Jan Bybovskyi from Sokilnyky, Yosif Manasterskyi from Blazhiv, Felix Thorzytskyi from Yanovychi, Petro Krynytskyi from Bilyna Velyka, Vincenti Belianskyi from Turka (Szematismus, 1850, p. 227). Land surveyors (geometra) worked together with them. Judicial inspectors were also included in the staff of local management officials (Gerichtliche Landmesser), who were responsible for communication between management apparatus and branches at local places, provided document circulation and supervised implementation of decisions. The number of inspectors ranged from one to two dozen.

At the Lviv Nobility Court, there was a lawyer collegium, numbering several dozen lawyers (in 1836 – 25, in 1850 – 52) (Szematismus, 1836, p. 167; Szematismus, 1850, p. 227).

In the 1850s, during the last years of its existence, a group of translators worked at the Lviv Nobility Court – translations from Italian, Ruthenian, i.e. Ukrainian, and Hebrew, i.e. Yiddish are meant (Szematismus, 1850, p. 228).

The officials of the Court formed a rather diverse group in terms of their social, ethnic and religious affiliation. This diversity distinguished them from the management officials of the Town and Zemstvo courts of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where there were extremely narrow selection frameworks that allowed only people from the local Polish nobility to work in judicial and administrative spheres. Apparently, the Austrian authorities required applicants for positions to know the languages (Polish, Latin, and German), to be good at spelling and basics of document management, and certain legal knowledge. The latter, after all, could vary: for councilors or lawyers, there was probably one set of requirements, for protocol clerks or storekeepers – a different set of requirements (Godsey, 1999, p. 61; Mark Rudolf, 2019, p. 599; Mark Rudolf, 1994, p. 33; Roskau-Rydel, 1993, p. 227).

Higher echelons of the Court were occupied by people from the local aristocracy, such as, for example, Albin Belskyi (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 3, c. 164, pp. 82–83) or Count Ihnatius Los (Szematismus, 1836, p. 160; Szematismus, 1850, p. 223). However, the position of a councilor was also available to people from the ordinary nobility, which is evidenced by the life path of Basil Bilinskyi Tarasovych (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 41, p. 72) and Yuriy Kulchytsky Hust (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6f, c. 42, pp. 166–167). Half of all councilors, as a rule, were of non-local origin. People from Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and Italy were invariably involved in the board of councilors. Each of them built their career differently, but all of them worked in the legal system in one way or another. The majority were Doctors of Law, at the same time they could hold positions in the Ministry of Justice in Vienna or be members of other courts, for

example, the Court of Appeals in Lviv, Prague, etc. It is quite obvious that some of them were not of a noble origin and the majority did not belong to the local nobility. A good illustration of this type of officials can be Franz Ksaveriy, the father of a famous Polish poet, ethnographer and historian Vincent Pol. A German by origin, during his lifetime he managed to be an officer in the Austrian army and work as a councilor to the Court of Appeal in Lublin and a judicial councilor to the Lviv and Stanislaviv Nobility Courts, and in 1815 he received the right to nobility (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 37, pp. 387–398; c. 45, pp. 917–925). A similar diversity is observed among secretaries, record keepers, and registrars.

Local nobility prevailed in the districts. Storekeepers were mostly representatives of the “free” nobility, who had acquired a basic education, at least, could write and knew Latin and German. Among officials, there were people with non-noble surnames. Therefore, it can be assumed that representatives of townspeople and the clergy were also involved in the work of the Lviv Nobility Court at the level of secretaries, recorders, storekeepers, and inspectors.

Civil cases were within the jurisdiction of the Lviv Nobility Court. Debts, i. e. unpaid loans, possession of movable and immovable property claimed by several people or institutions were the subject of disputes. The court considered and handed down judgments in cases related to inheritance of movable property and land ownership, resolved disputes regarding establishment of guardianship over minors and disabled people. Usually, legal proceedings took place between individuals, as well as between individuals and state institutions, rural and urban communities, and church institutions. Since the court was noble, it was assumed that one of the parties to the conflict should be a person of a noble origin. However, this circumstance needs additional clarification (Louis-Wawel, 1899, pp. 348–351; Łysiak, 1955, p. 310; Eder, 2019, p. 99).

The nobility of Galicia did not form a monolithic community endowed with equal rights, as it was formally the case during the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was presented in several categories. The criterion for entering one or another group was not origin or nobility, but land ownership. Owners of real estate where there were peasants subjects, i. e. owners of the so-called dominions (Dominia), belonged accordingly to the dominion nobility; the owners of real estate, where there were no peasants subjects, i. e. the owners of “free” lands, belonged to the “free” nobility. Finally, there were people of a noble origin who did not dispose of their own real estate, but used someone else’s, paying a certain monetary compensation. They were included in the category of rent-house nobility (Ślusarek, 1994, pp. 111, 134; Ślusarek, 2017, pp. 388–389).

Noble courts in Lviv, and later in Stanislaviv and Tarnów, according to the plan of the Austrian authorities, were created primarily for the dominion nobility. In addition, this is indicated by the fact that it was at the Lviv Nobility Court that the Regional Tabulia, formed to control and record the circulation of dominion lands, operated. No wonder, for example, in 1815, the Lviv Nobility Court refused to consider the case between Pavlo Bilynskyi and Ivan Lutskyi, arguing that their lands were not in the dominial books of the village of Luky (CSHAUL, f. 149, d. 4 c. 1597). Thus, formally the “free” nobility could not apply to the Forum Nobilium in Lviv and was subject to the jurisdiction of circular courts. However, this rule was not followed in practice. Thousands of cases of the Lviv Nobility Court testify unequivocally that the “free” nobility actively resorted to the Nobility Court in Lviv during its operating, and cases of refusal were an exception rather than a rule (Smutok, Lyseyko & Smutok, 2020, pp. 67–72). In practice, as it turned out, it was enough to have an identity card or a certificate of nobility to avoid district and gubernatorial courts, which considered the cases of peasants (Ślusarek, 1994, p. 134).

The Lviv Nobility Court could also consider certain categories of cases where the nobility was not one of the parties to the conflict. First of all, these were property cases involving the state treasure; cases related to estates that did not belong to the local administration; monastic estates; property of the Catholic, Greek-Catholic and Protestant churches; city real estate. Individual institutions that directly received permission to do so, written in their privileges, statutes, etc., also resorted to court. In particular, these were the Austrian Bank, the Vienna Chamber of Commerce (Glassl, 1975, p. 133; Eder, 2019, p. 99).

In its activities, the Lviv Nobility Court was guided by the norms of Austrian law. The legislation of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which regulated the judicial and procedural sphere on the territory of Galicia, was used at least until the beginning of the 1780s. However, its irregularity and semi-customary nature caused an urgent need to introduce fundamentally new legislation. It is worth noting that in the Austrian Empire of the second half of the 18th century the legislation was not fully standardized to a large extent. Thus, the first decades of activity of the Lviv Nobility Court fell on the period of codification of a civil and criminal law on the territory of the Austrian Empire and Galicia in particular. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to understand what legal basis was used in the court until the 1810s (Godsey, 1999, p. 77; Kaminski, 1972, p. 177; Louis-Wawel, 1899, pp. 355–356).

In 1778, the process of implementing the civil code began in Galicia, however, only partially, because work on its development continued in parallel. Just in 1797, the code was completed and implemented on the territory of Western Galicia, and in 1798 – in Eastern Galicia. However, the codification work did not end there. In 1796, regional commissions were created, which for two years had to submit their comments to the Superior Commission in Vienna regarding the draft civil code. Such commissions in Galicia were established at the appeals tribunal in Lviv and at the Tarnów and Stanislawiv nobility courts. In 1797, they developed their vision of a civil code and sent them to Vienna. However, their work was practically ignored. In 1811, the work on the civil code was completed and from January 1, 1812, it was implemented throughout the territory of the Austrian Empire. It was the civil code that was used during passing judgments in the Lviv Nobility Court (Łysiak, 1955, p. 311).

At the same time, at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries codification of procedural law took place. In 1774, a rule regulating the work of the royal tribunal in Lviv was developed and implemented. In 1784, a judicial practice was introduced to replace it (Allgemeine Gerichtsordnung). After some changes, it was active on the territory of Eastern Galicia since 1807. In the organization of its activities, the Lviv Nobility Court was guided by it. During its existence, the court permanently issued its own normative acts (normalia), which were usually nothing more than departmental instructions and orders, designed to regulate in more detail the activities of various categories of its government officials (Łysiak, 1955, p. 311; Chodyncki, 1829, p. 333; Mark Rudolf, 2019, pp. 586–589; Mark Rudolf, 1994, pp. 77–78).

The Conclusion. The Lviv Nobility Court appeared as an integral part of a new judicial system, which was formed during the first decades on the territory of Galicia after its entry into the Austrian Empire. According to the plan of the authorities, it was supposed to partially replace Town and Zemstvo courts operating in Lviv, Przemyśl, Sianok, Halych, etc. Actually, after the liquidation of the latter, the Lviv Nobility Court began its activity in 1783. In the German-language version, the name Landrecht in Lemberg was attached to it, in the Polish-language version – “sąd szlachecki”, in the Latin-language version – “Forum nobilium”. In the court there was a developed judicial and administrative apparatus that ensured its work. The management team was represented by the chairman and councilors. Current document

circulation was provided by a large staff of secretaries, record keepers, etc. Its jurisdiction extended to the whole of Galicia, and with the creation of similar courts in Stanislaviv and Tarnów, it was limited to the territory of Berezhany, Zhovkva, Zolochiv, Lviv, Przemyśl, and Sambir districts. In each of the districts, the court had its own representation, which consisted of storekeepers, appraisers, and inspectors. Officials of the court created a diverse group based on their ethnic, social and religious affiliation. Obviously, they were selected based primarily on their professional qualities. The Lviv Nobility Court considered property disputes in which the nobility was one of the parties. First of all, those were the owners of domains, but the court did not refuse to consider the cases of the “free” nobility. Individual institutions and territorial communities could also apply to the Lviv Nobility Court. The legal activity of the court was based on Austrian legislation, since 1812 it was the civil code. Procedural issues were also regulated by a separate regulatory document. To organize the work of individual employees, the court issued its own regulatory documents.

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VOLYN HUBERNIA CONFESSIONAL LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN AUTOCRACY

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to determine affiliation of Volyn population to certain religious denominations based on the analysis of archival materials and statistical data and to illustrate how the quantitative composition of the above-mentioned denominations changed during the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. The Methodology of the Research.* The study is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity and authorial objectivity, there have been used general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization, comparison) as well as special historical (historical typological, historical systemic) methods. The method of criticism and classification has been applied while analyzing the archival materials, and the author used the statistical method for determining quantitative indicators. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that in the research there has been not only identified the main denominations to which the population of Volyn hubernia belonged, but there has been also elucidated the process of changing the local population affiliation to different denominations, and it has been determined that as a result of a purposeful ecclesiastical

and religious policy of the tsarat some denominations disappeared or weakened, instead the Orthodox Church became dominant in the region during the long 19th century. **The Conclusion.** As a result of the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a significant part of the Ukrainian lands were under the Russian Empire rule. The Russian authorities, in order to incorporate the Ukrainian lands as soon as possible, carried out not only their territorial and administrative registration at the legislative level, but also implemented an active church and religious policy. The essence of this policy was to weaken the Roman Catholic Church as much as possible and to eliminate the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church completely, which was achieved already in the first third of the 19th century. At the same time, the authorities were also engaged in solving the Jewish issue, because the territory of Volyn hubernia was classified by the Russian government as the one where the representatives of the Jewish nationality had the right to live – a strip of the Jewish settlement passed through the territory of the hubernia, which was introduced by a decree of Catherine II back in 1791. From the second half of the 19th century the confessional composition of the hubernia population also changed due to the fact that Protestantism began to spread among the local population, initially such as Baptistism, and from the beginning of the 20th century – and the Seventh-day Adventists.

All these denominations were under a strict supervision of the Russian authorities, who adopted restrictive laws in such a way that at the beginning of the 20th century, in Volyn hubernia, the vast majority of the population were parishioners of the Orthodox Church which was acceptable by the state.

Key words: Volyn hubernia, confession, Orthodoxy, Greek Uniates, Roman Catholics, Old Believers, Jews, Protestantism.

ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ КОНФЕСІЙНОГО ЛАНДШАФТУ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОГО САМОДЕРЖАВСТВА

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі аналізу архівних матеріалів та статистичних даних визначити приналежність населення Волині до певних релігійних деномінацій та показати як упродовж XIX – початку XX ст. змінювався кількісний склад цих конфесій. **Методологія дослідження.** Дослідження спирається на принципи історизму, науковості й авторської об'єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення, порівняння) та спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. На етапі опрацювання архівних матеріалів використовувався метод критики і класифікації, а при визначенні кількісних показників автор опиралася на статистичний метод. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що у дослідженні не лише визначені основні конфесії, до яких належало населення Волинської губернії, але й показано процес зміни приналежності місцевого населення до різних деномінацій та з'ясовано, як упродовж довгого XIX ст. в результаті цілеспрямованої церковно-релігійної політики царату одні конфесії зникали або послаблювалися, натомість Православна церква почала домінувати у регіоні. **Висновки.** У результаті трьох поділів Речі Посполитої до Російської імперії відійшла значна частина українських земель. З метою їх якнайшвидшої інкорпорації російська влада на законодавчому рівні здійснювала не лише їхню територіально-адміністративне оформлення, але й проводила активну церковно-релігійну політику. Її суть полягала у тому, аби максимально ослабити Римо-католицьку церкву і повністю ліквідувати Греко-уніатську церкву, що й вдалося здійснити вже у першій третині XIX ст. У тому ж часі влада займалася врегулюванням юдейського питання, адже територія Волинської губернії була віднесена російським урядом до таких, де мали право проживати представники єврейської національності – саме тут проходила смуга єврейської осілости, запроваджена указом Катерини II ще у 1791 р. З другої половини XIX ст. конфесійний склад населення губернії змінювався ще й тому, що серед місцевого населення почав ширитися протестантизм, спочатку такої його напрям, як баптизм, а з початку XX ст. – й адвентисти сьомого дня.

Усі ці конфесії перебували під суворим наглядом російської влади, яка видавала обмежувальні закони у такий спосіб, що на початок XX ст. у Волинській губернії переважна більшість населення були парафіянами прийнятної для держави Православної церкви.

Ключові слова: Волинська губернія, конфесія, православ'я, греко-уніати, римо-католики, старовіри, юдеї, протестантизм.

The Problem Statement. In Volyn hubenria, which was created right after the last partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on part of the territories incorporated by the Russian Empire, there were peculiarities of church and religious life. The local population was the parishioners of two Churches – the Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which were directly subordinated to the Pope. On the other hand, the Orthodox Church, traditional for the Russian authorities, had no parishes there. In addition, Volyn lands became a place of settlement for the Jews and the Old Believers, as part of the new state, and later on Protestantism began to spread owing to the colonists there. Therefore, the tsarist authorities faced the task of reorganizing a church and religious life in the annexed region, forming a new church administrative system and legal regulation of the activities of all Churches in such a way as to reduce the number of representatives of various denominations as much as possible, by converting them to the Orthodox faith.

Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Taking into consideration the peculiarities of nowadays, the issue of denominations and a church religious life in Ukraine is relevant and was analyzed in Ukrainian historiography to a certain extent. It should be noted that recently a number of research papers have appeared, which focus on various denominations of the specified period in Ukraine in general, and in Volyn hubernia in particular. The majority of the researchers dwell on the issues of the Orthodox Church functioning. In 2019 a young historian A. Boiarchuk submitted a thesis on the topic “The Orthodox Clergy of Volyn Hubernia: Formation, Material Support, Public and Pastoral Activities” at Volyn National University, which became the bottom line of the long-term conducted research (Boiarchuk, 2019). O. Alyoshyna’s research dealt with the issue of the Orthodox brotherhoods activity in Right Bank Ukraine, in particular, their charitable work during the second half of the 19th century (Alyoshyna, 2022). The scholars O. Koshel and T. Nikolayeva covered the issue on the Orthodox clergy contribution to the culture and enlightenment development (Koshel, 2021). In 2018, the monograph “A Living Community in the Imperial World: Lutsk Greek Catholic Church Diocese at the End of the 18th – First Third of the 19th Centuries” was published, in which there was elucidated the functioning of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Right Bank Ukraine and depicted the process of liquidation of this Church by the Russian authorities in the 30s of the 20th century (Bilyk, 2018). The relationship between the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, a comparison of the state policy in relation to the churches could be well traced due to the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery from one denomination to another (Bystrytska, 2021). Inter-confessional relations during the period under analysis and religious policy of imperial authorities in relation to the Roman Catholic Church also became the subject of separate studies (Buravsky, 2021). There is also a thesis, conducted by A. Kyryliuk “The Roman Catholic Monasteries of Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese at the End of the 18th – the First Half of the 19th Century” (Kyryliuk, 2020). The role of the Roman Catholic Church in the cultural and educational life of Volyn hubernia population was shown through the prism of examining the library inventories of the Roman Catholic monasteries of Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese (Karlina, 2021). There was also the study by I. Melnyk, which dealt with the issue of the Jews – “The Jewish Population of Umanshchyna at the End of the 18th – at Beginning of the 20th Century” (Melnyk, 2018). The settlement of the legal position of the Old Believers in Ukrainian lands during the period under analysis was covered in the research, carried out by O. Miroshnychenko “The Ukrainian Old Believers and the Russian Government (at the End of the 18th – the Beginning of the 20th Century)” (Miroshnychenko, 2019). A collection of scientific works was published

and dedicated to the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in Lutsk, the authors of which focused on the emergence and spread of Protestantism in Ukraine in general, and in Volyn in particular (Protestantyzm, 2017). Hence, there are numerous studies on the history of the individual denominations formation and development in modern Ukrainian historiography, but there is no study that would show a complete picture of the confessional composition evolution of Volyn hubernia population during the period under analysis, and it actualizes the topic of our scientific research additionally.

The purpose of the research is to determine affiliation of Volyn population to certain religious denominations based on the analysis of archival materials and statistical data and to illustrate how the quantitative composition of the above-mentioned denominations changed during the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The Results of the Research. The first tsarist orders and decrees were aimed at regulating the legal status of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which was completely foreign to the Russians, with its subsequent accession to the Orthodox Church. In 1795 there was a drastic need to establish a separate Orthodox diocese for the faithful of Iziaslav (later on renamed Volyn) hubernia after the number of the Orthodox in the annexed lands increased dramatically as a result of the government policy on the mass forced conversion of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church faithful to Orthodoxy (Zhyliuk, 1996, p. 13).

On September 6, 1795, an Imperial Decree was issued on liquidation (among the others) of the following Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church dioceses: Lutsk, Kyiv Metropolitan and Volodymyr. The Uniate monasteries and churches of Volyn, Podilsk and Bratslav hubernias were assigned to the Belarusian Diocese and the archbishop of Polotsk Irakliy Lisovskiy got the custody (PSZ, 1830, vol. 23, № 17 384).

At the end of 1796, there were 847 churches, 767 priests, 9 archpriests and 145,762 believers, who were converted to Orthodoxy within the borders of Volyn hubernia after the police and punitive squads involvement in the conversion campaign (Petrov, 1888, p. 361). Hence, the Imperial Decree of April 12, 1795 proclaimed the creation of the Orthodox Zhytomyr Vicar Eparchy for those believers (PSZ, 1830, vol. 23, № 17 318). It was headed by Barlaam Shyshchatsky, whose episcopal residence and the body of diocesan administration – Volyn Spiritual Consistory, were located in Ostroh (State archive of Zhytomyr region, f. 1, d. 1, c. 70, p. 1). The Consistory was guided in its activities by “Spiritual Regulations” approved in 1721, the resolutions of the Holy Synod and secular documents (PSZ, 1842, vol. 16, № 14 409). In May of 1796, in order to train the Orthodox clergy, Volyn Theological Seminary was established in Ostroh.

By the end of the 18th century, there were 102 newly converted Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church parishes with 39,000 parishioners, which were included in Zhytomyr Orthodox Diocese and at that time there were 1,076 parishes (Runkevich, 1893, p. 400). The organizational formation of the ecclesiastical administrative division of the Orthodox Church was completed in 1799. According to the Decree issued in October 16, 1799, the boundaries of the Orthodox Dioceses were supposed to coincide with the administrative boundaries of hubernias and bear the same name as hubernias. Zhytomyr Orthodox Diocese, which covered Volyn hubernia, was renamed Volyn-Zhytomyr Diocese. The Bishop of Volyn-Zhytomyr Diocese, Barlaam Shyshchatskyi, who was the Vicar of Minsk Diocese, was declared an independent Bishop due to a large number of the Orthodox churches in Volyn hubernia (PSZ, 1830, vol. 25, № 19 156).

The reigns of Paul I and Olexander I were marked by the easing of pressure on the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. On April 28, 1798, Paul I gave an order to restore Lutsk

Ukrainian Greek Catholic Eparchy headed by Bishop Stefan Levynsky (it was finally liquidated in 1828), which was subordinated to the Department of the Catholic Spiritual Affairs of the Ministry of Justice (PSZ, 1830, vol. 25, № 18 503).

In 1807, there were 155 uniate parishes and 88,492 faithful, 23 Basilian monasteries and 222 monks, 9,632 faithful, the total number was more than 98 thousand (Bilyk, 2018, p. 141). The above-mentioned indicators remained the same constant until 1820.

In order to limit the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the Uniates, an Imperial Decree was issued on April 22, 1828, according to which the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was removed from the control of the Roman Catholic Church by separating the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Department from the Roman Catholic Spiritual College and forming a separate Ukrainian Greek Catholic Clerical Collegium (PSZ, 1828, vol. 3, № 2086). After the November Uprising of 1830, the pressure on the Ukrainian Greek Catholic intensified.

In 1839, there were 4,359 Uniates of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox in Volyn gubernia within the boundaries of Volyn-Zhytomyr Orthodox Diocese on the eve of the proclamation of the “Act of Reunification of 1839” (Bilyk, 2018, pp. 136–137).

After the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the number of the Orthodox parishes increased, hence, in 1841 Ostroh Vicar Eparchy (renamed to Kremenets in 1902) was founded under Volyn-Zhytomyr Orthodox Eparchy, and the Diocesan Administration was located in Zhytomyr. It should be noted that in 1891 Volodymyr-Volyn Vicar Eparchy was established, and in 1910 – Ostroh Eparchy (SAZR, f. 1, d. 8, c. 1601, p. 105).

In 1841 the Russian authorities issued a new “Statute of Spiritual Consistory”, according to which the Bishop managed parishes by means of spiritual boards, while completing formalization of ecclesiastical administrative system of the Orthodox Church. But in the 60s of the 19th century the parishes were liquidated and the parish clergy became subordinate to the Consistory directly by means of *blahochynnia* (charity districts) headed by Deacon Priests (Boiarchuk, 2019, p. 124). The government took care of providing parishes with churches, hence, launched a programme of the Orthodox churches construction, a separate Church Building Department was even formed under the Ministry of Internal Affairs in order to implement the above-mentioned idea. There were 1,171,356 Orthodox believers, who lived in gubernia in 1863 (Kitchenko, 1863, p. 20), for whom 44 new churches were built between 1858 and 1874, and 272 were under a major renovation. The government strived to turn the Orthodox clergy, in fact, into the officials. As a result, the Orthodox clergy was transferred to state support by the government, ensuring payment of certain sums and allocation of land plots by appropriate decrees.

At the beginning of the 20th century in Volyn Orthodox Diocese there were 1,999 churches, 207 chapels and prayer houses. In 1912, there were 2,150 churches in the Diocese, which were visited by 2,698,377 parishioners (Obzor, 1913, p. 180). The number of parishes also changed. In 1891, there were 1,696 of them, but in order to provide a better material support for the clergy and churches, the government slightly reduced their number to 1,321 in 1912. In addition, 11 for men (including and Pochaiv Lavra) and 6 for women monasteries (Horodyshchenskyi, Dubnivskyi, Zymnenskyi, Koretskyi, Liubarskyi and Ovrutskyi) (Zhyliuk, 1996, pp. 16–18).

After the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the imperial authorities kept an eye on the Roman Catholic Church, as it was hostile to it, subordinated to the Pope directly. The authorities introduced a number of legislative acts, as a result of which in the Russian Empire the main rule of the Roman Catholic Church was violated: the Catholics

were removed from the supremacy of the Pope. Instead, a separate system of governance was created and appointed its own Supreme Church hierarchy for all Roman Catholics of the state. In 1797, the Department for Roman Catholic Affairs – the highest governing body of the Roman Catholic Church – was established under the College of Justices of Livonian, Estonian and Finnish Affairs (PSZ, 1830, vol. 24, № 17 836). On November 13, 1801, it was replaced by the Roman Catholic Clerical College, which was subordinate to the Senate. The Vatican did not recognize the Collegium as an authoritative body of the Catholic Church in Russia until 1875 (Shostak, 2012, p. 332). Hence, the papal throne was removed from the administration of the Roman Catholic Church within the empire. It was clearly stated in Imperial Decree issued on March 17, 1799, in which it was emphasized that the Roman Catholic Church management should be carried out within the framework of the Russian legislation exclusively (PSZ, 1830, vol. 25, № 18 892).

The authorities legislated the ecclesiastical administrative system of the Roman Catholic Church based on the model of the Orthodox Church. According to Imperial Decree, issued on April 28, 1798, six Roman Catholic Dioceses were established in the newly annexed lands from Poland, one of which was Lutsk, headed by Bishop Kasper-Kazimir Tsetsishevsky (Kasper Kazimierz Cieciszowski), covered the Roman Catholic parishes of Volyn hubernia (PSZ, 1830, vol. 25, № 18 504). Kyiv Diocese (with a change of name to Zhytomyr Diocese) was joined to Lutsk Diocese already by the end of the year and one Diocese was created – Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Diocese headed by Bishop Kasper-Kazimir Tsetsishevsky, which had two cathedral churches – in Lutsk and Zhytomyr (Shostak, 2004, p. 134).

At the turn of the 18th – 19th centuries the structure of the Diocese was formed. It was divided into Deaneries, which united the Roman Catholic parishes of one or another povit. During the following decades, the boundaries of the Diocese changed, as some parishes were received by it, and some were included in the boundaries of other Dioceses (Tihonov, 2007, p. 88). The number of Deaneries ranged from 12 to 14. On August 3, 1847, a concordat was signed between the Russian Empire and the Apostolic Capital, which determined the territorial and administrative organization of the Roman Catholic Church and the specifics of its management. The number of Deaneries increased to 17, and the number of parishes equaled to 170 (SAZR, f. 178, d. 6, c. 165, pp. 1–2). In Volyn hubernia there were the following among them: the Deaneries of Zhytomyr (12 parishes), Zaslavskiyi (5 parishes), Novohrad-Volynskiyi (10 parishes), Ovrutskiyi (10 parishes) and Rivne Deanery (the number of parishes was not established). Hence, at the beginning of the 20th century more than 40 Roman Catholic parishes of Volyn hubernia were united into five Deaneries. Moreover, one parish could include more than a dozen settlements. The number of believers in parishes during the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries was also not stable. During this period, it doubled from 172,266 Roman Catholics in 1863 to 348,485 in 1912. (Obzor, 1913, p. 183). The above-mentioned growth in the number of the Roman Catholics was primarily connected with the growth in hubernia population. Because the Church continued to suffer from the policy of the authorities, the pressure of which was manifested in various spheres (Bilyk, 2019, p. 71).

The Russian authorities focused on the Roman Catholic monastic orders, which it considered to be the centres of opposition. In the first third of the 19th century 53 Roman Catholic monasteries (48 for men and 3 for women), which belonged to various monastic orders, operated in Volyn hubernia within Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese. There were parish schools at 33 monasteries, some of the monasteries maintained almshouses or hospitals.

The reason for the Roman Catholic monasteries dissolution was the November Uprising of 1830, which was supported by both the clergy and the faithful actively. There were closed 35 monasteries, their property was secularized and transferred to the state treasury, and then to the Orthodox Church (Kyryliuk, 2020, pp. 170–173). The number of the Roman Catholic monasteries continued to decrease: in 1866 there were 8 monasteries in Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese (6 of them in Volyn hubernia), in 1887 – 3 (two in Volyn hubernia – Dubenskyi and Zaslavskyi), and at the beginning of the 20th century remained only one Zaslav Bernardine Monastery (Shostak, 2004, p. 136).

In Volyn hubernia the church and religious life was also characterized by the presence of the Old Believers communities there, who did not recognize the church reform of Patriarch Nikon in 1653. The Old Believers moved, among other things, to remote hubernias of the Western Territory in order to avoid persecution by the Russian authorities and the Orthodox Church.

The legislation of the Russian Empire regarding the Old Believers was quite strict. The authorities forbade them to build churches, prayer houses and bell towers, limited their civil and electoral rights. There was a change of the state policy towards the Old Believers during the reign of Olexander III. In 1883, he granted the right to worship to the “dissidents” on the condition that they fulfill the general rules of religious and public order. At the beginning of the 20th century the pressure on the Old Believers eased somewhat, but under the influence of the official Orthodox Church in a few years their rights were curtailed again (Miroshnychenko, 2019, pp. 17–21).

The Old Believer communities appeared in Volyn at the end of the 18th century. In the middle of the 19th century the Old Believers communities were recorded in the east of the hubernia, in the villages of Pylypy, Horodenka, Vilsk, Andrushivka, Miaskovtsi (Miaskivka) of Zhytomyr povit, Cholivka povit, Ovrutskyi povit, and Yanushivka of Novohrad-Volynskyi povit (Polishchuk, 2007, pp. 396–397). Despite the small number of settlements, these extremely closed groups of the Old Believers were quite numerous. In particular, there were recorded 1,200 people in hubernia at the beginning of the 19th century and there were 3,550 in the middle of the 19th century, and according to the 1897 census – 8,282 people (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 11, d. 1, c. 32, p. 27; c. 36, p. 32; Pervaya, p. VIII). The representatives of both currents of the Old Believers lived in Volyn hubernia – the Popivtsi, who recognized the need for the presence of priests at religious services and conducting rituals, and non-Popivtsi, who, after the death of the old ordained clergy, did not accept priests ordained after the Nikon reform, and therefore did not see a need for them.

Due to the prohibitions, the Old Believers had only ten temples in Volyn. In the majority of cases, they held secret services in private houses. During the entire period, the Old Believers remained under the watchful eye of the Orthodox Church, which sought to convert them in any way it could. A whole missionary movement was launched in order to implement the above-mentioned, the results of which, however, were modest. In 1912, there were only 251 monotheists recorded in Volyn hubernia – people, who, nevertheless, joined the Russian Orthodox Church, and 7,954 Old Believers. They were mainly concentrated in three povits – Zhytomyr povit – 3,993 people, Novohrad-Volynskyi povit – 1,851, and Ovrutskyi povit – 1,736 as a century ago. In the remaining povits, the number of the Old Believers was the following: Volodymyr-Volynskyi povit – 87, Kovel povit – 49, Lutsk povit – 38, Dubenskyi povit – 27, Rivneskyi povit – 77, Kremenetskyi povit – 21, Ostrohskyi povit – 21, Zaslavskyi povit – 9, Starokostiantynivskyi povit – 45 (Pamyatnaya, 1912, pp. 54–59).

Volyn hubernia was assigned by the Russian government to those territories where the representatives of the Jewish nationality had the right to live. Thus, a strip of the Jewish

settlement passed through the territory of hubernia, which was introduced by the decree of Catherine II back in 1791 as a response to the complaints of the Christian merchants about the Jewish merchants. It was formed during the 19th century, and within this closed strip there was a tendency to form an even narrower strip, which was manifested in the Jews eviction from the countryside and their concentration in cities and towns. Initially, these measures were aimed at limiting the economic freedom of the Jews, and later the task arose to separate the Jewish population from the Christian population and deprive the latter of its influence. The unfriendly attitude of the Russian authorities towards the Jewish population, which resulted in the restriction of the Jews' rights, is explained, among other things, by the peculiarities of the Jewish faith – one of the main theses of Judaism, about the chosenness of the Jewish people, completely contradicted the policy of Russification and Orthodoxy of the population in the newly annexed lands (Melnyk, 2018, pp. 54–55).

There were 14,265 Jews, who performed religious practices in 19 synagogues and 53 prayer schools at the turn of the 18th – 19th centuries in Volyn (Eвреjskaya, 1912, p. 535). During the 19th century their number grew rapidly. In the 1870s, there were more than 211,000 Jews in hubernia, according to the 1897 census, there were already 394,774 of them (Pervaya, 1904, p. 90). There were 529,257 Jews in hubernia in 1912, the majority of them lived in small towns (Pamyatnaya, 1912, pp. 60–61). The Jews were the majority of the population, in particular in all the towns of hubernia, in 6 towns (Ostroh, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynskiy, Starokostiantyniv, Rivne, Novohrad-Volynskiy) – the absolute majority (55–62%), with the exception of Kremenets, in 5 cities (Dubno, Zhytomyr, Zaslav, Kovel, Ovruch) – 46–49%. There were 245 prayer houses, which functioned in hubernia in the middle of the 19th century, and by the end of the century their number had increased to 332 (Obzor, 1883, p. 22).

The great importance in the life of the Jewish communities was always attached to strict observance of Judaism, the development of the system of self-government, traditional education, and the upbringing of the younger generation (Nadolska, 2016, p. 4). In the Jewish communities religious, educational and judicial functions were performed by the Rabbinate, which included authoritative representatives of the community headed by a rabbi. The rabbi was not only a religious leader, but also a mediator between the community and the local government (Polishchuk, 2012, p. 294). The Russian authorities limiting the rights of the Jews, did not bypass the institution of rabbis. At the beginning of the 19th century the candidacy of the rabbi elected by the community had to be approved by the provincial government, and from the second half of the 19th century the government generally introduced the position of the so-called state rabbi, who received a corresponding certificate and payment for his work from the treasury. His duties included representing the community in local authorities, explaining to members of the community the content of adopted laws and orders, keeping metric books, and on public holidays concluding his sermons with calls for obedience to the authorities (Polishchuk, 2008, p. 73).

There were two trends in Judaism from the second half of the 18th century in Volyn – Orthodox Judaism (Rabbinism) and Hasidism – the newest direction of Judaism, where the key role was played by the Tzaddiks, who called on their followers to take a simpler approach to life, to be happy, to have fun, relying on God in everything. The Russian authorities considered Hasidism more dangerous than Judaism, and also fought against this current. In particular, it was expressed in the restriction of the Tzaddiks' rights. At first, they had to get permission from the authorities to move around hubernia. Later on, believing that the Tzaddiks were provoking disorder and disobedience to the authorities, they were generally forbidden to leave

their place of residence. The authorities also tried to limit the activities of the Hasids by banning their literature, which was published in the Jewish printing houses of Korets, Dubno, Slavuta, and Polonno (Polishchuk, 2012, p. 303). The Orthodox Jews also joined the struggle of the authorities against the Hasids. However, in the 80s of the 19th century these two currents of Judaism were able to understand each other and coexist in the future peacefully.

The Russian government did everything in its power to encourage the Jews to recognize Christianity and adopt the Orthodox faith. Education was one of the ways to achieve the above-mentioned goal. The Russian authorities began to introduce secondary special education for the Jews. In 1847, Rabbinical School was opened in Zhytomyr aimed at training the personnel for the Jewish schools and educating law-abiding rabbis, which in 1873 was reorganized into Zhytomyr Jewish Teachers' Training Institute. The institution operated until 1885 (Rudnytska, 2014, p. 121).

According to the 1897 census, 3,117 men and 94 women were engaged in educational and educational activities among the Jews in Volyn gubernia, 93 men and 12 women worked professionally in science, literature, and art, 82 in jurisprudence, and 468 in medical and sanitary institutions (Pervaya, 1904, pp. 90–111).

Protestantism began to spread through the territories of Volyn gubernia from the second half of the 19th century, whose representatives were the Germans and the Czechs. The first Baptist communities of the Germans were recorded in the village of Sorochyn and Neidorf colonies in Zhytomyr region, in 1862 – 1863. In the following years, several more communities were founded, and their number began to grow actively after 1879, when Baptism was officially allowed by the Russian authorities. It is known that there were more than 50 Baptist communities of the Germans in eight povits of the gubernia (except Kovel'skyi povit, Volodymyr-Volyn'skyi povit, Starokostiantyniv'skyi povit, and Kremenetskyi povit) in 1912. At the same time, the Czech Baptist communities appeared in Volyn. One of the first was the registered community in the village of Kulychiv of Volodymyr-Volyn'skyi povit. At the beginning of the 20th century there were about 20 Czech Baptist communities in Volyn, which were concentrated mainly in Lutsk and Dubno povits (Levterova, 2017, p. 96).

Among the local indigenous population, the ideas of Protestantism, the source of which were the German and the Czech colonists, began to spread at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. From the official sources of that time, it was not easy to find out how widespread the evangelical movement was among the Ukrainians of gubernia, because statistical data, as a rule, indicated the total number of the Protestants without specifying their nationality. There is an opinion that it was in Volyn gubernia that the largest number of foreign Protestants was concentrated, and, hence, their influence on the local population was decisive. Although we can state that if to compare to other gubernias, the share of the Ukrainian Protestants in Volyn was not the largest. In particular, in 1912 there were 6,000 Ukrainians out of 15,784 registered evangelists in Volyn gubernia (Opria, 2004, p. 165).

The first Ukrainian Baptist communities formation was associated with the name of Ivan Riaboshapka at the end of the 1870s, who came from the south of Ukraine and baptized the first evangelists in the villages of Tudoriv of Ostroh and Syniv of Rivne povit. The documents recorded communities in the villages of Pekarshchyna, Horoshky and Dashenka, Fasiv'ska Rudnia of Zhytomyr povit (SAZR, f. 1, d. 22, c. 1336, pp. 1–55), Suiemets of Novohrad-Volyn'skyi, Konotopy of Zaslav'skyi, Smoldyrevo of Novohrad-Volyn'skyi povit. At the beginning of the 20th century the evangelical communities emerged in Dubno (1902), Kovel (1908), Lutsk (1911), Rivne (1912) and Zdolbuniv (1916) (Levterova, 2017, pp. 94–98).

The Seventh-day Adventists were another stream of Protestantism in Volyn, but Adventist communities of the Ukrainians began to emerge there later.

The Conclusion. The following could be stated while characterizing the church and religious life of the population of Volyn hubernia from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century: during the specified period, the confessional composition of the population of the hubernia underwent significant changes. At the time of Volyn's accession to the Russian Empire, its entire population belonged to two churches – the Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. A significant part of the population also professed Judaism. The religious policy of the Russian authorities aimed at establishing the dominance of the Orthodox Church in the region by destroying the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and limiting the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, in the middle of the 19th century a significant part of the population of hubernia became believers of two churches – the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic. At the same time, a small part of the Old Believers appeared in the region, who came there from other regions of the empire. Despite the authorities' attempts to limit the rights of the Jews, their number grew steadily. The ideas of Protestantism spread in Volyn from the second half of the 19th century, the main carriers of which were the German colonists.

Hence, at the beginning of the 20th century the population of Volyn hubernia was multi-confessional, there were communities of the Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, the Orthodox and the Hasidic Jews, the Protestants and the Old Believers, and the Orthodox Church became dominant. Religious organizations belonging to these denominations had their own structure, management, etc., which should be the subject of further studies.

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**RUSSIAN IMPERIAL EXPANSIONISM AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY EXPLORED
BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF MARXISM**

Abstract. *The purpose of this paper is to conduct a detailed analysis of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that scrutinize historical circumstances of formation of the expansionist foreign policy course implemented by Muscovy – Russia, i.e., the works of the founding fathers of Marxism which were carefully hidden by the USSR Communist authorities because they give devastating criticism of the foreign policy of Russian state formations in the 13th – 19th centuries aimed at achieving a global domination. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity,*

authorial objectivity, and the use of both general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** of the research consists in the fact that the comprehensive study of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on the foreign policy of Muscovy – Russia was conducted, since the relevant research allowed these authors to find out historical origins of the Russian expansionism and to predict Russia's aggressive behaviour in the international arena for centuries to come. **The Conclusion.** Comprehensive analysis of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on the foreign policy of Muscovy – Russia, which were silenced and criticized in the Communist USSR, allows a researcher to find out the origins, essence, tools and consequences of the implementation of the foreign policy strategy of Russian state formations in the 13th – 19th centuries. Written in the second half of the 19th century, the articles of these famous German philosophers draw scientifically objective conclusions on the Russian policy of imperial expansion to have been borrowed by the founding fathers of Muscovy – Russia from the Khans of the Golden Horde. Since Marx and Engels were recognized as the foremost advocates of the Communist ideology in the USSR, their balanced assessment of the foreign policy doctrine of Russian state formations aimed at achieving global domination became extremely unpleasant for the Soviet totalitarian regime. In this context, all the conclusions on the imperial essence of Russia made by the founding fathers of Marxism remain extremely important and relevant. They allow a researcher to answer the key question of modern-day international politics by explaining why the Russian Federation is constantly violating the peremptory norms of international law and why its authorities are permanently seeking to regain Russia's superpower status.

Key words: Marxism, Muscovy, Russia, imperial policy, expansionism, global domination.

РОСІЙСЬКИЙ ІМПЕРСЬКИЙ ЕКСПАНСІОНІЗМ ЯК ПРЕДМЕТ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ЗАСНОВНИКІВ МАРКСИЗМУ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – проведення всебічного аналізу праць Карла Маркса і Фрідріха Енгельса про історичні обставини формування експансіоністського зовнішньополітичного курсу Московії – Росії: праць основоположників марксизму, наявність яких ретельно приховувалась владою комуністичного СРСР, позаяк у них містилась нищівна критика зовнішньої політики російських державних утворень у XIII – XIX ст., спрямована на досягнення світового панування. **Методологія дослідження** заснована на принципах історизму, системності, авторської об'єктивності, використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у всебічному дослідженні творів К. Маркса і Ф. Енгельса про зовнішню політику Московії – Росії, аналіз якої дав змогу їх авторам з'ясувати історичні витoki московського експансіонізму і передбачити агресивну поведінку Росії на міжнародній арені на століття уперед. **Висновки.** Всебічний аналіз замовчуваних і критикованих у комуністичному СРСР творів Карла Маркса і Фрідріха Енгельса, в яких основоположники марксизму досліджують витoki, зміст, інструментарій і наслідки реалізації зовнішньополітичної стратегії Московії – Росії у XIII – XIX ст., допроваджує дослідника до науково об'єктивних, але вкрай неприемних для радянського тоталітарного режиму висновків про політику імперської експансії, що засновники Московії – Росії запозичили у ханів Золотої Орди. Ба більше, К. Маркс і Ф. Енгельс дають науково виважену оцінку зовнішньополітичної доктрини російських державних утворень, головною метою якої є досягнення світового панування. У цьому контексті висновки основоположників марксизму щодо імперської сутності Росії є вкрай важливими і актуальними, позаяк дають відповідь на ключове питання міжнародної політики сьогодення: чому Російська Федерація є головним порушником усталених норм міжнародного права й чому її влада прагне повернення Росії статусу “великої” держави.

Ключові слова: марксизм, Московія, Росія, імперська політика, експансіонізм, світове панування.

The Problem Statement. To tell the truth, the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were unlikely considered as collective works in any country in the world except the USSR and, therefore, the so-called ‘Socialist’ states. Lots of writings of these talented 19th– century

German philosophers were published altogether due to the appearance of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* written by Marx and Engels as the Communist League's Programme in 1848, and this fact consciously or unconsciously downplayed the significance of their individual works (Acton, 1964, p. 235). However, our analysis of two individual works written by Marx and Engels while studying historical development of the foreign policy of Russia is not a tribute to the Soviet publishing tradition but a confirmation of common views of the founding fathers of Marxism on the essence of Russian imperialism and the main tools for achieving the foreign policy goals used by the Russian diplomacy.

In the Soviet Union, the works of Marx and Engels were considered as the indisputable truth (Cohen-Almagor, 1991, p. 1): so, some of their individual writings had either been hidden from the public for a long time or published in highly expurgated versions. When the manuscripts of the philosophers being inconvenient for the Communist regime were ultimately published, they were usually accompanied by a number of comments which strived to prove that Marx and Engels had not criticized Russia as an imperial state and had hit out at the Russian autocratic regime only. Therefore, the desire to replace capitalism with a socialist political and economic system in the modern autocratic Russia as soon as possible had been the leitmotif in the thinkers' studies (Resis, 1970, p. 219). As they were founders and advocates of the Communist doctrine, one naturally could not expect anything else from these philosophers (Wittfogel, 1960, p. 487). For example, Engels, while emphasizing the Russian Empire's constant interference in the affairs of the West as the main threat to European security, noted that not only socialists, but also all the progressive parties in different countries in the Western Europe were interested in changing the ruling regime in Russia (Engels, 1890). But those people, who examined the writings of the founding fathers in order to find the approval of the aggressive foreign policy of the Russian Empire, were actually seeking the justification for the aggressive foreign policy of the Soviet Union that was camouflaged by the process of formation of the world proletarian state to have supposedly been designed by Marx. However, one could find strong evidence for their wishful thinking. So, those people concealed or criticized Marx' and Engels's works that emphasized the invariable strategic goals of all the Russian regimes – from the Tsardom of Muscovy to the USSR, – since all of them inherited aggressive traits of foreign policies of the state formations set up by the Russian ethnic group. Having been 'inconvenient' for the Soviet authorities, these particular works of Marx and Engels are targeted by our exploration.

We are going to analyze the first editions of the *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* written by Marx in 1856 – 1857 (Marx, 1857b) and Engels's *Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom* prepared by the philosopher in 1889 – 1890 (Engels, 1890). As these papers on the diplomatic history identified historical foundations, basic principles, methods and means for achieving the Russian strategic foreign policy goals, Engels's article was published in the USSR and further criticized by its leader Yosyp Stalin in 1934 and Marx's work was presented to the Soviet public only shortly before the collapse of the USSR in 1989.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The above-mentioned articles have quite actively been considered by various authors: both by those who sought to justify the extremely negative assessment of the aggressive essence of the foreign policy of Russia carried out by the founding fathers of Marxism through the substantiation of the 'high mission' of this state in the world (Gemkov, 1986) and those who revealed a model for deep scientific analysis of historical material presented by Marx' and Engels's works (Kirsenko, 2008; Siundiukov, 2018). Finally, there are some publications whose authors did not hesitate to affix a stigma of

‘Russophobe’ to Marx (Andreev, 2018; Mishchenko, 2019) because of his critical evaluation of Russia’s imperial nature. Thus, it is quite interesting to find out the cause of such polar views and considerations on the two papers of the philosophers we have previously announced.

The Purpose of the Research. This paper aims to analyze the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels which scrutinize the foundations and essence of the foreign policy of the Grand Principality of Moscow, the Tsardom of Muscovy, and the Russian Empire in the 13th – 19th centuries. The object of our exploration is represented by state formations with the Muscovite (Russian) people as their core, and the historical origins and main stages of development of the imperial foreign policy of Russian state formations in the 13th – 19th centuries constitute the subject of the present article.

The Results of the Research. The reason for banning the publication of Marx’s *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* in the USSR was the content of Chapter IV of this work which, according to the preface to the Russian translation of the paper, contains “extremely negative reviews of Russia and its rulers, as well as of the policy of Russian imperial expansion. Marx’s conclusions contradicted the great-power, patriotic concept of history to be instilled in the minds of people by the Soviet bureaucracy” (Marx, 1857a). Further, the Soviet leader Yosyp Stalin criticized Engels’s *Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom* in his article for the printed party magazine *Bolshevik* in 1934 (the article was published in 1941), while convincing the members of its editorial board of the inexpediency of publishing Engels’s work because, in Stalin’s opinion, “it had a number of shortcomings which may confuse the reader if this paper was published without critical remarks” (Stalin, 1941, p. 1). However, views of the founding fathers of the Communist doctrine on the essence and basic tools of the foreign policy of the Tsardom of Muscovy and all its successor states, such as the Russian Empire, the USSR and the Russian Federation, remain relevant. First of all, we engage with the attempt of Marx and Engels to elucidate historical roots of the Russian expansionism as the main instrument of the aggressive foreign policy of the Tsardom of Muscovy and its successors.

At the very beginning of Chapter IV of his work, Marx formulates a key question being also crucial today: “How did this power, or this phantom of a power, contrive to assume such dimensions as to rouse on the one side the passionate assertion, and on the other the angry denial of its threatening the world with a rehearsal of Universal Monarchy?” (Marx, 1857c). The answer to this question is somewhat unexpected for researchers who have a little bit larger array of sources on the history of the foreign policy of Muscovy (Russia) than the one used by Marx. We primarily mean methodological inaccuracies that were inherent in most works on the history of formation of the Muscovite State written in the second half of the 18th – the 19th centuries. The main drawback of the papers employed by Marx was the identification of the history of Muscovy (since 1721, Russia) with the history of the medieval Kyivan Rus having its centre in the city of Kyiv. This fact does not seem strange, since the article *The Traditional Scheme of ‘Russian’ History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the East Slavs*, where the famous Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky argued that “the Kyivan State, law, and culture had been the product of the Ukrainian – Rus nationality” and the Vladimir – Muscovite State (the forerunner of present-day Russia) had become “the creation of another nationality, the Great Russian” (Hrushevsky, 1991, p. 8), was published only in 1904, i.e. almost half a century later (Voloshyn, 2017, pp. 210–211).

Even without having a sufficient source base, Marx, however, questioned the conclusions made by the researchers who claimed that the policy of Russia began “with the first Ruriks [the

successors of the Viking King Rurik being the founder of the ruling dynasty which usurped the throne of Kyiv], and has, with some interruptions indeed, been systematically continued to the present hour” (Marx, 1857c). Moreover, Marx, who worked with the version of history of the Kyivan Rurik Empire distorted by the Russian historiography and was a supporter of the ‘Norman theory’ of the origin of the Kyivan State (due to his acquaintance with the explorations of one of the authors of this theory, the German historian August Ludwig von Schlözer), reaches a logical conclusion that “warfare and organisation of conquest on the part of the first Ruriks differ in no point from those of the Normans in the rest of Europe” (Marx, 1857c). Casting doubt on the exclusivity of ways used by the Ruriks to expand the state territory of the Kyivan Rus through military conquest and seeking reasons for the aggressive essence of the Muscovite policy, Marx actually abandons the simplified (in fact, falsified) scheme of history of the ‘Russian State’ that predominated the Russian historiography during the stateless existence of Ukraine¹ and tries to discover the origins of the Russian expansionism in the other, ‘Mongol’ period of the Russian history, since, according to the philosopher, “the Russia of the Normans [the Kyivan Rus] completely disappears from the stage” (Marx, 1857c) after the Mongol invasion of Kyiv of 1240. Thus, Marx concluded that “the bloody mire of Mongolian slavery, not the rude glory of the Norman epoch, forms the cradle of Muscovy, and modern Russia is but a metamorphosis of Muscovy” (Marx, 1857c). He is absolutely right: we cannot state any kind of succession of Muscovy from the Kyivan Rus, as “the Tartar yoke had already lasted a hundred years before Muscovy emerged from its obscurity”, arose “by means of the Tartar yoke”, and ultimately got “an independent power by the disappearance of the Tartar rule” (Marx, 1857c).

Having become the successor of the Golden Horde by the end of the 15th century, Muscovy inherited all the domestic and foreign policy tools being intrinsic to the Mongol Empire (and not only to it). As Marx writes, “it was the traditional policy of the Tartar to check the Russian princes the one by the other, to feed their dissensions, to cause their forces to equiponderate and to allow none to consolidate himself” (Marx, 1857c). Thus, the Muscovite policy was based on the universal imperial principle *Divide et Impera!*

Marx considers princes Ivan I Kalita (1325 – 1340) and Ivan III (1462 – 1505) to have been the ardent supporters of this political line of Muscovy: the former laid the foundations of the Muscovite State, the latter turned it into the independent Grand Principality of Muscovy when, having conquered the territories around Moscow (e.g., Novgorod and Tver feudal republics), began the foreign policy expansion into the lands of the former Kyivan State which then formed part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rus and Samogitia. The further chronology of the Muscovite conquests is well known and there is no point dwelling on it in detail. However, we can undoubtedly understand the succession of the imperial policy of the Russian state formations by using Marx’s conclusion: “a simple substitution of names and dates will prove to evidence that between the policy of Ivan III, and that of modern Russia, there exists not similarity but sameness” (Marx, 1857c). The foundations of the aggressive foreign policy of Russia, according to Marx, were laid by the Prince of Muscovy Ivan Kalita. However, his policy based on the aspirations “to encroach by the fraudulent use of a hostile

¹ The decline of the Kyivan State after the Mongol invasion of the 1240-ies allowed the Moscow historian Mikhail Pogodin spreading the unscientific hypothesis about the ‘spillover’ of the history of the Kyivan Rus to Moscow that was fixed in the Russian historiography. Pogodin considered the dynastic connections to be a factor that linked the history of the Kyivan Rus with the history of Muscovy. The first arguments to refute this hypothesis were given by Mykhailo Hrushevsky: “This scheme is old, it has its origins in the historiographical scheme proposed by the Moscow bibliognosts, and it is based on a genealogical idea – the idea of the genealogy of the Moscow dynasty. This scheme has been forming the basis of the history of the ‘Russian State’ since the beginning of the scientific historiography in Russia” (Hrushevsky, 1991, p. 7).

power, to weaken that power by the very act of using it, and to overthrow it at last by the effects produced through its own instrumentality ... remained still the policy of Ivan III. It is yet the policy of Peter the Great, and of modern Russia, whatever changes of name, seat, and character the hostile power used may have undergone” (Marx, 1857c).

In Marx’s opinion, all these foreign policy tools were borrowed by the Muscovites from their former rulers, the Mongols. “It is in the terrible and abject school of Mongolian slavery that Muscovy was nursed and grew up. It gathered strength only by becoming a *virtuoso* in the craft of serfdom. Even when emancipated [from the Mongol yoke], Muscovy continued to perform its traditional part of the slave as master. At length Peter the Great coupled the political craft of the Mongol slave with the proud aspiration of the Mongol master, to whom Genghis Khan had, by will, bequeathed his conquest of the earth” (Marx, 1857c).

To realize the idea of creating the world empire, the Muscovite rulers lacked a direct access to the sea, as only “by the conversion of Muscovy from a country wholly of land into a sea-bordering empire, that the traditional limits of the Muscovite policy could be superseded and merged into that bold synthesis which, blending the encroaching method of the Mongol slave with the world-conquering tendencies of the Mongol master, forms the life-spring of modern Russian diplomacy” (Marx, 1857d)². Thus, to gain and maintain control over the Baltic Sea Area, Peter I founded the new capital of Muscovy, the city of Saint Petersburg. According to Marx, “it is the transfer of the capital which reveals the true meaning of his Baltic conquests. Petersburg was not like Muscovy, the centre of a race, but the seat of a government...” (Marx, 1857d) whose main foreign policy task was to transform the continental Muscovy into an influential maritime power. Having established quite friendly ties with the Western states, Peter the Great planned to turn Muscovy into the Eurasian empire through their mediation. However, permanent trade and economic relationships with all maritime powers established by Peter I after the Muscovite victory over Sweden in the Great Northern War and the consequent conquest of the Baltic provinces made these actors dependent on Muscovy while obtaining shipbuilding components and materials. Therefore, Muscovy, but not Sweden, started taking control of trade routes in the Baltic Sea.

In Marx’s opinion, the rulers of England were important in realising the plans of Peter I and his successors in the same way as the Khans of the Golden Horde had once been instrumental in realising the plans of Ivan III and his predecessors (Marx, 1857d). There was strong historical evidence to support his point of view. Despite a number of warnings about the dangers of indulging the Muscovite imperial ambitions contained in diplomatic and intelligence reports being sent from Saint Petersburg to the royal governments in London, the latter did not take these notifications too seriously. Trying to weaken the Swedish power and influence in Europe, England, however, involuntarily contributed to the strengthening of Muscovy during the Great Northern War of 1700 – 1721.

Just as Marx’s conclusion on the invariability of the foreign policy of Russia aimed at asserting its world domination was not taken into account, so Engels’s warning about the imperial nature of the Russian autocracy expressed in his article *Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom* was not heeded by the Western politicians. In Engels’s point of view, “by its ceaseless meddling in the affairs of the West”, Russia “cripples and disturbs our normal development, and this with the object of conquering geographical positions, which will assure to Russia the mastery over Europe, and thus crush every chance of progress under the iron heel of the Tsar” (Engels, 1890).

² Chapter V of this work reflects one of Engels’s studies on Pan-Slavism to have never been published.

The leading Russian diplomats are at the forefront of Russia's progress toward the world domination, as, according to Engels, "Russian diplomacy forms, to a certain extent, a modern Order of Jesuits". By using any means to achieve the main goal of the state, this "diplomatic band of Jesuits", "originally recruited from foreign adventurers, has raised the Russian Empire to its present power. With iron perseverance, gaze fixed resolutely on the goal, shrinking from no breach of faith, no treachery, no assassination, no servility, lavishing bribes in all directions, made arrogant by no victory, discouraged by no defeat, stepping over the corpses of millions of soldiers and of, at least, one Tsar, this band, unscrupulous as talented, has done more than all the Russian armies to extend the frontiers of Russia from the Dnieper and Dwina to beyond the Vistula, to the Pruth, the Danube and the Black Sea; from the Don and Volga beyond the Caucasus and to the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes; to make Russia great, powerful, and dreaded, and to open for her the road to the sovereignty of the world" (Engels, 1890).

Engels considers the huge territory and the slave and submissive population of Russia to be no less important factors that affect the growth of its power in the world. "Look at Russia in the middle of last century [the 18th century]", Engels proposes. It had "a colossal territory even at that time, peopled by a peculiarly homogeneous race. A sparse, but rapidly-growing population; therefore an assured growth of power with mere lapse of time. This population, intellectually stagnant, devoid of all initiative, but, within the limits of their traditional mode of existence, fit to be used for, and to be moulded into, anything; tenacious, brave, obedient, contemptuous of hardship and fatigue, unsurpassable stuff for soldiers in the wars of that time where the fighting of compact masses was decisive. The country itself with only one – its Western – side turned towards Europe, and so only attackable on that side; without any centre, the conquest of which might compel a peace; almost absolutely safeguarded against conquest by absence of roads, immenseness of surface, and poverty of resources. Here was a position of impregnable strength, ready for any one who knew how to use it, whence that might be done with impunity, which would have brought war after war upon any other Government in Europe" (Engels, 1890).

Taking into consideration all the above-mentioned conclusions made by Marx and Engels, we can state them to be relevant nowadays. It may be no accident that in 1934 Stalin declared some of Engels's works to be "extremely inaccurate", "absolutely hostile to the Russian people", as they "could be used by their enemies": so, such papers must be strictly forbidden (Siundiukov, 2018). It stands to reason that he meant the article we have analyzed. However, modern European politicians (especially those who have illusions about establishing constructive cooperation with Russia) should read the above-quoted works of Marx and Engels very carefully. In that case, they might get rid of the fancy ideas of mutually fruitful collaboration with the Russian Federation.

Marx' and Engels's warnings about the imperial nature of Russia and its foreign policy goals are more relevant today than ever. Because of the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula and the well-planned Russian aggression against Ukraine started in 2014, the history repeats: the lack of the European unity and the constant underestimation of the Russian capabilities pose the same threats to international security nowadays, just like more than 300 years ago, during the Great Northern War. European politicians are well aware of the dangers involved. However, some of them still indulge imperial ambitions of the Russian Federation in order to achieve the ephemeral goal of establishing a common security area stretching from Lisbon to Vladivostok.

The overtures to Russia and support for its foreign policy are proved to be detrimental to the international security interests because of the Russian activities towards the post-Soviet states. When the Russian military forces entered Georgia on 8 August 2008, the global

political experts and leaders were divided into those who determined the Five-Day War as an act of aggression and violation of international law by Russia and those who considered the Russian invasion of Georgia as the historical mission of the Kremlin, since the RF military action ‘Operation to Force Georgia to Peace’ might put an end to political instability in the South Caucasus region. The fact that the Russian Federation would continue various dangerous military conflicts in Libya, Syria, Ukraine, and other countries in the world because of a centuries-old tradition of its expansionist foreign policy could only be predicted by the politicians and scholars who remembered the warnings about the unchanging aggressive essence of the Muscovite – Russian foreign policy to have been given by the contemporaries of the German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the second half of the 19th century (Naarden, 1990, p. 783).

The Conclusion. Therefore, the analysis of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on the foreign policy of Muscovy – Russia, which were silenced and criticized in the Communist USSR, allowed us to find out the origins, essence, tools and consequences of the implementation of the foreign policy strategy of Russian state formations in the 13th – 19th centuries. Written in the second half of the 19th century, the articles of these famous German philosophers draw scientifically objective conclusions on the Russian policy of imperial expansion to have been borrowed by the founding fathers of Muscovy – Russia from the Khans of the Golden Horde. Since Marx and Engels were recognized as the foremost advocates of the Communist ideology in the USSR, their balanced assessment of the foreign policy doctrine of Russian state formations aimed at achieving global domination became extremely unpleasant for the Soviet totalitarian regime. In this context, all the conclusions on the imperial essence of Russia made by the founding fathers of Marxism remain extremely important and relevant. They allow us to answer the key question of modern-day international politics by explaining why the Russian Federation is constantly violating the peremptory norms of international law and why its authorities are permanently seeking to regain Russia’s superpower status.

As leaders of the European countries have been playing very sophisticated geopolitical games since the official proclamation of the Russian Empire in 1721, they allowed once neglected and internationally weak Muscovy to undergo several state transformations and to maintain its imperial status under various names, such as the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and the Russian Federation. So, despite all the efforts to prove the contrary, Russia has long become the ‘Evil Empire’ whose collapse was awaited not only by the founding fathers of Marxism, but also by the entire civilized world.

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**IMPERIAL PRACTICES OF NATION BUILDING UNDER
THE CONDITIONS OF THE 19th AND THEIR MODIFICATIONS
DURING WORLD WAR I: UKRAINIAN CONTEXT**

Abstract. The aim of the research. The purpose of the article is to study the influence of the practices of the Austrian / Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, their “official” nationalisms during the

19th century and World War I on the processes of nation-building of the peoples oppressed by them, the formation of the Ukrainian national project. **The research methodology**, in addition to general scientific principles and methods, is primarily based on the approaches of modern national studies, intellectual history, and visual anthropology. **The scientific novelty** consists in the systematic analysis of the influence of the imperial situation of the 19th century, which was associated with national movements and nation-building of the so-called “oppressed peoples”, as well as “official” nationalisms, on the formation of the Ukrainian national project, which had different development trajectories under the conditions of two monarchies. It is argued that the situation provoked by World War I did not deepen the gap between the Ukrainians of the two empires, but contributed to the achievement of an understanding of their unity outside the imperial contexts. At the same time, the peculiarities of the formation of “official” nationalisms, which could not offer convincing options that would become an alternative to the nationalisms of the “outskirts”, have been considered. The challenges faced by intellectuals in search of their own identity have been analyzed. The content of propaganda products with a national subtext, as well as the role of famous artists in the formation of the image of the enemy during World War I have been elucidated. **The Conclusion.** Since the Ukrainians were subjects of the Romanov and Habsburg empires, they became a special object of attention and, accordingly, propaganda. In the Russian Empire, the formation of the foundations of “official nationalism” was influenced by the ideas of Pan-Slavism. The conditions of World War I intensified the struggle of the two imperial centers for the preservation of Ukrainian loyalty, which had positive consequences for the development of the Ukrainian national movement and nation-building, and led to the emergence of Ukrainian states. Despite the short duration of their existence in the interwar period, they had far-reaching political consequences.

Keywords: empires, nations, nation-building, Pan-Slavism, World War I, propaganda.

ІМПЕРСЬКІ ПРАКТИКИ НАЦІЄТВОРЕННЯ В УМОВАХ XIX ст. ТА ЇХ МОДИФІКАЦІЇ ПІД ЧАС ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ: УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КОНТЕКСТ

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження впливу практик Австрійської / Австро-Угорської та Російської імперій, їх “офіційних” націоналізмів протягом XIX ст. і Першої світової війни на процеси націєтворення пригноблених ними народів, формування українського національного проєкту. **Методологія дослідження**, окрім загальнонаукових принципів і методів, базується на підходах сучасних національних студій, інтелектуальної історії та візуальної антропології. **Наукова новизна** полягає у системному аналізі впливу імперської ситуації XIX ст., що пов’язувалася із національними рухами і націєтворенням так званих “пригноблених народів”, а також “офіційних” націоналізмів на формування українського національного проєкту, який мав різні траєкторії розвитку в умовах двох монархій. Аргументовано, що ситуація, спровокована Першою світовою війною, не поглибила прірву між українцями двох імперій, а сприяла досягненню розуміння їх єдності поза імперськими контекстами. Проаналізовано виклики, перед якими постали інтелектуали у пошуках власної ідентичності. Досліджено зміст пропагандистської продукції із національним підтекстом, а також роль відомих митців у формуванні образу ворога під час Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Оскільки українці були підданими двох імперій, вони перетворилися на особливий об’єкт уваги, її відповідно, пропаганди. У Російській імперії на формування засад “офіційного націоналізму” вплинули ідеї панславізму. Умови Першої світової війни максимально загострили боротьбу двох імперських центрів за збереження лояльності українців, що мало позитивні наслідки для розвитку українського національного руху та націєтворення, і призвело до появи українських держав. Попри нетривалість їх існування у міжвоєнний період, вони мали далекосяжні політичні наслідки.

Ключові слова: імперії, нації, націєтворення, панславізм, Перша світова війна, пропаганда.

The Problem Statement. In the 19th century in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, an active process of nation formation took place. World War I caused tectonic shifts in social, economic and identification processes. The destruction of continental empires and the emergence of new national states became the main results of this world clash. The

representatives of the Slavic peoples, who in various conditions were within the Habsburg and Romanov dynastic monarchies, faced the question of finding optimal ways for their further development.

The scientific understanding of how the imperial practices of the 19th and early 20th centuries, “official” nationalisms, and propagandistic opposition affected national movements and nationalization of the so-called “oppressed peoples”, the formation of the Ukrainian national project is an important task of modern historical science. Focusing attention on this fact, it should be noted that it is especially relevant in the conditions of Russia’s large-scale war against Ukraine.

The Analysis of Sources and Publications. To highlight the main points of the article, studies belonging to the “classic” category in the field of national and imperial studies were of great importance. First of all, these are the works of B. Anderson (Anderson, 2001), built on anthropological and constructivist approaches to understanding the phenomenon of the nation. Similar methodological approaches characterize E. Smith’s research on identity problems (Smit, 1994). E. Hobsbaum’s work in the field of national studies (Hobsbaum, 2010). It is primarily an approach based on the analysis of nations and the place of the national question in empires from the standpoint of various circumstances – political, economic, administrative, and even technical. The problems of Ukrainian nation-building and its imperial contexts were studied by such modern historians as T. Snyder (Snyder, 2003), A. Kappeler (Kappeler, 2005, 2022), S. Plokhiy (Plokhiy, 2016).

Among the Ukrainian scholars in the field of the history of the 19th century, and, accordingly, Ukrainian nation-building, we should mention first of all Ya. Hrytsak, who made one of the first attempts to consider the Ukrainian history of the 19th – 20th centuries in the context of Western theories of nations and nationalism (Hrytsak, 2019). The study of Ukraine through imperial and anthropological optics, destroying certain stereotypes, was proposed by V. Shandra and O. Arkusha (Shandra & Arkusha, 2022).

One of the imperial practices was the “appropriation” and fitting into the newly created historical context of the territories that became its property during the “long” 19th century. This happened due to wars, and southern Ukraine, whose lands were directly connected with the Cossack pages of history and controversial relations with the Turks and the Crimean Tatars, was no exception. The historical aspects of the imperial concept of “Novorossiya” and the level of its correlation with the realities of the life of the region’s population in the period under consideration are the subject of the article by M. Mykhailenko and O. Cheremisin (Mykhailenko & Cheremisin, 2020).

The article by M. Haliv is devoted to the comparative aspects of imperial studies (Haliv, 2018). Among the imperial practices that made them similar, the author highlights the desire to preserve monarchical institutions and create conditions for ensuring subjects’ loyalty to empires. Significant attention is also paid to the content of assimilation policies, which, despite certain differences, had much in common.

In national historiography, the issue of propaganda during World War I does not have a wide range of researchers. There are single works, among which there should be mentioned first of all the studies of O. Mosiienko’s (Mosiienko, 2014; 2019), devoted to the problem of forming the image of the enemy through propaganda of the warring parties. The article by R. Kutsyk (Kutsyk, 2022) offers an analysis of the visualisation of the enemy and World War I events on the Kyiv press pages, with a key focus on the openly pro-Russian, monarchist “Kyivlianyyn”. The analysis of publications and visual materials in such journals allows us

to understand the overall direction and content of the imperial policy of self-preservation in war conditions.

A comparison of the effectiveness/efficiency of different national projects and situations helps to find answers to some of the questions outlined in the introduction. Like the Ukrainian and Jewish issue, the Polish issue united empires and made them similar in the national context. Despite the defeats of two uprisings in the 19th century, why did the current Polish project become possible under the conditions of World War I? The Polish researchers T. Sikorski and A. Wałtor offer their version of the answer (Sikorski & Wałtor, 2021). An extensive scientific, informational and propaganda campaign of Polish politicians and intellectuals in Western Europe on the eve of World War I yielded positive results. External support and willingness to accept the Poles outside of any imperial context played a leading role in recognizing its independence in November of 1918. It seems that the current president of Ukraine has taken into account the shortcomings of Ukrainian politicians of a century ago and has done everything possible, together with diplomats, representatives of civil society and the military, to ensure global support for our country in its struggle for freedom and independence.

The study of the imperial period in history is not possible without the works and documents related to it and presenting it, since the official records of the empire were conducted in Russian. Therefore, among the sources and literature used during the writing of the article, there are works of both historians of the imperial period (Pogodin, 2010) and modern researchers, whose works are based on the latest methodological approaches and were published before the beginning of the war (Vishlenkova, 2011). The article uses digitized archival materials presented on the websites of Russian libraries (*Spravka o položenii voennoplennykh, 1914 – 1917*), as well as materials from Ukrainian archives (CSHAUK, 1916. f. 336, d. 4, c. 36, 107 p.; CSHAUL, f. 414, d. 1, c. 7, 98 p.).

The authors also referred to the study of the problems of nation building and national identity in their publications. The role of language and education in the formation of national projects and the imperial practices of oppression and restrictions (Vengerska, 2019a), the problems of mental mapping associated with the formation of ideas about both imperial and national territories (Vengerska, 2019b). The historical and cultural foundations of the formation of the Ukrainian nation were also reflected in the relationship with the modern tasks of nation- and state-building (Kozlovets & Fedorenko, 2012).

The Purpose of the Article. The purpose of the article is to study the impact of the practices of the Habsburg and Romanov empires, their “official” nationalisms on the processes of nation-building of the peoples oppressed by them, the formation of the Ukrainian national project.

The Results of the Research. The process of forming nations took place during the “long 19th century”. Under the conditions of Eastern and Central Europe, a special role in this process belonged to the so-called “national awakeners”, first of all, historians and linguists, artists and representatives of the church. Despite their small number, they played a notable role in the formation of basic ideas about the content, ideological justification, structuring and vision of the political future of national movements.

The multi-ethnicity and multi-confessional nature of the empires, on the territory of which representatives of the Slavic peoples lived under different conditions, prompted the search of optimal ways of their further development. From the end of the 18th century federal projects gained the most popularity. The ideas of the Slavic unity and cultural community were developed by representatives of Western and Southern Slavs (Slovaks P. Šafarik and J. Kollar, Serb V. Karadžić, etc.) (Magocsi & Pop, 2005). Under the conditions of the

November Uprising of 1830 – 1831, Adam Mickiewicz proposed his version of pan-Slavism, which was based on the ideas of Polish messianism. These ideas were echoed in the programme documents of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, but M. Kostomarov (their author) assigned the role of the messiah to the Ukrainians (Spysky, 1990).

The Russian official historians/ideologues suggested that the Russian Empire could be given the status of a leader in possible unification processes. The reasons for such a position were victories in a series of Russo-Turkish wars and the French-Russian war of 1812. The confrontation with Napoleon, also became an argument in favour of Russia. Participation in foreign campaigns, the suppression of the revolution in Hungary in 1849, further strengthen the status of Russia as a state that, fighting against the revolutions that that personified the conventional “West”, could offer its own path of development and provide protection to the Slavic “brothers”.

M. Pogodin as early as the 30s of the 19th century formulated ideas about the superiority of the Slavs over other peoples, the “hostility of the West” and declared the “vocation of Russia” to be the hegemon in the Slavic world. Defining the territories whose inhabitants, according to his estimations, “make up one living integrity with us, because they are connected with us by inseparable ties of blood and language” (sic!), M. Pogodin speaks of “middle Europe to the Rhine and the Adriatic Sea”. A similar right, in his opinion, is given by “the history of Russia, representative in a certain sense of the Slavic tribes”; it is “the most important part of European history, and, accordingly, of history as a whole” (Pogodin, 2010, p. 90). M. Pogodin actually performed a “missionary” function related to the promotion of not so much Pan-Slavist as Russophile and Muscophile ideas on the territory of Western Ukraine in the first half of the 19th century, which was part of the Austrian Empire at that time.

Since the beginning of World War I, the ideas of pan-Slavism received a new sound and were actively used in Russian propaganda. Instead, the Austrian Empire, owing to the reforms of Joseph II and Maria Theresa back in the 70–80s of the 18th century, turned a significant majority of representatives of national communities into completely loyal subjects. The Czech variant of Austroslavism reflected the positions of supporters of loyalist approaches in building relations with the empire. F. Palatskyi and his followers (Magocsi & Pop, 2005) substantiated the legality of building the future of the Slavs with an updated version of the Austrian Empire on a federal basis.

In contrast to the Romanov empire, representatives of the Habsburg dynasty did not try to impose a single official language and define a “title” nation. The key idea of their rule and maintaining the authority of the government was based on the attempt to create a common home for all subjects of different nationalities under the protection of the crown. Political institutions, as well as periodicals (such, for example, as “Zoria Halytska”) stimulated the development of the Ukrainian movement and its representation in the social and political life of the empire. The new historical narrative of M. Hrushevskyi struck a devastating blow to the approaches that had been entrenched in Russian official historiography for a century. The appearance of “History of Ukraine-Rus” for the first time separated Ukrainian history from all-Russian history and undermined its existing version. However, as noted O. Arkusha and V. Shandra, “the concept of “East Tyroleans” did not go beyond politeness, and the actual actions of the Austrian government towards the Ukrainians were mostly dictated by Russian-Austrian and Polish-Austrian relations” (Shandra & Arkusha, 2022, p. 168).

Under the conditions of the Russian Empire, the ideas of pan-Slavism, which on the eve of World War I were transformed into “neo-Slavism”, turned into an inhibiting factor in the formation of the so-called “official nationalism”. The formation of concepts of “official”

nationalisms, which, among other things, included financial support for separatist movements on the territory of neighbours, became a kind of stumbling block, the beginning of the end of the world system of the 19th century (Venherska, 2013, p. 17). Their formation also depended on historians, who, as in the case of Pan-Slavism, suggested their own approaches to solving this problem. The reconciliation of imperial and national components, the problematic of “seeing Russian” (Vishlenkova, 2011) became a significant challenge for them.

The development and spread of the Ukrainian movement and its historical justification posed a problem for representatives of the Russian intellectual elite and politicians, which destroyed the scheme of the “three-unit” people. One of the well-known representatives of this environment, P. Struve, expressed his attitude towards Ukrainism in the following way: “Energetically and without any ambiguities and relaxations to enter into an ideological struggle with Ukrainism, how to weaken the tendency and even to cancel the great heritage of our history – all-Russian history”. The idea of trinity, in his opinion, overshadowed the importance of the existence of the Ruska (Ruthenian) nation and culture (*Zapyska pro ukrainskyi rukh*, 1916).

The position of P. Struve did not go unnoticed by representatives of the Ukrainian movement. In response to his statements, an anonymous letter signed “Mazepyntsi” appears. It speaks of the inability “on the part of the weakened and deeply demoralized syphilitic Great Russian tribe” to “penetrate the ideas of Struve”, for the implementation of which “the strength, freshness, enthusiasm of a reviving nation is needed ... makes clear the truth that with the Great Russians (more precisely, Muscovites), no agreement is possible” (*Zapyska pro ukrainskyi rukh*, 1916). According to the authors of the letter, “Russia cannot become progressive, it is going into decline, rotting and decaying.” (*Zapyska pro ukrainskyi rukh*, 1916).

The war intensified the confrontation between the empires to gain the loyalty of the Ukrainians. Vadym Levandovsky, researching the views of British scholars of the beginning of the 20th century, focuses on the analysis of the views of R. Seton-Watson. It was he, owing to contacts with representatives of the Ukrainian movement in Galicia, first of all, with A. Sheptytskyi and M. Hrushevskyyi, who emphasized that the “Ukrainian issue” became one of the main reasons that led to World War I. The “Ukrainian issue” is not a recent invention, but an old European problem, “as evidenced by the numerous books devoted to Ukrainian events, which were printed in English starting from the 17th century” (Levandovsky, 1996).

World War I brought the problem of empires to the fore. Friends-enemies, who for a century supported separatist movements on the field of the “adversary”, actually created situations of inevitability of departure for national apartments with their own hands. Before the war, espionage hysteria was intensifying in the empires and an atmosphere of well-founded suspicions was being fueled.

With the beginning of the war, the Muscophile/Russophile movement in Western Ukraine and its representatives automatically turned into spies in the eyes of the Austrian authorities. As well as members of Ukrainophile movements in the Russian Empire. Similar installations were actively supported by neighbouring countries during the 19th century. The Austrian authorities began to persecute Russophiles for the smallest, often hypothetical crimes. These included: membership in public organizations, such as the society named after Kachkovsky, or membership in the reading room of this organization (Vendland, 2015, pp. 559–574). The labelling of the Ukrainians as “Mazepyntsi” enters a new phase in the Russian Empire.

The Austrian and German governments supported the project of a group of Ukrainian social democrats who emigrated from the Russian Empire to Austria-Hungary at the beginning of the war. It is about the creation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU)

(M. Melenevskiy, O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskiy, V. Doroshenko, A. Zhuk, etc.). Owing to the financial support of Germany and Austria, the “beautifully laid out, illustrated publication” “*Visnyk SVU*” (“*Herald of SVU*”) was launched. During the period of 1914 – 1916, 90 the magazine issues were published. The “*Manifesto of the Main Ukrainian Council*” was already published in No. 2 of “*Visnyk SVU*”, the key message of which was embodied in the call “*Let the sun of free Ukraine rise on the ruins of the Russian tsarist empire!*” (*Zapyska pro ukrainskyi rukh*, 1916).

Since the beginning of the war, a significant number of openly propagandistic texts had appeared. The propagandists especially emphasized the “brotherhood” of the Russians, who “brought freedom to the Orthodox Galician-Russian people”. The Russian propagandists emphasized the massiveness of the Russophile movement and the number of its representatives: “thousands of the best sons of the long-suffering Galicia” and the dangers faced by its supporters, “...partly imprisoned in Austrian and Hungarian prisons, partly executed or hanged without trial or investigation” (*Izvestiya i zametki*, 1915, p. 2).

The realities of the Russian occupation of Galicia were far from the “brotherly” love depicted in propaganda texts. The number of people who unexpectedly found themselves on the territory of the camps that dotted the border towns and cities grew rapidly with each day of the war. The beginning of the war, the offensive of the Russian army in Galicia provoked the repression of the Austrian and Hungarian authorities against the Ruthenians of Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia. Residents of Lemkos villages, who were suspected of sympathizing with Russia, were among those affected by the repressive measures of the authorities. The camp in Thalerhof became the first camp, on the territory of which several thousand Ruthenians and Lemkos, who were accused of Muscovite orientation, and were in terrible conditions there. (*Makovskiy*, 1935, p. 48).

A similar situation of “rejection” from both political centres worked in favour of the Ukrainian project. Having found themselves in the position of “strangers”, the Ukrainians were forced to feel their own “otherness”. The war provoked the movement of large numbers of people from different regions within empires and to other empires. Prisoners of war became another category of war victims who needed attention from the imperial authorities. At the same time, they were considered as a resource in the information confrontation. The camps became the sites where the propaganda and subversive tools of the 20th century were put to work for the first time.

On the territory of the camps, among prisoners of war, refugees, and displaced persons, various educational structures and printing houses functioned, which produced campaigning and propaganda materials and carried out significant cultural and educational work that contributed to the formation of national identity. Thus, in one of the camps, which was located in the city of Gmind (Austria), a branch of “*Prosvita*” functioned with reading rooms and libraries, educational institutions for boys and girls aged 10-15 were opened, similar to vocational schools, but of a paramilitary type (*Makovskiy*, 1935, p. 67). For captured Ukrainians who served in the Russian army, in 1916, a weekly Russian-language newspaper “*Niedielia*” was published in Vienna, which was distributed among prisoners of war and had active employees who maintained correspondence with prisoners of war (*CSHAUL*, f. 414, d. 1, c. 7, 98 p.).

The conditions of the long stay of soldiers in the war, which over time received the characteristic of “trench”, had rather unexpected consequences: such a situation stimulated the development of elementary literacy among ordinary soldiers, and the need to communicate with relatives led to the popularization of another type of propaganda products with a limited

sphere of influence – postal postcards (CSHAUL, f. 414, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 34–38). Among soldiers, as well as prisoners of war, significant cultural and educational work is carried out aimed at the formation of national identity. Prisoners were given the opportunity to get an elementary level education. The ability to read and write expanded the influence of printed propaganda.

The national and cultural work of the members of the SVU and the division of prisoners by nationality were for the Austrian military command a means of recruiting volunteers for front-line propaganda. The Russian authorities, despite the signing of the agreement on the creation of proper conditions for prisoners of war, did not concern themselves with these issues. Documents from the period of World War I, digitized and presented on the websites of certain Russian libraries, confirm the lack of proper conditions of stay in the camps or in prison for Austrian prisoners of war. Observers confirmed the fact that the majority of prisoners were actually starving. In addition to inadequate food, the practical absence of a minimum financial support even for officers was emphasized. Of course, under such conditions it is difficult to imagine attempts to create and operate cultural and educational institutions like those that existed in camps for prisoners of war of the Russian army in Austria and Germany (Spravka o polozhzhii voennoplennyih, 1914 – 1917).

The historical and ethnic features of the border regions of Galicia, Volhynia and Podillia were also reflected in the propaganda confrontation between the two empires, which was intensified from the beginning of World War I and acquired new features and dimensions with each passing year. The Russian Orthodox Church played a prominent role in the propaganda confrontation during the war. Periodicals published under its patronage actively published materials of a frankly propagandistic nature, emphasizing that from the 13th century “the centuries-long suffering of the Galician-Russian people, centuries-long abuse of them by the Polish kings, lords and, in particular, by the Polish Catholic clergy” (Izvestiya i zametki, 1915, p. 2).

Representatives of the Ukrainian movement denied these statements, citing the following facts of the occupation of Galicia: “The Russian troops are robbing and terrorizing the population, raping women. They plundered Jaroslaw and other centres of Galicia. The famous Lviv Museum was destroyed, one of the best libraries in Austria, “The Scientific Society” library, was burned down. The Russian language is being introduced in management. The slightest attempt at resistance is suppressed by the execution of Galicians” (CSHAUK, f. 336, d. 4, c. 36, p. 28). The conclusion of the authors of the appeal is consistent with the current situation: “The Russian government has decided to destroy the Ukrainian nation” (CSHAUK, f. 336, d. 4, c. 36, p. 29).

During World War I, propaganda reached a new level. Artists who represented various directions of culture were actively involved in this activity. Over time, as in the case of K. Malevich and A. Lentukhov, representatives of avantgarde in fine arts, and futurism in poetry, V. Mayakovsky, their fame went far beyond the propaganda genre. It is noteworthy that V. Mayakovsky wrote poetic captions for posters authored by K. Malevich (Lubochna propaganda... , 2014). According to the researchers, V. Mayakovsky acted not only as the author of texts for the drawings of other artists, but also offered his own graphic images (Mikhalchuk, 2015).

The theme of the so-called Russian “liberation” of Western Ukrainian lands was popular in such a type of propaganda material as the lithographic lubok. They were made for an unpretentious, poorly educated consumer of similar products and gained particular popularity during the war. There was a series of luboks depicting the battles for Jaroslaw, Lviv, the cities of Podillia and western Volyn. The key motive is the victory of the Russian army and the helplessness of the Austro-German troops (Kryzhanivska, 2019).

The plot with the zeppelin, which became a kind of personification of the German-Austrian alliance and the struggle against it by the Ukrainians against Russia, was particularly popular among the Russian propagandists. There are several scenes depicting women against the background of a blue sky, a rye field, a mudflat with sunflowers and children in cabbages, who almost with their bare hands defeated and neutralized the Austrian officers who were in the aircraft. The Cossack Danylo Dykyi and his wife Polina, who “sewed zeppelin pants for her husband” (Lubochnaya propaganda, 2014) were also characters in K. Malevich’s luboks. Despite the general “Ukrainian” entourage, the woman in the centre of the picture is depicted in a red dress, atypical of Ukrainian women, similar to a Russian sundress, but with a wreath on her head. The authors of the posters made efforts to visualize the idea of Ukrainian loyalty to Russia through a graphic folklore and ethnographic presentation. We can assume that in the case of the figure of K. Malevich, a similar visualization, reflected the search of his own identity.

Therefore, Ukrainian topics were actively used in Russian propaganda. Some representatives of Russian liberal society, including artists, supported the positions of the empires of which they were subjects.

The Conclusion. The search for one’s own identity, as well as the formation of modern versions of nationalisms and nations, became defining features of the “long” 19th century. The mentioned processes acquired a special resonance under the conditions of World War I, which contributed to the formation of modern nations and caused tectonic shifts in the processes related to national self-determination. An important role in both the self-destruction of dynastic monarchies and the destruction of the enemy belonged to the propaganda confrontation. The political elites of the empires and their “troubadours” could not offer an alternative to dynastic loyalty, convincing options that would become an alternative to the nationalisms of the “outskirts”, and in fact lost their struggle for history. In the Russian case, attempts to propose a “scheme” of their own history faced opposition from the Ukrainians, whose “emergence” was called, under different circumstances, either the result of Polish or Austrian intrigue. The situation provoked by World War I did not deepen the gap between the Ukrainians of the two empires, but contributed to the achievement of an understanding of their unity outside the imperial contexts. The development of the Ukrainian project fully corresponded to general European trends.

Such an aspect of World War I as the unofficial support of the Bolsheviks by the German government, financing of their active propaganda activities among soldiers, as well as the content of the correspondence of soldiers, who during the war years were forced to learn literacy in the trenches and think about issues of self-identification, need further research.

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**CONTRIBUTION OF T. SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY
TO THE FOUNDING OF UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITY IN LVIV
(THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY – MID-1920s)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the contribution of The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in spreading the idea of establishing the Ukrainian University in Lviv among the population of Galicia at the end of the 19th – at the beginning of the 20th century and the founding of Secret Ukrainian University (1921). The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, consistency, scientific pluralism, objectivity, systematicity and comprehensiveness, application of general scientific and special scientific methods, as well as a thorough analysis of contemporary periodicals, memoir literature, archival documents. The scientific novelty of the article consists in the following: for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, there has been analyzed a significant contribution of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in the formation of the idea of establishing Ukrainian University under the conditions of polonization of the Lviv higher school and implementation of this idea in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which resulted in the founding of Secret Ukrainian University. The Conclusion. Starting from the end of the 19th century, the members of the scientific society advocated*

the Ukrainization of higher education in Galicia, pushed for the opening of the national University, which in practice manifested itself in sending Appeals to the highest authorities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, cooperation with the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR), national and cultural organizations of the region on the basis of realization of declared aspirations. The demands of the NTSh were identical to the demands of the Ukrainian student organization, which on the eve of World War I organized a large-scale wave of student demonstrations, which ended in the promises of the Austrian government to establish Ukrainian University. During World War I, the NTSh did not abandon its intention to establish Ukrainian higher educational institution, which, however, was not successful. Under the conditions of the Polish regime, the initiative of the NTSh to establish the national University found many supporters among political, cultural and educational intelligentsia, which resulted in the establishment of a secret Ukrainian University. Its scientific and organizational activities were built around the NTSh, the majority of whose members worked as lecturers in a higher education institution, and also prepared textbooks for students. The anti-Ukrainian activities of the central authorities of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made the activities of a secret Ukrainian University impossible, which ultimately led to its self-liquidation (1925).

Key words: the NTSh, scientific intelligentsia, secret Ukrainian University, Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, students, educational process, repression.

ВНЕСОК НТШ У СТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ У ЛЬВОВІ (КІНЕЦЬ ХІХ ст. – СЕРЕДИНА 1920-х рр.)

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати внесок Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка (НТШ) у поширення серед населення Галичини ідеї створення українського університету у Львові наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. та заснування Українського таємного університету (1921). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, послідовності, наукового плюралізму, об'єктивності, системності та всебічності, застосуванні загальнонаукових і спеціально-наукових методів, а також скрупульозному аналізі тогочасних періодичних видань, мемуарної літератури, архівних документів. **Наукова новизна статті:** уперше в українській історіографії на конкретних прикладах проілюстровано вагомий внесок Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка (НТШ) у становлення ідеї створення українського університету в умовах колонізації вищої школи Львова та реалізацію цієї ідеї у Другій Речі Посполитій, що вилилося у заснування Українського таємного університету. **Висновки.** Починаючи з кінця ХІХ ст., члени наукового товариства виступали за українізацію вищої школи на теренах Галичини, домагалися відкриття національного університету, що на практиці проявлялося у надсиланні Звернень до вищих органів влади Австро-Угорської монархії, співпраці з українською Парламентською Репрезентацією (УПР), національно-культурними організаціями краю на ґрунті реалізації задекларованих прагнень. Вимоги НТШ були ідентичними з вимогами українського студентства, яке напередодні Першої світової війни організувало масштабну хвилю студентських виступів, що завершилися обіцянками австрійського уряду відкрити український університет. У роки Першої світової війни НТШ не полишало наміру заснувати український заклад вищої освіти, що, однак, не увінчалось успіхом. В умовах польського владного режиму ініціатива НТШ щодо заснування національного університету знайшла чимало прихильників у середовищі політичної, культурно-освітньої інтелігенції, що й посприяло заснуванню Українського таємного університету. Його науково-організаційна діяльність вибудовувалася навколо НТШ, більшість членів якого працювали викладачами, а також готували підручники для студентів. Антиукраїнська діяльність центральних органів влади Другої Речі Посполитої унеможливила діяльність Українського таємного університету, що, зрештою, призвело до його самоліквідації (1925).

Ключові слова: НТШ, наукова інтелігенція, Український таємний університет, Друга Річ Посполита, студенти, освітній процес, репресії.

The Problem Statement. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the national and cultural revival of the Ukrainians of Galicia actualized the issue of creating the Ukrainian university in Lviv, studies at which contributed to the national and patriotic

upbringing of local youth. The outlined idea was actively spread among student youth, public and political elite, as well as in educational and scientific environment. Later, a well-known Galician public and political figure V. Mudryi wrote that “the struggle for the Ukrainian university... lasted for decades. It not only drained a lot of the Ukrainian national energy, but also absorbed many victims in blood, in people, and, most importantly, at different times of its duration, it was a thoroughly positive element of cementing the Ukrainians of all political orientations into one solid front of struggle” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 5). The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) took an active part in this struggle.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society contribution to the establishment of the secret Ukrainian University is an understudied issue in modern Ukrainian and foreign historiography. Some aspects of the NTSh were analyzed by the contemporaries of the described events (L. Vynar (Vynar, 1971)), V. Hnatiuk (Hnatiuk, 1923), V. Doroshenko (Doroshenko, 1951), V. Kubiiovych (Kubiiovych, 1949), M. Stakhiv (Stakhiv, 1973), K. Studynskyi (Studynskyi, 1929) and the others), as well as in the scientific studios of modern Ukrainian scholars (O. Romaniv, Ya. Hrytsak (Romaniv & Hrytsak, 1990)), V. Kachmar (Kachmar), A. Klish (Klish, 2011), V. Futala (Futala, 2023), V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn (Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2019), R. Kushnir, A. Feloniuk (Kushnir & Feloniuk, 2019), O. Romaniv (Romaniv, 1992), O. Rublov (Rublov, 2004), O. Sukhyi (Sukhyi, 2016 – 2021), M. Mudryi (Mudryi) and the others). A considerable interest in the course of the researched events is also caused by thematic collections of articles (see, for example, “From the History of The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society” (Z istorii, 1998)). The source basis of the article is the documents of the NTSh, research papers of the NTSh members, which reflect the activities of the Society in a cultural and educational sphere, materials of the Ukrainian and Polish periodical press, memories of the Ukrainian scholars, public and political figures, as well as archival documents of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the contribution of the NTSh to the creation of the secret Ukrainian University in Lviv, as well as to determine the role of the society in ensuring educational process of this higher education institution.

The Results of the Research. Some of the first high-profile statements of the NTSh demanding the creation of the Ukrainian University date back to the end of the 19th century: in 1898, as V. Mudryi rightly noted, the society “took an initiative in the Ukrainian University affairs” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 9). It was at that time that the NTSh prepared an Appeal to Viennese government, which was supported by other national and cultural societies of Galicia later, in particular “Prosvita”. In the document there was substantiated the necessity of creating the Ukrainian University and there were outlined practical ways of its implementation. Despite the fact that the central (in Vienna) and local (in Lviv) authorities did not support the initiative of the Ukrainian scientific intelligentsia, a positive result of this action was the foundation of the second Department of Ukrainian literature at the Faculty of Philosophy of Lviv University (Mudryi, 1948, p. 9).

It is interesting that in the article “The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society and its Activities in 1898” (Hrushevskiy, 1899, pp. 1–9) M. Hrushevskiy does not mention the fact, which indicates the dominance of a scientific component over a cultural and educational one in the activity of the Society during this period (Hrushevskiy, 2004, pp. 550–557). However, in 1899, the head of the NTSh M. Hrushevskiy published the work “The Case of the Ukrainian University in Lviv”, in which he stated that “the issue of education should become a

conscious national need, it is necessary to master the tactics of using every opportunity to create state forms of education, at the same time taking into account the realities, to develop non-governmental public forms of education” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21).

As V. Telvak wrote in his research, M. Hrushevskyi had argued that by creating the Ukrainian University in Eastern Galicia, the government would solve many problems related to conflicts between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Galicia (Telvak, 2017, p. 28). Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century the competition for a national university in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy becomes one of the most important aspects of the Ukrainian national idea formation (Kachmar, 2017, p. 143). “A real significance of the struggle for the Ukrainian national University was that it was one of the forms of struggle for the Ukrainian statehood”, modern scholars note. – “In this context a special role was played by the postulate about the need to establish this University precisely in Lviv, as a historical centre of the western Ukrainian lands” (Kachmar, 2017, p. 143).

The Appeal of the Ukrainian scholars, united around the NTSh, to the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with a request to establish the Ukrainian University was synchronized with a wave of student protests in Galicia, whose participants advocated the creation of the Ukrainian University in Lviv and, in general, the Ukrainization of the educational process at the University (Kovaliuk, 2001, p. 118).

The youth protest action reached its peak on December 3, 1901, when 440 Ukrainian students voluntarily left Lviv University and continued to obtain higher education in other educational institutions of the monarchy. “Now your sons are leaving the holy spaces of your lands...,” wrote V. Starosolskyi, a famous public and political figure. – This is the word of your children, who are following your destiny – they are going to battle, as your hundreds went to seek the truth, to win the will of your people!” (Kovaliuk, 2001, p. 121). Secession was also supported by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi (Lekhniuk, 2015, p. 100), however, as noted by contemporaries of the events, “nothing came of all these efforts and measures” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 9).

Nevertheless, the NTSh continued to look for ways to implement the demands of the Ukrainian nationally conscious youth. In 1902, the society once again brought up the issue of creating the Ukrainian university in Lviv. “The Dilo” periodical, in particular, informed about the meetings of the NTSh delegation (I. Horbachevsky, Professor of the University of Prague, I. Puliuy, Professor of the German Higher Technical School in Prague, S. Smal-Stotsky, Professor of the University of Chernivtsi, as well as ambassadors Yu. Romanchuk and O. Barvinsky) with representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy government (Pavlyshyn & Kozak, 2017, p. 105). The Ukrainian delegation presented the government representatives with the corresponding memorial letters, however, as reported by the “Dziennik polski” magazine, in response, the government officials noted the lack of funds for the implementation of this plan and abstract “political disagreements” (Danyliuk).

The lack of practical results in the protest campaign gave impact to “scientific circles” of the idea of creating a private Ukrainian University. During the same period, the issue of creating the Ukrainian university in Lviv was often discussed at meetings of individual sections of the NTSh. Thus, on March 7, 1902, scholars considered the issue at the meeting of the Philological Section of the Society (Malevych, 1996, p. 22). “Only the establishment of an independent Ruthenian University in Lviv can be a way out of current abnormal [Polish-Ukrainian – the authors] relations” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21), – noted M. Hrushevskyi, the head of the NTSh.

In 1904, in the Ukrainian cultural and educational life of Lviv an important event was the opening of the so-called “scientific vacation courses” by the efforts of national and cultural societies of Galicia (Doroshenko, 1930, p. 2) (the courses were formally under guidance of the Society of Ukrainian Science supporters, Literature and Art), a thematic spectrum of which covered the problems of the Ukrainian studies (Hnatiuk, 1904, pp. 52–53). V. Mudryi wrote that “Professors from Lviv and Great Ukraine conducted lectures there...” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 10).

In practice, lecturers were mostly members of the NTSh – M. Hrushevskiyi conducted lectures on the history of Ukraine-Rus, I. Franko – on the history of Ukrainian literature, F. Vovk – on Ukrainian anthropology and ethnology, K. Studinsky – on the cultural and educational movement in Galicia, S Tomashivskiyi – on Hungarian Rus and the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the 17th century (Kachmar, 2006, p. 116). According to the organizers of the “scientific vacation courses”, they were supposed to show the necessity of establishing an independent Ukrainian University in Lviv (Naukovi kursy vakatsiini 1904).

Under the conditions of worsening Polish-Ukrainian relations at the beginning of the 20th century, the problem of establishing the Ukrainian University took on a new tone. The head of the NTSh M. Hrushevskiyi was forced to admit that during this period “nothing was done to satisfy the demands of Ruthenian youth and Ruthenian society. All measures to expand the rights of the Ruthenian language and increase the number of Ruthenian departments and Ruthenian lectures failed, and all attempts at habilitation that took place over the years failed as well. As a result, tension grew, manifesting itself in stormy demonstrations, after the failure of all legal measures in the interests of the Ruthenian language, and in recent times these manifestations have become a chronic phenomenon – starting from the spring manifestation of 1906” (Hrushevskiyi, 2005, p. 21). In his research V. Telvak wrote that the head of the NTSh, as “a real authority among his students” (Telvak, 2017, p. 28), had to be quite actively involved in the struggle for the establishment of the Ukrainian University. In particular, he proved that “it is possible to create the Ukrainian University within three years” (Telvak, 2017, p. 28).

The implementation of this idea required assistance of the central authorities and tolerance of local Poles, which, unfortunately, was not observed. On March 2, 1907 there was decision of the academic senate, which confirmed the exclusively Polish nature of the University. In response, M. Hrushevskiyi, the head of the NTSh and the Society’s Historical and Philosophical Section, published the article “Utraquization or Division of the University?” (Hrushevskiyi, 1907, p. 1). “The Polish professors, in their statement... decided to protect the Polish character of the University and oppose its utraquization “in any form,” he wrote. – They considered all competitions for Ukrainization to be a useless factor, which makes proper scientific and teaching work at the University impossible. Although, at the same time they stated that they were not against the idea of the Ukrainian University, but in reality their statement resolves this matter quite clearly, leaving no room for any doubts, any hesitation” (Hrushevskiyi, 1907, p. 1).

Also, the head of the NTSh prepared Memorandum (Hrushevskiyi, 2005, pp. 20–22), which became the basis for the parliamentary request of S. Dnistrianskiyi and O. Kolessa regarding the establishment of a separate Ukrainian University with three faculties – theological, legal and philosophical (Hrushevskiyi, 2005, pp. 20–22). The document began with an explanation of the reasons for its conclusion: “The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, as the highest Ruthenian scientific institution, called to look after the interests of scientific and cultural development of the Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian people, feels obliged to appeal to Your Excellency with a strong representation in view of the incalculable damages, which the scientific and

cultural life of the Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian people in Austria suffers as a result of abnormal relations at the University of Lviv, at which the Ruthenian people of Austria should primarily look for the satisfaction of their scientific needs” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21).

“Aimed by its very position at serving primarily the cultural needs of the Ruthenian part of Galicia and by virtue of the imperial decision of 4.VII.1871 (to this day) ultraquist in principle, as a result of the political superiority of the Polish element in the seven regions, it has taken on an almost completely Polish character in recent decades of the 19th century and all the efforts of the Ruthenians to expand the sphere of Ruthenian as a language of instruction and government language met with insurmountable obstacles, because the Polish element, having mastered the University once, considered it their duty to defend the Polish state of possession of it” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21), – M. Hrushevskyi noted.

The head of the NTSh stated that, taking into account social and political realities in Galicia, “one cannot hope for a normal course of scientific studies at Lviv University” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21). For these reasons, the NTSh “allows itself to state with pressure that only the foundation of an independent Ruthenian University can be a way out of the current, extremely dangerous situation and a guarantee of a successful scientific development of the Ruthenian people and satisfaction of their cultural needs” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 22).

In the Memorandum it was noted that “for its part, the NTSh can assure the high government that the establishment of an independent Ruthenian university in Lviv will not face any serious difficulties of a scientific nature. Having detailed records of the Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian scientific movement, the NTSh can declare with all determination that upon the establishment of an independent Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian University, the vast majority of its departments can already be staffed by scientifically qualified Ruthenian personnel from the region and abroad, and only not a very significant minority would have to be replaced by substitutes, and even then for a long time, two or three years...” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 22).

The Memorandum of the NTSh ends with an optimistic conclusion: “...There is no doubt that the creation of an independent Ruthenian University would encourage academic qualifications of many adepts of science who have already demonstrated their scientific abilities through independent works, but in the current circumstances, having no prospects for an academic activity, devote themselves to practical work in various fields. As for the material issue, we are sure that the high government will not consider the subsidy of a small university with three faculties as a heavy sacrifice when it comes to meeting the essential cultural needs of one of the largest nations of Austria” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 22).

The calls of the NTSh regarding the opening of the Ukrainian University in Lviv, as expected, remained unanswered by the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which, de facto, did not want a confrontation with the Polish population of the region. The situation was complicated by the fact that M. Hrushevskyi, as the head of the NTSh, opposed attempts to transform the society from “a scientific institution into an arena of party and nationalist activities” (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 267, pp. 80–81), which in the end did not contribute to establishing a dialogue with the leading Ukrainian political parties and public political organizations on the basis of the idea of founding the Ukrainian University. However, the situation changed starting in the 1910s – the senate of Lviv University began to seek from the Austrian government actively to recognize the educational institution exclusively as Polish (Kachmar, 2017, p. 143), which led to the radicalization of the demands of the Ukrainian students and, accordingly, to the growth of dissatisfaction with the actions of the “centre” among the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR), NTSh, “Prosvita”, as

well as Ukrainian public and political organizations. However, on the eve of World War I, the Ukrainian University was not established, despite the government's promises "to found it... no later than 1916" (Mudryi, 1948, p. 13).

During the Great War (1914 – 1918), the issue of establishing the Ukrainian University remained on the agenda of the NTSh, but practical steps were taken to implement the idea after the expulsion of the Russian occupying forces from Galicia. In March of 1916, the NTSh prepared another Memorandum to the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It was initiated by M. Korduba, who proposed the text of the document (on the matter of founding the Ukrainian University) addressed to the Ministry of Cults and Education. He sent it to be printed so that, going to Vienna, he would take it to the Ministry (Dashkevych, 2001, p. 115). However, unfortunately, "neither the Memorandum nor the delegations to the government on the University issue did not update the case and did not make it close to realization..." (Mudryi, 1948, p. 13). However, it is worth agreeing with the periodical "Dilo", in which it was written that "during the Austrian times, the case [of the Ukrainian University – the authors] was almost settled, ripe for a real resolution, almost completed; all that was missing was a location" (Zatiazhna sprava, 1924, p. 1).

Against the background of the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918 – 1919, the members of the NTSh did not count on concessions from the Poles in the issue of founding the Ukrainian University, since all Ukrainian departments were liquidated even in the existing University (Holovach, 1992, pp. 12–13). Moreover, on August 14, 1919, the order of the Rector of Lviv University was published, according to which only students who were citizens of the Polish state who (a) served in the Polish army, (b) were citizens of states that were allies of Poland were accepted for study (in September the same year, the Council of Ministers confirmed the updating of University admission rules) (Pid znakom "nelehalshchyn", 1924, p. 3).

On August 19, 1919, a meeting of the society members (I. Svientsitskyi, I. Krypiakievych, B. Barvinskyi, V. Harasymchuk) was held under the chairmanship of V. Shchurat, the head of the NTSh (Vyzdryk, 2009, pp. 116–121) at which a decision was made regarding the support of the Ukrainian students and the establishment of the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv based on the material base and scientific potential of the NTSh, the National Museum, and the Petro Mohyla Society of Scientific Lectures and the Stavropygian Institute, where classes and lectures were to be conducted (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 1, p. 3).

At the meeting, in particular, it was decided "...to come to the aid of the Ukrainian University youth who wish to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their studies in order to achieve the education they need, to initiate the establishment of the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv in the scope of three full faculties: philosophical, legal and theological. As initiators, they decided to turn to the NTSh with a proposal that it take into its own hands implementation of their opinion at the upcoming meetings of the NTSh and all three scientific sections to its discussion" (Holovach, 1992, pp. 12–13).

However, the courses were banned by local authorities (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 5–7), although similar "learning centres" (on the basis of the Ukrainian public organizations, in particular "Academic Community") began to emerge spontaneously at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1921s (Horbovyi, 2012, p. 75). The NTSh wrote a protest, which substantiated "complete groundlessness and arbitrariness of the ban", but the society's actions did not bring the expected results (CSHAUL, f. 362, d. 1, c. 29, pp. 23–25).

At the end of 1920, the Sejm of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth considered the issue of founding the Ukrainian University in Stanyslaviv. On June 30, 1920, in response,

the Ukrainian national and cultural organizations of Galicia, among which the NTSh played a leading role, published “Memorandum of Ukrainian Scientific and Cultural Institutions to Academies, Universities and other Scientific Institutions of the Civilized World”, in which there was described the main milestones of the struggle of the Ukrainians of Galicia for the national University, and also pointed at the illegal actions of the Polish authorities against efforts to start the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv, on November 27, 1919 (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 39, p. 3). At the same time, the intellectual environment of Lviv opposed the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Stanyslaviv, justifying its decision by the lack of personnel and libraries (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 39, p. 3).

In July of 1921, the head of the NTSh V. Shchurat and other public activists convened the National Student Congress in Lviv, at which the final decision on the formation of the secret Ukrainian University was made (Lazechko, 1994, pp. 68–71). According to the decision, it was to consist of three faculties: philosophical, legal and medical (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 1–12). It was also decided to establish the Senate of the Ukrainian University, to elect a rector (V. Shchurat) and deans of departments (the Faculty of Philosophy was headed by M. Korduba, the Faculty of Law – V. Verhanovskyi, the Faculty of Medicine – I. Kurovets) (Lashchyk). The NTSh library was secretly used as an archive of the University (Mudryi M.).

In the summer of 1921, the NTSh and other co-founders of the University tried to collect material and financial resources, prepared premises for educational activities (Sholohon, 2014, pp. 369–370). The outlined measures were coordinated by the so-called University commission, which was headed by the head of the NTSh, V. Shchurat. In September of 1921, all decisions and practical steps regarding the organization of a secret University in Lviv were approved by the Ukrainian Inter-Party Council (UIPC), which consisted of representatives of the Ukrainian National Labour Party (UNLP), the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP) and Ukrainian Christian Social Party (UCSP). Despite the fact that the head of the UIPC, V. Bachynskyi, was against the establishment of the University and had rather hostile relations with V. Shchurat, the work of the Ukrainian educational institution was still approved.

Initially, more than a thousand actual students and more than two hundred so-called students “free listeners” studied at the three faculties of the secret Ukrainian University (Taiemnyi ukrainskyi universytet, 1924, p. 1). In terms of popularity, the Faculty of Law occupied the first place, while the fewest students were enrolled at the Faculty of Medicine. Lectures and seminars for students were held by the efforts of members of the NTSh National Academy of Sciences (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 1–9) – the majority of active members of the society were professors of the secret Ukrainian University (Kubiiovych, 1973, pp. 8–18), prepared educational programmes and textbooks for students. Among the most famous lecturers were V. Verhanovskyi, M. Vozniak, M. Korchynskyi, I. Krypiakevych, V. Levytskyi, M. Levytskyi, I. Rakovskyi, I. Svientsitskyi, M. Tchaikovskyi, and the others (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 5, p. 3). Professors conducted in various rooms, often not adapted for this purpose, in particular, in the buildings of “Prosvita”, the NTSh, institutions of “Native School”, National Museum, libraries (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 5, p. 3). What is important, according to M. Mudryi, “the student environment of the secret Ukrainian University was not unified either socially or ideologically (Mudryi M.).

Among the University lecturers, active members of the NTSh were: S. Baley (a psychologist); M. Halushchynskyi (an educator, a publicist), B. Barvinskyi (a historian, a bibliographer), I. Bryk (a Slavic philologist, a historian), Ya. Hordynskyi (a literary scholar), F. Kolessa (an ethnographer); I. Svientsitskyi (a linguist, an art critic), K. Studynskyi (a literary

critic), V. Shchurat (a literary critic, a translator), M. Korduba (a historian), I. Krypiakevych (a historian), V. Kucher (a physicist), Yu. Hirniak (a physicist), V. Levytskyi (a mathematician), M. Tchaikovskiyi (a mathematician), R. Tsehelskyi (a physicist), O. Tysovskiyi (a biologist), L. Biletskyi (a literary scholar), P. Kholodnyi (a chemist), I. Zilynskyi (a linguist), I. Rakovskiyi (a biologist), O. Makarushka (a philologist), etc. (Dudka & Holovach).

The secret Ukrainian university functioned under the pressure of the punitive and repressive system of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The situation became much more complicated after S. Fedak's assassination attempt (1921) on K. Grabowski, Lviv voivode, and J. Piłsudski, the first head of the revived Polish state (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 142, pp. 7–9). Immediately after this event, arrests and prosecutions of all suspects involved in this case began. Thus, the lecturers of the secret Ukrainian University – members of the NTSh I. Bryk, K. Studynskiyi, I. Krypiakevych and some students were searched (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 142, pp. 7–9).

After the resolution of the Council of Ambassadors of Great Powers – Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan dated March 15, 1923 on the recognition of the sovereignty of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Western Ukrainian lands, in April of the same year “The Dilo” claimed that the secret Ukrainian University in Lviv “exists and is developing”, despite police persecution. Education continued to take place at three faculties – philosophical, legal and (Kurylyshyn, 2023, p. 150).

On June 30, 1923, despite unfavourable social and political conditions, Ukrainian scientific, cultural and educational institutions appealed to the Polish Sejm and Senate with a request to adopt a law on the establishment of state Ukrainian University and Polytechnics in Lviv by retaining existing private Ukrainian Universities (*Za ukrainski vysoki shkoly*, 1923, pp. 1–2). The appeal was based on Paragraphs 24 and 26 of the law of September 26, 1922, according to which the Polish state undertook to establish the Ukrainian University within two years from the announcement of the law. The editorial office of “The Dilo” treated this appeal negatively. The main mistake was the removal of political factors from the University issue and direct submission of a petition to the Sejm without involvement of the Ukrainian parliamentary representation (*Za ukrainski vysoki shkoly*, 1923, pp. 1–2).

The reaction of the Polish state authorities to the problem of establishing the Ukrainian institution of higher education in Lviv is vividly illustrated by the words of the Minister for Education S. Glombinsky, who, calling the Ukrainians nothing but “the Rusyns”, proposed to establish the “Ruthenian” University in Warsaw: “The University will probably be located in Prague [suburbs of Warsaw – the authors]. However, there is a possibility that there will be new obstacles, because part of the Ukrainian citizenship from Eastern Lesser Poland, in a collective petition submitted to the Ministry of Education, seeks the legalization of the so-called “secret University” in Lviv and the establishment of the Ukrainian University and Polytechnic in that city. Of course, there can be no question of any legalization of something that does not really exist and that was a fiction of the academic school... After all, no competent scientific body checked either the programmes of those courses or the scientific qualifications of lecturers. Also, there can be no question of choosing the location of the University for the Ukrainians in the city of Lviv, which would become a hotbed of political struggle, and not an environment of respectable scientific work” (*V hlukhyi kut*, 1923, p. 1).

In an attempt to stop the activities of the secret Ukrainian University, the Lviv police continued to search Ukrainian institutions where classes could take place, in particular at the NTSh, the National Museum, the M. Lysenko Music Society, the Society of Ukrainian

technicians “Osnova”, the Societies “Prosvita” and “Zoria”, in the private residences of lecturers, the Lviv police confiscated their books and notebooks (Kurylyshyn, 2023, p. 153).

Arrests were numerous. In some cases, it was possible to photograph the scene of “catching” students and professors. The corresponding photos became a proof of “guardianship” of the “brotherly people” (Kurylyshyn, 2023, p. 152). However, despite the persecution by the police, the secret Ukrainian University continued to function and even strengthened organizationally. In particular, on September 1, 1923, the Art Faculty was created, O. Novakivskyi was the dean, and lecturers of the faculty were I. Rakovskyi, S. Balei, Ye. Nahirnyi, and others famous scholars. The faculty was supervised by Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi (Holovatskyi, 2006, p. 297).

On October 15, 1923, the Polish Telegraph Agency issued a communiqué calling the Ukrainian University and Polytechnic in Lviv “illegal educational institutions”, the diplomas of which “will not have any legal force” (Borotba z kulturoiu, 1923, p. 1). Finally, at the beginning of 1924, a draft law was submitted to the Polish Sejm on the alleged “toleration” of the Ukrainian University in Lviv by local authorities, to which the Minister for Internal Affairs gave a written reply and assured that the existence of any secret organizations, including scientific ones, was unacceptable (Borotba z kulturoiu, 1923, p. 1).

As a result, the police banned the activities of all Ukrainian student organizations – “Academichna Hromada”, “Academichna Dopomoha”, “Osnovy”, “Medychna Hromada”, “Krayovy Studentykyi Soyuz” (Borotba z kulturoiu, 1923, p. 1). The above-mentioned events could not help but affect the activities of the secret Ukrainian University. In 1923, there was a sharp decrease in the number of students: in the 1923/1924 academic year, there were only approx. 250 secondary school graduates (SALR, f. 248, d. 4, c. 850, pp. 22–25). Finally, in June of 1925, at a meeting of the senate, it was announced that the University would be dissolved (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 9, p. 6).

The Conclusion. The activities of the secret Ukrainian University became a bright page in the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the latest period. As we can see, “...the leading role in the formation of departments, lesson programmes, selection of subjects and lecturers, as can be seen from the list of lecturers, was played by the scholars of the NTSh, – modern scholars note. – The choice of individual subjects was caused by personal scientific interests of the NTSh scholars, which gave the general course of lectures an individual colour. In addition, students observed an elevated emotional mood at lectures. To a greater extent, it concerns the course of lectures on social disciplines, and unique lecture cycles were formed, especially in the field of the Ukrainian studies. Some of textbooks used by students were also written by scholars of the NTSh, and some series of lectures conducted at the University were published...” (Dudka & Holovach).

The secret Ukrainian University, despite its short existence, became “a symbol of the unity of the Ukrainians’ will, the result of realizing the need to create their own educational centre, a manifestation of the struggle for their own statehood and national identity” (Lashchuk). Many scholars believe that the secret Ukrainian University was “a unique phenomenon in the history of higher education” (Klish, 2010, p. 106). Without exaggeration, the NTSh was at the origins of this Ukrainian phenomenon. “For the majority of members of the NTSh, the opportunity to create the national University was not only a matter of a social development, but also a matter of a personal vital interest,” M. Mudryi noted. – Many of them saw the place of their work at such University. The establishment of an illegal University also corresponded to the interests of the Ukrainian political forces, which after the collapse of the Austro-

Hungarian monarchy lost their ideological orientations for a while, needed a rethinking of programme provisions, and therefore were looking for an object to apply their efforts...” (Mudryi M.). However, the national University had to cease its existence (1925) due to persecution by the authorities, as well as new social and political realities.

A promising direction for further research is a cultural and educational policy of the Polish state in Western Ukrainian lands in the 1920s.

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**PHALERISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION
STRUGGLE (1917 – 1921) AND THEIR INFLUENCE
ON MODERN PHALERISTICS**

Abstract. *The armed forces, as an important institution of the state, cannot exist without military traditions that rally and unite around the single common goal of protecting Motherland. Any army of the world always preserves military traditions of previous generations and cherishes glorious exploits of its ancestors, which is a guaranteed sign of various ranks military unit functioning.*

*The Ukrainian Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 and its course caused the development of such a social and humanitarian component as encouragement of the Ukrainian soldiers for heroic deeds in the struggle for independent Ukraine. Name, design and decoration elements of that period awards inspired contemporary artist-researchers to incorporate them into modern phaleristics of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. For this purpose, during the specified period, certain steps were initiated to develop our own reward system, however, due to the military and political events during that period, it was not possible to implement all the efforts fully. **The purpose of the research** consists in the study of formation, development*

and functioning of the award system, which was formed during the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle of 1917–1921, and its further influence on the formation of modern phaleristics of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. **The methodological basis** is the principles of historicism, systematicity and scientificity. In the course of the research, a historical and systemic approach, methods of macro-historical analysis have been used. **The scientific novelty** consists in the study actualization of awards issue initiation and development to honour soldiers and officers of the armed forces during the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle of 1917–1921, identification of examples of borrowing elements, decoration projects of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle of 1917–1921 and their use in the military awards design of the modern Armed Forces of Ukraine, implementation of legal succession of military and phaleristic traditions during modern phaleristics formation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, introduction of new sources into scientific circulation. **The Conclusion.** Despite a difficult military, political and economic situation, the ongoing armed struggle throughout the territory of Ukraine at that time, significant steps were taken to create and implement the Ukrainian award system during the Liberation Struggle of 1917–1921. It can be assumed that it was during the Liberation Struggle of 1917–1921 that the award system acquired characteristics of official state institutions, approved at the legislative level, which allowed the first awards formation examples to begin. Awards, as well as sketches of unrealized projects of awards from the time of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle of 1917–1921, became the prototypes of many Ukrainian awards, orders, medals and, in general, Ukrainian military phaleristics, which have been already embodied in our days and found their reflection in modern phaleristics of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which in its turn confirms the observation of military traditions.

Key words: phaleristic heritage, legal succession of award issue, award issue, observation of military traditions.

ФАЛЕРИСТИЧНІ ЗДОБУТКИ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ВИЗВОЛЬНИХ ЗМАГАНЬ (1917 – 1921) ТА ЇХ ВПЛИВ НА СУЧАСНУ ФАЛЕРИСТИКУ

Анотація. Збройні сили як важливий інститут держави не може існувати без військових традицій, що згуртовують та об'єднують навколо себе єдиною спільною метою – захисту Батьківщини. Будь-яка армія світу завжди зберігає військові традиції попередніх поколінь та плекає славетні подвиги своїх пращурів, що є гарантованою ознакою функціонування військового підрозділу різної ланки.

Український визвольний рух 1917 – 1921 рр. та його перебіг зумовили розвиток такої соціально-гуманітарної складової, як заохочення особового складу українських воїнів за здійснення героїчних вчинків у боротьбі за незалежну Україну. Своєю назвою, зовнішнім виглядом та елементами оздоблення нагороди того періоду надихнули сучасних митців-дослідників до їх втілення в сучасну фалеристику Збройних Сил України. З цією метою протягом визначеного періоду було започатковано певні кроки з розвитку власної нагородної системи, проте через тогочасні військово-політичні події уповні реалізувати напрацювання не вдалося. **Мета дослідження** полягає у з'ясуванні становлення, розвитку та функціонування нагородної системи, яка сформувалася у період Визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр., та її подальший вплив на формування сучасної фалеристики Збройних Сил України. **Методологічну основу** дослідження становлять принципи історизму, системності та науковості. У ході дослідження було використано історико-системний підхід і прийом макроісторичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає в актуалізації вивчення питання започаткування і розвитку нагород для відзначення солдат та старшин власних збройних сил часів Визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр., визначення прикладів запозичення елементів оздоблення проєктів нагород Визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр. та їх застосування у дизайні військових нагород сучасних Збройних Сил України, здійснення правонаступництва військових і фалеристичних традицій у ході становлення та формування сучасної фалеристики Збройних Сил України, введення до наукового обігу нових джерел. **Висновки.** Попри складну воєнно-політичну й економічну обстановку, триваючу збройну боротьбу на всій території тогочасної України у період Визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр. було зроблено вагомі кроки зі створення та впровадження української нагородної системи. Можна вважати, що саме у цей період вона набула ознак офіційних державних інституцій, затверджених на законодавчому рівні, що започаткувало

формування перших зразків нагород. Відзнаки, а також ескізи нереалізованих проєктів нагород часів Визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр. стали прототипами багатьох українських відзнак, орденів, медалей та загалом української військової фалеристики, які були втілені вже в наші дні й знайшли відображення у сучасній фалеристиці Збройних Сил України, що підтверджує наслідування військових традицій.

Ключові слова: фалеристична спадщина, правонаступництво нагородної справи, нагородна справа, наслідування військових традицій.

The Problem Statement. Within the framework of a special historical discipline, the issue of emergence, formation and functioning of modern Ukrainian phaleristics remains insufficiently studied and requires in-depth research. Under the conditions of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against our country, the issue of a worthy honouring and awarding soldiers of the Russian-Ukrainian war occupies one of the key places in the state policy.

Modern phaleristics of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and Ukraine in general, undoubtedly has its origins in the historical heritage of our country and continues its development. Specialists in the historical field search for new sources that allow them to elucidate the commemoration and award issue of the Ukrainian soldiers' heroic deeds. That is why, the issue of in-depth study of Ukrainian phaleristic traditions contributes to an objective determination of the main trends in the system of military awards development.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers. In independent Ukraine, the first historiographical work, which showed the world unique phaleristic monuments and existence of the Ukrainian phaleristics, was the illustrated brochure of Yaroslav Semotiuk. The author's brochure caused a considerable resonance among scholars and researchers, which served as an impact for a further research into formation of phaleristic processes and development of the Ukrainian phaleristics. Yaroslav Semotiuk systematized known Ukrainian awards from the time of the Liberation Struggle, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Government of the Ukrainian State in Exile until the 90s of the 20th century. In addition, for the first time, the author provided complete illustrated material of all Ukrainian awards known at that time (Semotjuk, 1991).

In Dmytro Tabachnyk's monograph there is covered the issue of awards creation in Ukraine, in particular the award system formation in an independent state. Together with a group of scholars, he synthesized the results in the research "Ukrainian Awards", which to this day remains a kind of a reference point to many researchers of modern phaleristics. In this edition there are covered the stages of emergence and development of the award issue in Old Ruska and Cossack states, national award traditions during the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, during the period of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as the birth of award issue in emigration during the period of 1921 – 1993 (Tabachnyk, 1996).

In the monograph "Ukrainian Military Signs of Distinction of the First Half of the 20th Century", published in Russian, the authors V. Kravtsevych-Rozhnetsky and V. Panasenko analyzed phaleristics of the Ukrainian units and armies, as well as awards of various Ukrainian military social organizations that were formed in emigration after World War I and World War II. In the monograph there is analyzed the history of military phaleristics as the basis for the design of the Ukrainian military awards developed by military artists during the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian formations in the 20th century (Kravtsevych-Rozhnetsky & Panasenko, 2009, p. 336).

The issue of commemoration of soldiers during the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 was reflected in Yaroslav Tynchenko's research papers. In his works, the scholar did research on the history of the First and Second Winter Campaigns of the Army of the Ukrainian

People's Republic, the introduction of the first combat award of the Ukrainian People's Republic "For Winter Campaign and Battles".

In the research paper "Knights of Winter Campaigns of 1919 – 1920" the author thoroughly analyzes archival sources of those times: orders and directive documents and orders for military units, divisions/regiments on the awarding/recognition of combat awards, for the first time Yaroslav Tynchenko systematizes information and summaries from the fronts, memories of participants in the events, protocols of interrogations by the Chekists about the detention of the leadership of the UNR army and Ukrainian soldiers, and etc. Also, owing to the titanic work carried out, the author for the first time published a comprehensive list of the Knights of the award "For Winter Campaign and Battles" and a detailed description of participants' biographies of those events (Tynchenko, 2017, p. 760).

The monograph of Oleksandr Rudychenko and Yaroslav Tynchenko "Awards and Decorations of National Armies and Governments. Ukraine. Belarus. Lithuania. Founding Documents. Production. Award Practice. Types and Varieties" is a unique source of the Ukrainian phaleristics. The authors analyzed archival materials in Ukraine and in the former republics of the Soviet Union, used large-scale foreign sources of museums and archival institutions of such countries as the United States of America, the French Republic, Canada, etc. The analysis of a significant amount of information made it possible to identify as documentary evidence of the award system creation of the period of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, photographs, a large number of written documents, as well as to introduce into scientific circulation materials on availability of awards from private collections and museums in various countries of the world, and documents to them, which were not known until our time. A special value of the monograph is a photographic publication of a large number of types of the Ukrainian awards and distinctions, which were introduced and produced both during the events of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 and during the activities of the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile, comprehensive lists of knights awarded by the Ukrainian awards. In addition, the authors presented some interesting facts about the production of fake Ukrainian awards, which appeared at the collectors' market to satisfy phaleristic needs of collectors (Rudychenko & Tynchenko, 2011).

Historians' study on the issue of military symbolism and phaleristics, due to the lack of a sufficient source base, was, for the most part, of a chronological and descriptive character of the Ukrainian phaleristics items. The researches were limited to determining the very fact of the award's existence, the manufacturing process and the prerequisites that contributed to it. The political component that preceded the formation process contributed to the efforts of the Ukrainian governments at all stages of formation and existence of independent Ukraine, and the initiated phaleristic tradition of honouring servicemen of their own armed forces with appropriate awards acquired a systemic character and signs of statehood.

Recently, the above mentioned aspect has acquired a social meaning due to the armed aggression of the Russian Federation, and the issue of a worthy honouring and awarding the participants of the Russian-Ukrainian war occupies one of the key places in the state policy.

The above mentioned confirms the topicality of the study regarding a further, in-depth research on the foundation issue of the Ukrainian awards during the period of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 and their influence on modern Ukrainian phaleristics.

The Purpose of the Research. At the current stage of Ukraine's independence defense, awarding servicemen for their heroic deeds is topical, which necessitates continuation of work on improving the award system in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Under such conditions, the authors defined the purpose, which consists in doing research on prerequisites and trends of the national phaleristics emergence during the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, establishing the facts and signs of a legal succession of military traditions and phaleristics heritage, which occupy a prominent place in modern award system.

The Results of the Research. During the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, the military and political leadership made several attempts to establish a full-fledged Ukrainian award system in order to honour officers and soldiers for their courage and self-sacrifice. The award system had to provide for division into degrees, development of relevant award statutes, guarantee of benefits and preferences of awardees, etc. It is worth noting that a complex military, political and economic situation, the lack of effective managerial influence did not allow creating a centralized reward system at that time. In addition, during the era of the Soviet power, the Ukrainian award system was limited exclusively to honorary titles in various fields of a social life: from agriculture to science, since the republics that were part of the Soviet Union were forbidden to have their own awards.

A significant shift in the formation issue of the award system took place during the reign of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi (April 29 – December 14, 1918).

Hetman P. Skoropadskyi paid considerable attention to the issue of awards. Thus, by order of the Military Office of the Ukrainian State dated June 16, 1918, officer ranks and privileges that existed before the October coup of 1917 were restored (Voronin, 2013, pp. 48–59).

In the absence of his own state awards, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi resumed the awarding of St. George's awards, because despite declaration of independence and creation of a young state, documents regarding awarding the Ukrainian soldiers continued to be sent from the fronts. During P. Skoropadskyi's reign, St. George Duma was formed, which considered the awarding documents and made relevant decisions regarding the future awardees. However, the Duma did not have time to hold a single meeting, because due to the rapidity of political events, it operated only a few days (Tynchenko, 2016, p. 25).

At the same time, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi initiated the creation of the Commission for the Development of State Awards (Tabachnyk, 2004, p. 19).

Thus, one of the significant sources regarding the development of the Ukrainian award system during the time of Pavlo Skoropadskyi is the memoirs of Borys Monkevych, the centurion of the UNR Army (Monkevych, 1995). He describes the creation of the Commission for the Development of State Awards headed by General Heorhiy Honcharenko (a pseudonym – Yu. Halych) (Halych, 1929; Tabachnyk, 2004, p. 58; Tynchenko, 2016, p. 17). In his memoirs, B. Monkevych described in detail the activities of the Commission on the development of awards, the projects of awards that were planned to be introduced, as well as the corresponding drawings and statutes. These are such awards as: “Iron Cross” – for the fight against the Bolsheviks; Order of “Yaroslav the Wise” – for civil services; women's Order – “Saint Princess Olha”; “Cross of St. Volodymyr”; “Archstrategist Michael” Order – for combat merits; Cross “Glory and Revival of Ukraine” (Monkevych, 1995, pp. 68–111).

There was division of awards by degrees awards and fastening for wearing them on ribbons. Awardees were supposed to be granted various privileges and benefits.

B. Monkevych describes the only award that was made before the overthrow of P. Skoropadskyi's regime – “Iron Cross” for the fight against the Bolsheviks.

J. Marshak's jewelry company managed to produce only one copy of award “Iron Cross”, which General H. Honcharenko submitted to the Hetman for approval. As the memoirist mentioned, P. Skoropadskyi approved this award, but almost immediately the troops of the

Directory came to Kyiv. The activities of the Commission were suspended, the fate of “Iron Cross” made by a jeweler J. Marshak is still unknown, as well as the project documentation and sketches (Tynchenko, 2016, p. 18).

The fundamentals of the reward system formation of the young state under the Hetmanate were deepened during the time of the Directory, which came to power at the end of 1918 as a result of the anti-Hetman uprising (Tabachnyk, 1996, p. 60).

During this period (1918 – 1921), the most significant achievements in the Ukrainian phaleristics formation were noted, using the work started by the previous government. Thus, by its law dated January 10, 1919, the Council of People’s Ministers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic decided to introduce award “Republic” and award “Glory to Ukraine”, and on January 24, the Directory adopted the corresponding law, which became the first normative legal document, according to which awards of independent Ukraine were launched (Tabachnyk, 1996, p. 60). This law announced the establishment of two awards – “Republic” and “Glory of Ukraine”. These were the first officially legislated state awards of Ukraine. They were used to celebrate merits in the struggle against the Hetman P. Skoropadskyi government and there was division into degrees.

Citizens of Ukraine were awarded with “Republic” “who, by their unceasing work, at their own will or on behalf of the public, or by order, individually or as part of institutions and organizations, benefited the liberation and construction of Ukraine” (Tabachnyk, 2004, p. 106).

Award “Glory of Ukraine” was established to honour officers and the Cossacks who showed courage and heroism during the hostilities, those who “despising obvious danger and showing a courageous example of fearlessness, presence of spirit and self-sacrifice, will perform a remarkable military feat, crowned with complete success and further



Figure 1. “Combat Award “Republic” Projects

benefit to our army” (Tabachnyk, 1996, p. 63). Project sketches and documentation could not be found.

Simultaneously with the establishment of “Republic” and “Glory of Ukraine” awards, the resolution of the Council of Ministers of January 10, 1919 prohibited the wearing of “both orders and other external awards of the former Russian state, with the exception of the St. George’s Cross and St. George’s Arms” on the territory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic.

In June of the same year, all the above designs of medals were replaced by another design of one combat medal “Courage”. It was established to award soldiers of all ranks for their bravery and courage during wartime. Medal “Courage” could also be awarded to non-military personnel “who, taking part in battles with the enemy, show their extraordinary courage and bravery”. The main reason for the establishment of combat medals was that not all of those who committed an outstanding military feat met the articles of the statute of

award “Republic”. In July of 1919, a draft of the combat medal “Republic” of four degrees was initiated (Tabachnyk, 1996, p. 70).

It is necessary to mention the introduction of material incentives together with awards. Under the conditions of the shortage of awards and restrictions on their production in the required quantity and realizing the specific weight of the motivational nature, the Government encouraged soldiers of the armed forces with monetary rewards. A number of facts have come down to our times, when the Ukrainian soldiers and their commanders, as well as units, were encouraged with cash prizes for their courage and heroism. Yaroslav Tynchenko noted the first fact of such awarding on April 14, 1919, the date of work start of awards commission of the Northern Group of the Army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic headquarters (Tynchenko, 2016, p. 38).

During the reign of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi, it is possible to mark the first significant steps in the award system establishment in the young state. Despite the restoration of traditions of awarding the honours of the former Russian Empire, a Commission for the development of awards was formed, owing to its work a principled hierarchical scheme of awards, corresponding statutes for awards, the first sketches and drawings were made, and a prototype of the Ukrainian award was created.

During the period of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, the researchers describe the medals that were produced on the initiative of the teams of educational institutions, military units, and patriotic organizations.

Thus, among military units that established their awards, the following are known:

award of Zaporizhzhia Infantry Regiment 1 named after T. H. Shevchenko (from January of 1918, “syniozhupanna” (the “blue-coat” division)). The creation of the award is associated with the activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in the camp for prisoners of war of the Russian army in the city of Rastatt in 1916, where Zaporizhzhia Regiment 1 named after Taras Shevchenko was formed on January 21, 1917. After the signing of the Beresteysi Peace Treaty between the countries of the Fourth Union and the Central Rada, the 1st Ukrainian “Syniozhupanna” division was formed from the personnel of the infantry regiment (Krukovskyi, 2001, p. 10).

The award had the form of a shield with a relief image of the Galician Lion facing the West. It was made of bronze, and the shape of the award had a concise design due to the image of a bronze relief that framed it around the shield and stood out through the blue enamel that covered almost the entire award. In the upper part of the award in a semicircle there was the inscription “1.ЗАП.П.Т.Ш”. The award was attached to the clothes with a fastener. The size was 30x35 mm. The number of awards produced, the time and place of their production are unknown. It is mostly found in private collections (Rudychenko & Tynchenko, 2011, p. 149).

Regiment 1 named after T. H. Shevchenko”

Award of the Ukrainian Cavalry-Cossack (“sirozhupanna” (“grey coat”)) Division 1. At the beginning of creation, this award served as a cockade for a headdress (Dubrivny, 1964, c. 44). Subsequently, the award began to perform the role of honour and appeared



**Figure 2. Award
“Zaporizhzhia Infantry**

in the photos of that time. It was made of solid bronze in the form of a Gothic shield. The size is 27.5x40 mm. In the centre of the Gothic shield is the figure of Michael the Archstrategist with a raised sword in his right hand against a red background, which was attached to the shield with three pins. The figure is covered with a small shield on which there was the image of the Galician Lion with a crown, turned to the West. In the upper part of the award there is the image of the trident. The award was attached to the clothes with the help of a fastener (Rudychenko – Tynchenko, 2011, p. 149).



Figure 3. Award of the Ukrainian

Cavalry-Cossack “Sirozhupanna” Division 1

There is also another type of award, made like the previous one, but instead of a trident, the inscription “SICH. 1917” is depicted. (Rudychenko – Tynchenko, 2011, p. 154).

The amount of awards produced, the time and place of their production are unknown. It is mostly found in private collections and on photographs of the 20s of the 20th century (Rudychenko – Tynchenko, 2011, p. 155).

During this period, it is known about the existence of awards for graduating from a military educational institution, namely the awards “Instructor School of Senior Officers”. It was started on March 14, 1918, when the Military Minister of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, Colonel Oleksandr Zhukovsky, issued an order to establish the Instructor School for Officers. At that time, only two military educational institutions of the Ukrainian People’s Republic of Ukraine had their awards: the Instructor School for Seniors (Kyiv) and the Joint Youth School (Kamianets-

Podilskyi). However, these symbols of the national army formation have survived in single copies, mostly in private collections, like many other monuments of that era.

This unique monument of the first national military school was made of silver and enamel in an oval shape, at the top of which there is the Archangel Michael with a sword on a blue field. There are laurel and oak wreaths, below on a white enameled cartouche there is the inscription: “I.Sh.S.”. The author of the project for this award was a famous Ukrainian artist and graphic designer Okhrym Sudomora. The amount of awards produced, the time and place of their production are unknown. It is mostly found in private collections (Levchenko, 1938, pp. 119–139).



Figure 4. Award “Instructor School of Senior Officers”

The fact that during the existence of the Berdychiv School of Ensigns (1994 – 2002) an analogue was taken as the basis of its educational award – “The Berdychiv School of Ensigns 343” awards of the period of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi: “Instructor School of Senior Officers”. The award was made of a white metal of an oval shape with laurel and oak wreaths in a circle, in the middle there is a golden trident against a blue background, in a lower part under the trident on a white enameled cartouche the capital letters “B.Sh.P” are engraved by analogy with the award “Instructor School of Senior Officers” – “I.Sh.S.”.

One characteristic feature that testifies to the legal succession of phaleristic traditions is the placement on both sides of the Cossack flags depicting the symbols of the Cossack era:

- on the award “Instructor School of Senior Officers” – against a blue background;
- on the award of the “The Berdychiv School of Ensigns 343” – against a crimson background, since in modern Ukrainian phaleristics crimson colour symbolizes the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

A crimson colour, which is traditionally associated with the Cossacks, simultaneously is one of the main symbols of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and a symbol of the Ground Forces (Maliuha & Kostenko, 2002, p. 10).

In the National Library of the Republic of Poland (Warsaw) a historian A. Rukkas managed to find the first project of the “Iron Cross of St. Andrew for the Campaign and Battles since December 6, 1919”. According to the defined project, the award had the appearance of a black St. Andrew’s cross with a ribbon – St. George’s pattern, but instead of yellow-hot-black stripes, there should have been yellow-blue ones. It is interesting that in this project only the date of the start of the campaign was to be marked (Rukkas, 2008, p. 155).

The former sergeant of the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and centurion of the Galician army, an artist Yulian Butsmانيuk, was involved in the development of the design. He created the first sketch of the Iron Cross – a black cross with straight ends, in the middle of which a trident of yellow metal is superimposed. Yu. Butsmانيuk suggested two crossed maces with the dates: “6.XI.1919” and “6.V.1920” on the reverse side as a fastening.

Later, on the initial project of Yu. Butsmانيuk, a centurion Severyn Krasnopera – also a veteran of the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and the Galician Army – some modifications were made to the design of the cross: the trident was placed in a blue circle and decorated with a four-pointed radiant star. On the the reverse side, in addition to the dates of the start and end of the campaign, there appeared the slogan “For the Will of Ukraine” (Tabachnyk, 1996, p. 74).

Further work on the introduction of combat awards was suspended due to catastrophic military failures, since the Ukrainian army had to maintain defense in three directions: in the north – against the Bolsheviks; in the west – against the military formations of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; in the south – against the army of the South of Russia, led by General Denikin.

A new stage of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 began, which will go down in the history of the Ukrainian army as the Winter Campaign (12/06/1919 – 05/06/1920).

The campaign lasted exactly for five months and acquired the status of one of the most successful military operations of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, during which the Ukrainian army successfully used partisan methods of combating numerous enemies for the first time. The Ukrainian officers and soldiers led by Mykhailo Omelianovych-Pavlenko covered 2,500 km in the rear of the Bolshevik and White Guard armies. In the course of the



**Figure 5. Award
“The Berdychiv School
of Ensigns 343”**

above mentioned campaign, more than 50 successful battles were fought, which sowed fear and panic in the ranks of the enemy.

As a result of the heroic raid in mid-May of 1920, almost immediately after the end of the campaign, the issue of establishing and making a special award for all participants of the campaign was raised.

The award “Order of the Iron Cross for Campaigns and Battles” for combat merits is the second legally established award of the Ukrainian People’s Republic and the first and the only one that was successfully implemented at that time.

Thus, on October 3, 1920, the Council of People’s Ministers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic of Ukraine considered the draft laws introduced by the Military Minister of the Ukrainian People’s Republic “On Establishment of “Liberation” Order” for combat merits and the “Iron Cross for Campaign of December 6, 1919 to May 6, 1920”. On October 19, 1920, Chief Ataman Symon Petliura signed the order of the General Command of the UNR troops “On Establishment of Orders “Liberation” of Two Degrees and Award “Iron Cross for Winter Campaign and Battles” from December 6, 1919 to May 6, 1920, and also approved the corresponding statute awards of the Iron Cross.



**Figure 6. The First
Combat Award
“Iron Cross for Winter
Campaign and Battles”**

The statute established the categories of people who had the right to receive the award “Iron Cross for Winter Campaign and Battles”, namely:

- all people who participated in the campaign from December 6, 1919 to May 6, 1920, who “did not tarnish the Cossack honour with shameful acts and were in the units”;
- officers, senior officers and soldiers who were forced to leave the Army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic during the campaign due to illness and wounds;
- killed in battles and died of wounds or illness (Tynchenko, 2016, pp. 54–55).

Due to limited funding, the first awards were produced in the Republic of Poland (Warsaw) (Buzalo, 1993, pp. 10–13). The total amount of them was about 1,500 copies including certificates. Later, an additional 500 medals with corresponding certificates were ordered (Tynchenko, 2016, p. 71). In total, about 2,000 direct participants of those events were awarded for the winter campaign led by General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko.

In continuation of the legal succession issue of military and phaleristic traditions, it should be noted that on August 23, 2019, separate Mechanized Brigade 28 received the honorary title of “Knights of Winter Campaign», initiated the symbolism and its own award, based on the “Iron Cross for Winter Campaign and Battles” of the Ukrainian People’s Army during the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 (Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy, 2019).

Thus, the sleeve award of separate Mechanized Brigade 28 has the appearance of an olive heraldic shield with the image of a black cross with straight ends and a golden border. A gold trident is inscribed on a golden four-pointed star in the centre against a blue background.

The award of the brigade, like the arm badge, has the form of a black cross with straight ends, in the centre of the badge, against the background of a blue enamel, a trident of a yellow metal is superimposed. Unlike the Iron Cross, which was attached to clothing using a rectangular block, the award of separate Mechanized Brigade 28 is attached to clothing with a screw.

In the emblem of the arm badge of separate Mechanized Brigade 28 “there are used the elements of the award “Iron Cross for the Winter Campaign and Battles” of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, which indicate the inheritance of the military traditions of the Ukrainian army” (Shliakh neskorenykh, 2019, p. 17).

The Conclusion. At the beginning of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, the young Ukrainian state did not have its own awards. Ukraine was born as an independent, sovereign state on the ruins of the collapse of the Russian Empire, which had its own extensive and centuries-old system of awards. It was the events of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 that preceded the initiation and birth of the Ukrainian phaleristic traditions.

Many researchers of the Ukrainian phaleristic traditions, such as V. Karpov, Ya. Tynchenko, etc., repeatedly attempted to implement their periodization of the national phaleristics formation.

However, the author of the article suggested his own periodization of the Ukrainian phaleristics formation during the period of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, namely:

the first stage (November of 1917 – April of 1918) – initiation of Ukrainian awards production for soldiers of the armed forces at the state level;

the second stage (April – December of 1918) – the return to awarding soldiers with obsolete awards of the Russian Empire, determining priorities and creating a principled hierarchical scheme of the award system of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, statutes, the first sketches and drawings;

the third stage (December of 1918 – 1921) – the formation of the legal basis for the development of the award system, introduction, material reward for soldiers and units as an alternative to encouragement. Production of awards for military units and educational institutions, awarding the first and the only award of the Ukrainian People’s Republic – the “Iron Cross for Winter Campaign and Battles” (Tynchenko, 2017, 727 p.).

It is the period of the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 that can be considered the beginning and flowering of the Ukrainian award system. In 1991, after the declaration of Ukraine’s independence, modern phaleristics of the Armed Forces of Ukraine took a course to return to the phaleristics traditions of award creation, taking as a basis the award system of the ancestors.

Being introduced during the Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921, the award system acquired signs of a national identity and became the first stage in the award system formation of the Ukrainian state. The above-mentioned cross, as well as the majority of the awards of that period, is a direct proof of the phaleristic heritage, which was reflected in the phaleristics of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and became prototypes for modern awards of the Armed



Figure 7. Award of Commander of Separate Mechanized Brigade 28

Forces of Ukraine, for example: the graduation badge of the Berdychiv School of Ensigns 343 – by analogy with the award of the “Instructor School of Senior Officers”; the award of the commander of separate Mechanized Brigade 28 – by analogy with the “Iron Cross for Winter Campaign and Battles”.

Further work on the introduction, production, as well as direct awarding of all soldiers, officers of the Ukrainian army, direct participants in the events of the Liberation Struggle War of 1917 – 1921, continued in emigration.

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**THE INITIATIVE TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC CONTACT
BETWEEN THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
AND AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to highlight the history of diplomatic relations between the governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in 1918 – 1920 and determine the active role of Vasyl Kuzhym and Yusif Vazirov. The methodology of the research is based on the application of historical chronological and comparative methods. Inductive and deductive methods have also been used to reconstruct certain historical events based on historiographical sources. The method of analysis contributed to the understanding of the international situation in the specified period and the role of Azerbaijan-Ukrainian relations. Inductive and deductive methods have been also used to reconstruct certain historical events according to historiographical sources. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that it is the first attempt to analyze diplomatic contacts between the Ukrainian People's Republic and Azerbaijan Democratic Republic based on a collection of historical materials collected by the Azerbaijan and the Ukrainian historians. The specified historical period was previously studied in the context of relations between Ukraine and the Transcaucasian republics. This article is an attempt to give an assessment of rapprochement level between Ukraine and Azerbaijan. The Conclusion. The main reason for the diplomatic relations between Azerbaijan and Ukraine development issue was the lack of financial resources, the presence of an external threat, in particular the Bolsheviks and their desire to eliminate the independence of the republics. The diplomatic relations between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the first Azerbaijan Republic (1918 – 1920) were friendly and at the same time had a strategic focus. The Azerbaijani students studied in the Ukrainian universities, the Ukrainians, who lived mainly in Mughan region of Azerbaijan had their official representative, who supported their rights.*

Key words: Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, Ukrainian People's Republic, diplomat, Parliament, Yusif Bey Vazirov, Vasyl Kuzhym

ІНІЦІАТИВА ВСТАНОВЛЕННЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЧНИХ КОНТАКТІВ МІЖ УКРАЇНСЬКОЮ НАРОДНОЮ РЕСПУБЛІКОЮ І АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСЬКОЮ ДЕМОКРАТИЧНОЮ РЕСПУБЛІКОЮ

*Метою статті є висвітлення питання історії дипломатичних відносин між урядами Української Народної Республіки та Азербайджанської Демократичної Республіки в період між 1918 – 1920 рр., а також визначення активної ролі Василя Кужима і Юсіфа Везірова. **Методологія дослідження** базується на використанні історично-хронологічного та порівняльного методу. Для дослідження окремих історичних подій за історіографічними джерелами використовувалися також індуктивний і дедуктивний методи. Метод аналізу сприяв розумінню міжнародної ситуації вказаного періоду та ролі азербайджано-українських відносин. **Наукова новизна** статті пов'язана з тим, що у ній на основі української і азербайджанської історіографії, а також деяких архівних відомостей Державного Архіву Азербайджанської Республіки, вивчається історія дипломатичних відносин Азербайджанської Демократичної Республіки та Української Народної Республіки (1918 – 1920) через призму діяльності їх представників в умовах тогочасної складної політичної ситуації. Якщо раніше вказаний період досліджувався у контексті відносин України та Закавказьких республік, то в цій статті є спроба дати оцінку рівню зближення України і Азербайджану. **Висновки.** Головною причиною проблеми розвитку дипломатичних відносин була недостатність фінансових коштів та присутність зовнішньої загрози, а саме більшовицької, яка проявлялася у бажанні радянської влади підкорити інші держави та ліквідувати їхню незалежність. Незважаючи на ці перепони, дипломатичні відносини між Українською Народною Республікою та першою Азербайджанською Республікою (1918 – 1920) були дружніми і водночас мали стратегічну спрямованість. Азербайджанські студенти навчалися в українських ЗВО, українці, які проживали переважно в Муганській області Азербайджану, мали офіційного представника, тобто могли звертатися до уряду Азербайджану при будь-яких обставинах, що стосувалися їх прав та обов'язків.*

***Ключові слова:** Азербайджанська Демократична Республіка, Українська Народна Республіка, дипломат, парламент, Юсіф Бей Везіров, Василь Кужим.*

The Problem Statement. The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which historians sometimes call the First Republic, like the Ukrainian People's Republic, sought recognition of independence by the world community, primarily the Allies. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian representatives found themselves in a very difficult situation, since without international support, the struggle for independence would have been difficult and long. While the Central Rada of the Ukrainian People's Republic relied on neighboring Poland with which the secret Treaty of Warsaw (Petliura-Piłsudski Alliance) was signed, the first Republic of Azerbaijan was aware of the Ottoman Empire's strategic role in the liberation mission of the Turkic peoples.

Given these political developments, the need to establish diplomatic relations was one of the main conditions for the international recognition of states. The next important fact is the lack of financial resources, which limited the possibility of setting up a permanent diplomatic representative office. It can be said with certainty that the Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian governments at the beginning of the 20th century shared common goals and values. Thus, amid these developments, the establishment of diplomatic relations was one of the main conditions for the international recognition of states.

The scientific relevance of the article is connected with the fact that in the conditions of threat and pressure of great powers, the importance of international cooperation is increasing. The rapprochement of Ukraine and Azerbaijan has cultural, historical, political and economic grounds. The study of this issue is part of the history of international relations and diplomacy. History proved that the national movements of small and large nations that

fought for autonomy, and later for independence, are powerful and have a lot of influence. In this context, attention should be paid to the development trends of the Azerbaijani-Ukrainian relations in 1918 – 1920s. The purpose of this study is to study the attempt of the Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian diplomats to establish friendly relations between the republics in the conditions of the White and Bolshevik Russia policies, emphasizing the role of some famous statesmen (Vazirov, Kuzhym, Kraskovsky).

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The issue of the history of diplomatic contacts between the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic since 1918 and before the official establishment of the Soviet power among the Ukrainian historians was studied by Irina Matiash "Activities of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in the Caucasus (1919 – 1921)" (Matiash, 2018). This article contains valuable archival material and the author's personal analysis of the activities of the UNR diplomatic mission in the Caucasus; Oleh Kupchik in the article "The Diplomatic Relations Establishment Between Ukraine and Azerbaijan in 1918 – 1920" covered the events of this period, noted the significant contribution to the Ukrainian-Azerbaijani relations development by such diplomats as Yusif Vezirov, Ivan Kraskovskyi, and Vasyl Kuzhym. Viktor Matvienko's monograph "The Ukrainian Diplomacy 1917 – 1921: In Post-Imperial Russia" (Matvienko, 2002) also deserve attention. This is the first and important work in which the issues of the UNR diplomatic mission in the Caucasus are investigated. The author examined in detail the issue of the Caucasian direction of the Ukrainian diplomacy in 1918 and analyzed the problems of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in the Caucasus in 1919 – 1920.

Some facts about the life and activities of Yusif Vazirov in the encyclopedia of the Azerbaijan People's Republic (Azerbaycan Xalq Cumhuriyyet Ensiklopediyasi) is a contribution to the study of Vezirov's ideology and life position. Among the Azerbaijani scholars, Jamil Hasanli's work "The History of the Foreign Policy of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic" also should be noted (Hasanli, 2009). In this paper, the author on the basis of important archival facts, examines the issue of Azerbaijan's foreign relations with the leading states of the world and the position of the Azerbaijani diplomats in the 1918 – 1920s, their perseverance and aspiration for the recognition of Azerbaijan on the international arena.

The monograph contains some materials on Y. Vazirov's diplomatic activities in Istanbul, Kyiv and the Crimea. Ismail Musa in the work "Azerbaijan In The System of The International Relations, March, 1917 – April, 1920" (Musa, 2011) analyzed the first steps of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the main principles and goals of the Azerbaijani diplomats, their struggle for state integrity. Orkhan Vazirov (who was Y.Vazirov's son) wrote a book about the life and work of his father, which is called "The First Ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Ukraine and Turkey" (Vazirov, 2007).

Foreign political events in the history of Azerbaijan in the period 1918 – 1920 were analyzed by Nasibzade "Foreign Policy of Azerbaijan 1918 – 1920" (Nasibzade, 1996). The objects of this research were the foreign policy of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the political situation in Azerbaijan after the February revolution, and the Azerbaijani diplomats' activities outside their country.

The Central Rada (Council) of the Ukrainian People's Republic extended the process of establishing friendly relations with the new republics to the Caucasus as well. The representatives of the Caucasus were for the Ukrainian revolution and the Central Rada formation with their government at the congress of peoples' sincerely. There were the

following delegates: Y. Baratashvili was from Georgia, M. Vekilov – from Azerbaijan and others, who recognized the leading role of the Central Rada in the creation of a democratic federation and used its state experience (Datskiv, 2009, p. 279).

On April 29, 1918, with the German troop's support, a coup took place, which proclaimed General Pavlo Skoropadskyi the Hetman of the Ukrainian State. By his decree, Hetman Skoropadskyi dissolved the Ukrainian Central Committee and the Small Council, and canceled the laws issued by them.

The Purpose of the Research. One of the most important reasons for friendly relations between countries was political support in the desire to become independent; therefore, the main goal of the article is to prove the existence of an initiative to develop diplomatic relations between the UNR and the ADR in an unstable international political situation.

The Results of the Research. The analysis of historical events allowed us to come to the conclusion that an initiative to establish diplomatic relations between the governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the ADR was an attempt to move away from the influence of imperial ambitions, to build political, economic and cultural relations on an equal basis. The greatest merit in this direction was the activity of the Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian diplomats.

On 10 October, 1918 a commissariat consisting of Jelil Sadikov (Chairman), Yusif Salekhov (Assistant) and Mir Jalal Mir Taliyev (Secretary) was elected at the general meeting of Azerbaijanis in Kyiv. Before “establishing contact with the Azerbaijani government”, he was supposed to “protect the interests of the citizens of Azerbaijan”. The Ukrainian state actually recognized all the state entities that emerged in the post-imperial space at that time... Ukraine turned out to be the only international partner for the Transcaucasian republics, which actually recognized their independence and established diplomatic relations, accepting the plenipotentiary representatives of their governments” (Matvienko, 2002, pp. 181–182). It is possible to disagree with the opinion of the Ukrainian historian, because along with Ukraine, the Ottoman Empire and Iran also played an important role in the process of recognition of Azerbaijan. The Ukrainian representatives took care of the situation of their citizens in Azerbaijan, so the Chairman of the Ukrainian Council addressed the Chairman of the Parliament of the Republic of Azerbaijan with a request on behalf of 10 thousand Ukrainian citizens living in Azerbaijan to consider the desire of the Ukrainians to have two representatives in the Republic of Azerbaijan (from 22.01.1919) (The National Archive Department of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Baku – NADRA, 1919, f. 895, d. 1, № 32, p. 1). On January 30, 1919, the Ukrainian National Council decided unanimously that the interests of the Ukrainians would be represented in the Parliament of Azerbaijan by V. Kuzhym, a man with true republican and independent views (NADRA, 1919, f. 896, d. 1, № 32, p. 2). He became the Vice-Consul of Ukraine in Azerbaijan, which will be mentioned later.

The Ukrainian historians explained the importance of establishing diplomatic contacts with the states of the Caucasus as a need to promote and ensure mutually beneficial trade contacts. In the telegram of the Minister of Trade and Industry of Azerbaijan dated February 3, 1919, there was information that “since Georgia could not provide Azerbaijan with such products as sugar and bread, it was necessary to turn to distant Ukraine for them. But in order to have successful communication with Ukraine, it was necessary to take care of establishing the correct connection through the Black Sea and to free the transit through Georgia. “On December 26, 1918, the Ministry concluded a transit agreement with Georgia. After that, the Ministry began to conclude trade agreements with solid companies and individuals for the exchange of goods with Ukraine” (NADRA, f. 1610, d. 11, № 10, p. 1 rev.s.).

This information makes us understand that the relations between Azerbaijan and Ukraine were built not only in the political direction, but also in the trade direction.

The primary task of these governments, both the Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian, was the solution of national territorial sovereignty. In the summer of 1918, the governments of the Ukrainian state of Pavlo Skoropadskyi and the ADR agreed on an exchange of the representatives. Then the UNR Directory replaced the Hetmanate (Ukrainian State), which was overthrown on December 14, 1918.

In such a difficult domestic political situation in the country, the definition of foreign policy goals caused discussions. Despite these circumstances, the first Ukrainian diplomatic mission in the Caucasus was created by order of the Directory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic No. 76 of 1919. (NADRA, f. 1610, d. 11, № 76).

Characterizing the existence of the UNR and ADR it is necessary to analyze the political portraits of V. Vynnychenko (who held the position of head of the government of the UNR) and M. Rasulzade – the head of the National Council of the ADR. Despite the fact that the Soviet historiography did a lot to convince our compatriots and the whole world that both Vynnychenko and M. Rasulzade were bourgeois nationalist revolutionaries, the historians confirm their uncompromising struggle for the statehood in difficult conditions. These people were the representatives of the ideology of the statehood and the national culture.

In turn, the main goals of the foreign policy of the ADR were: 1) stopping the armed violence of neighboring Armenia against the Azerbaijani people; 2) to oppose the Russian policy of a single and indivisible state, which violated the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan (Musa, 2011, p. 56). These goals could be considered not only external, but also internal at the same time.

During his visit to Istanbul, the Chairman of the ADR Parliament Alimerdan Bey Topchibashev met with the diplomatic representatives of Russia, the USA, Italy, and Ukraine to discuss the international situation at the Paris Peace Conference (Nasibzade, 1996, p. 148), cause the government sought to maintain ties with other countries in order to gain their support and recognition. The emigrants were another way of support. The Azerbaijani historians, in particular Nasiman Yagublu, emphasized rightly that “Mamad Emin Rasulzade tried to rely on emigrants from countries that fell under the dependence of Russia. With the help of these people, he wanted to create military political centers to fight against the Bolsheviks. The department closely cooperated with the representatives of Ukraine, Great Britain and émigré politicians of the Caucasus” (Yaqublu, 2015, p. 84).

On February 8, 1918, Ivan Kraskovsky handed over credentials to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Fatali Khan Khoyskiy. Then, Lev Lysnyak was appointed as the new consul general of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Tiflis (with jurisdiction over the same Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan). As an experienced manager and diplomatic worker, I. Kraskovsky established contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. His first appeals to the Georgian Foreign Policy Department concerned assistance in the payment of the extraordinary diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic of Ukraine, received from the Ukrainian side by the Georgian Mission in Kyiv, 500,000 rubles (Yaqublu, 2015, p. 84). I. Kraskovsky managed to achieve recognition of L. Lisniak as General Consul by the foreign policy departments of Armenia (May 16) and Azerbaijan (August 5). Considering that in Baku, it was not possible to resume the activities of the consulate due to the lack of funding and the tense political situation, and local Ukrainians needed the protection of their rights and official support, I. Kraskovsky submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic a proposal to establish the post of honorary Vice-Consul of

the Ukrainian People's Republic of Azerbaijan in Azerbaijan and to appoint the head of the Ukrainian Council in Baku O. Golovan. However, O. Golovan worked on it for less than two months. Then he refused, citing his advanced age (Matiash, 2016, p. 123).

On July 20, 1918, the Pole Oleksiy Kulinskyi was appointed General Consul of the Ukrainian state in Tiflis (with jurisdiction over Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia). During her dismissal from the post of consul general in Tiflis, already during the UNR Directory, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs accused her of conducting an anti-Ukrainian policy in the Caucasus, compromising the Ukrainian representation, as well as activities incompatible with consular work. After this incident, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic continued to conduct a strict selection of candidates for consul positions. Later, Yevhen Zasyadka was appointed consul in Batumi (Denisenko, 2013, p. 203). I. Kraskovsky was completely satisfied with the work of Ye. Zasyadka, who were the consular agent of the 1st rank in Batumi: "Given the great importance of Batumi as the key to the Caucasus and its best port on the Black Sea" (Matvienko, 2002, p. 186) he understood the prospects of deepening diplomatic contacts with these states. Later, the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in the Caucasus was headed by G. Kraskovsky. His powers extended to Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. Shortly after his arrival, I. Kraskovsky informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic that he handed over credentials to the heads of the governments of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan during official meetings. The representatives of the diplomatic corps in Tiflis met the Ukrainian ambassador without special emotions. Only the Polish and the Lithuanian representatives agreed to official visits. Commissioner John Oliver Wardrop, the representative of Great Britain, whose sphere of political and economic influence was in Transcaucasia at the time, refused to accept I. Kraskovsky as a state representative, but met him as a private person. Such a position did not indicate the readiness of the British administration to recognize an independent UNR. However, the meeting itself was perceived by the Ukrainian diplomats as a positive fact (Matiash, 2018, p. 79).

On January 1, 1920 with the assistance of the Head of the Ukrainian Extraordinary Mission, Ivan Kraskovsky, it was agreed with the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry, that Vasyl Kuzhym would perform the duties of the Vice-Consul of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Azerbaijan. He was Pavlo Skoropadsky's son-in-law.

The Vice-Consulate of the Ukrainian People's Republic was located in Baku at 13 Istiglaliyat Street (In Azeri means "Independence"). The Honorary Consul stated that the Ukrainians live in Dzhevatskiy and Lenkoransky poviats of Mugan region, which was called the "second Ukraine", in a difficult situation (in destroyed houses, without funds, food and clothing), and asked for the allocation of land plots for them to carry out agricultural work

In March 1920, the head of the Extraordinary Mission I. Kraskovsky instructed V. Kuzhym to take a work trip to Ukraine. He was carrying a diplomatic entourage, and he had to receive funds for the needs of the mission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic. But he was unable to return to Baku, because in April the Bolsheviks captured him and announced the formation of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. V. Kuzhym held the position of Vice-Consul in Baku for at least one month, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic of Ukraine conducted an official inspection regarding the misuse of funds in the Vice Consulate. The guilt of V. Kuzhym was not established and it remained unknown. Thus, the Ukrainian leadership sought to establish official relations with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, since "the Caucasus was one of the centers of the national political life of the Ukrainians" (20,000 people lived in Mugan region alone) (Denisenko, 2013, p. 207).

The main obstacle to the development of diplomatic relations between the Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian peoples was Bolshevism and Russia's desire to Sovietize these territories. All the ultimatums given by the Soviet government of the Ukrainian People's Republic were rejected by S. Petlyura and V. Vynnychenko. That is why; Russia started a war against the Ukrainian People's Republic, which, in turn, did not have combat-capable armed forces that would effectively counter Russia's attack.

Thus, analyzing the above-mentioned historical facts, it could be stated that the internal political instability of both the Ukrainian People's Republic and the first Republic of Azerbaijan created foreign policy problems, since the leading countries of the world considered them as part of Russia and the Bolshevik government. When it came to an independent diplomatic line of the Ukrainian People's Republic, this caused problems for the new government, because the opening of a diplomatic mission required financial resources. The main goals of the UNR were the liberation of the territory from the Red Army and the White Guards, then friendly ties with various countries were lined up. In this regard, the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was in a similar situation, which definitely influenced the formation of friendly relations with other countries.

If the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic was able to solve its main problem that was the question of independence than opening of diplomatic missions and the signing of various agreements with other countries would be possible and even necessary. Unfortunately, all these issues prevented the UNR from establishing long-term diplomatic contacts with other countries, including Azerbaijan.

On the Issue of Life and Activity of Yusif Vazir

The establishment of the representative office of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Kyiv was initiated by the Azerbaijani student association headed by a native of the city of Shusha, a graduate of the Faculty of Law of the University of St. Volodymyr in Kyiv by Yusif Vazir (Chemenzeminli). (Yusif Vazir Chamanzaminli; 1887 – 1943). After the February Revolution of 1917, Yusif Vazir returned from Halychyna, where fate had thrown him during World War I. Despite being evacuated together with the University of St. Volodymyr in 1915 in Saratov and work in the Saratov Court Chamber, he did come to Kyiv, from where he went to the front. Yu. Vazir took the pseudonym “Chemenzeminli” in honor of the name of the village where three brothers lived, who helped his family survive after the untimely death of his father.

Yusif Vazir (Chemenzeminli), the founder of the Azerbaijani society in Kyiv, was to take the post of ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Ukrainian State, Poland and the Crimea. However, the ambassador did not reach Kyiv, he stopped due to the capture of many Ukrainian territories by the Bolsheviks in Simferopol. The commissariat continued to work in Kyiv until the arrival of the Bolsheviks (Denisenko, 2013, p. 359). In the encyclopedia “The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic”, the date of appointment of Vazir as ambassador to Ukraine was indicated as January, 1919 (Azerbaycan Halq Cumhuriyyeti Ensiklopediyası, 2004, p. 289). Although the Azerbaijan newspaper No. 30 dated November 4, 1918 stated: “At the government meeting Yu. Vazir was appointed a political representative in Ukraine” (Azerbaycan qazeti (1918 – 1919), 2022, p. 56). In the same newspaper, No. 32 of November 6, 1918, it was written: “The Azerbaijani government has decided to appoint Yu. Vazir as a political representative in the Crimea” (Azerbaycan qazeti (1918 – 1919), 2022, p. 101). It is also important to note that the Azerbaijan newspaper very often mentioned the events in Ukraine on the pages of the foreign news section. There was also a speech by M. E. Rasulzadeh in the newspaper, who during his speech in Ganja noted: “Our situation (meaning political – P. Mustafazade. Author) is similar to the situation in Ukraine. This is

related to the “goals of the Russian revolution” and Russian revolutionaries living with the poisoned idea of “Great Russia” (Azerbaijan qazeti (1918 – 1919), 2022, p. 292).

The main task of the newly created diplomatic mission was to familiarize society with Azerbaijan, which, unfortunately, was considered an integral part of the Russian Empire, that is why Y. Vazir wrote numerous articles about the culture, history, and economy of Azerbaijan (Vazirov, 1997, p. 80). The book “Azerbaijan Autonomy”, which Y. Vazir wrote while still in Kyiv, was published in Baku. Yes, he became the first to promote the idea of independence and fight for it (Azerbaijan Halq Cumhuriyyeti Ensiklopediyası, 2004, p. 289). Yusif Vazir's activity had both creative and a political character. Thus, in his publications he spoke about the important attributes of the state: the people, the national territory (means state) and the national government (Azerbaijan Halk Cumhuriyyeti Ensiklopediyası, 2004, p. 290).

Y. Vazir was always interested in the situation of the Azerbaijani students, he wrote about their problems and made efforts to help them. The difficult situation of the Azerbaijani students is confirmed by a letter from student Habib Babazadeh. He wrote that the Azerbaijani students in Russia, especially in Ukraine, had many difficulties, they were unemployed. In order to provide for themselves, “our students were forced to engage in such activities that did not correspond to student traditions” (Azerbaijan qazeti (1918 – 1919), 2022, p. 313).

During his studies in Kyiv, Yu. Vazir created a youth organization called “Society of Compatriots of the Caucasian Students”, which held cultural evenings and theater performances called the “Night of the East”.

Yusif Vazir was appointed a diplomatic representative not only in Ukraine, but later in Turkey. In Istanbul, Yu. Vazir was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Turkey hoped to strengthen the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. Turkey could influence the independence movement in Azerbaijan (Hasanli, 2009, pp. 290–291).

Analyzing the biography of Yu. Vazir, one can understand that his life was quite difficult, because, despite all the difficulties, his main legacy was not only his literary work, which is widely studied in Azerbaijan by philological scientists and historians. Yu. Vazir's political, namely diplomatic activity is of interest and is even relevant in modern historiography and needs deeper research.

The Conclusion. Firstly, the main reason for the problem of the development of diplomatic relations was the lack of financial resources. Secondly, in the face of an external threat, namely the Bolsheviks and their desire to eliminate the independence of the republics. These two main reasons influenced the history of diplomatic relations between the first Republic of Azerbaijan and the UPR.

Some diplomats such as Kraskovsky, Lisniak, Kuzhym, and Vazir made efforts to improve foreign policy relations between their countries in the difficult socio-political and economic conditions prevailing at beginning of the 20th century. The Azerbaijani and the Ukrainian diplomacy was at the stage of formation, but at the same time there was a struggle for statehood and autonomy. Based on the above, it can be stated that the diplomatic relations between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the first Azerbaijan Republic (1918 – 1920) were friendly and at the same time had a strategic orientation. However, due to certain reasons, they were not fully developed.

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**FEATURES OF THE VOLHYNIA “PROSVITA” SOCIETIES LIQUIDATION
BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of peculiarities of the “Prosvita” societies liquidation in the Volhynia Voivodeship, which was carried out by the Polish authorities during the interwar period. Since the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia did not have a centralized structure, as it was observed in neighbouring Galicia, and operated according to separate statutory documents, or did not have registered statutes at all, the Polish authorities took advantage of this moment to ban the activities of the national organization of the Ukrainians. Taking into account the fact that the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia existed only since the end of World War I and failed to win the favour of the majority of Volhynia residents, the Polish authorities tried to prevent the growth of the number of the “Prosvita” societies in the first half of the 20s of the 20th century, and from the turn of the 20s – the 1930s, “Prosvita” was on the way to liquidation. This is not accidental, because the national idea, which was widely promoted by the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies, the upholding of the Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian language and culture, contradicted the statist doctrine of the*

Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: a complete assimilation of the Ukrainians and transformation of Poland into a mono-ethnic state. The purpose of the study is to identify and analyze the peculiarities of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies liquidation by the Polish authorities during the interwar period, as well as to trace the evolution of the Polish authorities position regarding the activities and existence of the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia. The methodological basis of the article is the principles of the authors’ objectivity, historicism, systematicity and scientificity. Historical and comparative, historical and systemic methods have been also widely used. The scientific novelty of the article is based on the involvement of new archival documents that are being introduced into a scientific circulation for the first time, as well as on the research focus narrowness, because so far no materials have been published that would trace the specifics of the “Prosvita” societies the liquidation in Volhynia during the interwar period. Instead, in the scientific publications there were analyzed the reasons for the liquidation of the “Prosvita” societies and were, rather, of a descriptive nature. The Conclusion. As a result of the research, the authors came to the conclusion that, taking into consideration the lack of a unifying centre among the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies, the Polish state administration managed to relatively quickly liquidate the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia and replace them with public organizations “Prosvitianski Khaty” loyal to the authorities. The process of liquidation of the “Prosvita” societies lasted for five to seven years, depending on the region of Volhynia, the liquidation of the “Prosvita” societies took place chaotically, their duration of activity depended on the leadership’s position (its ability to resist). The biggest problem faced by the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies was the transfer of property and finances.

Key words: “Prosvita”, Volhynia, liquidation, the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, statutory documents, national policy, Polish government.

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЛІКВІДАЦІЇ ВОЛИНСЬКИХ “ПРОСВІТ” ПОЛЬСЬКОЮ ВЛАДОЮ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

Анотація. У статті досліджуються особливості ліквідації осередків “Просвіти” у Волинському воеводстві, що її здійснила польська влада у міжвоєнний період. Оскільки “Просвіти” на Волині не мали єдиної централізованої структури, як це було у сусідній Галичині, і діяли за окремими статутними документами, або ж не мали зареєстрованих статутів узагалі, польська влада скористалася цим моментом, аби заборонити діяльність національної організації українців. Враховуючи той факт, що “Просвіти” на Волині існували лише з прикінця Першої світової війни і не зуміли завоювати прихильність більшості волинян, польська влада намагалася перешкодити зростанню численності просвітянських осередків у першій половині 20-х рр. XX ст., а з рубежу 20–30-х рр. стала на шлях ліквідації “Просвіт”. І це не випадково, адже національна ідея, яка широко пропагувалася волинськими “Просвітами”, обстоювання Православної церкви, української мови та культури суперечило державницькій доктрині Другої Речі Посполитої: повній асиміляції українців та перетворення Польщі на моноетнічну державу. **Метою дослідження** є виявлення й аналіз особливостей ліквідації польською владою волинських “Просвіт” у міжвоєнний період, а також простеження еволюції позиції польської влади щодо діяльності та існування “Просвіт” на Волині. **Методологічну основу** пропонованої статті становлять принципи авторської об’єктивності, історизму, системності та науковості. Широко застосовано також історико-порівняльний та історико-системний методи. **Наукова новизна** статті опирається на залучення нових архівних документів, що вперше вводяться до наукового обігу, а також на вузькість дослідницького фокусу, адже досі не було опубліковано жодних матеріалів, які б простежували особливості ліквідації “Просвіт” на Волині у міжвоєнний період. Натомість наявні наукові публікації аналізували причини ліквідації “Просвіт” і мали радше описовий характер. **Висновки.** У результаті дослідження авторки дійшли висновку, що, враховуючи відсутність у волинських “Просвіт” єдиної об’єднавчої структури, польській державній адміністрації вдалося відносно швидко ліквідувати просвітянські осередки на Волині і замінити їх лояльними владі громадськими організаціями – “Просвітянськими хатами”. Процес ліквідації “Просвіт” розтягнувся у часі на п’ять-сім років, залежно від регіону Волині, ліквідації проходили хаотично, їх тривалість діяльності залежала від позиції керівництва (його здатності до опору). Найбільшою проблемою, з якою зіткнулися волинські “Просвіти”, стала передача майна і фінансів.

Ключові слова. “Просвіти”, Волинь, ліквідація, Друга Річ Посполита, статутні документи, національна політика, польська влада.

The Problem Statement. In Volhynia, the first branch of the “Prosvita” society was founded by the Ukrainian Sich riflemen during World War I, and at the time of Volhynia’s accession to the Polish state, the “Prosvita” movement was in its infancy, not gaining such a spread and popularity as in neighbouring Galicia. In addition, in Volhynia the national consciousness was significantly lower compared to the same Galicia or Transnistria. The Polish authorities, with the aim of assimilating the newly annexed lands, as well as to prevent the spread of the national movement from Galicia to Volhynia, divide the Ukrainians of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Sokal border and decide to eliminate the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies before they gain widespread influence and a mass character.

During the period under analysis, since the Volhynia “Prosvita” did not manage to form a single unifying centre, but operated according to separate statutes or without registered statutory documents, the authors consider it appropriate to use the term “Prosvita” societies as separate national and cultural organizations.

The Analysis of Recent Publications. The Volhynia “Prosvita” societies became the subject of research mostly by local historians and local country studies scholars. However, none of them did the research on the specifics of the liquidation of the “Prosvita” societies educational centres. For example, Volyn researcher Yuriy Kramar (Kramar, 2016) did research on the educational activities of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies and the reasons for their persecution and liquidation by the Polish authorities. A historian Mykola Kucherepa (Kucherepa, 2001; Kucherepa, 2018) researched the history of the establishment and activities of the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia during the interwar period and analyzed in detail the activities of “Prosvitianski Khaty” – organizations that were, as an alternative, created by the Polish authorities instead of the liquidated branches of the “Prosvita” societies. The publications of Liudmyla Strilchuk (Strilchuk, 2018; Strilchuk, 2019; Strilchuk, Yarosh, 2021, Strilchuk & Dobrzhanskyi, 2021) are among the newest issues of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies, but they are generalizing and elucidate certain aspects of the organization and activity of the “Prosvita” societies. Svitlana Ponomarenko and Mariana Myts did research on the cultural and educational activities of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies.

Borys Savchuk, a researcher from Ivano-Frankivsk and Myroslava Filipovych, Lutsk historian should be mentioned among the researchers who analyzed the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies comprehensively. In particular, B. Savchuk analyzed the formation of the “Prosvita” movement in Volhynia, highlighted its stages, singled out the figures of the “Prosvita” activists and various directions of activity of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies. The monograph of B. Savchuk “Volhynia Volyn “Prosvita” (Savchuk, 1996) became the first comprehensive study on the history of the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia, however, the source base of the monograph and the amount of literature analyzed by the author in the research are quite insignificant, the problems raised are considered only in general terms, without an in-depth analysis, there is no canvas of the historical process, there are omitted issues of the “Prosvita” societies activities.

The monograph written by M. Filipovych “Lutsk “Prosvita” 1918 – 1935” (Filipovych, 2007) is based on a significant layer of archival documents, contains extensive factual material about the cultural, artistic, educational, and church-religious activities of Lutsk “Prosvita”, but is a narrow study, since its subject is only the district “Prosvita” of Lutsk.

The purpose of the article is to identify and analyze the peculiarities of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies liquidation by the Polish authorities during the interwar period, as well as to trace the evolution of the Polish authorities position regarding the activities and existence of the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia.

The Results of the Research. It is a well-known fact that the “Prosvita” society dates back to 1868, being founded in Galicia, which was part of Austria-Hungary at that time. By the time World War I ended, in Galicia the “Prosvita” society had become one of the most massive social and cultural organizations, covering the entire region with a dense network of its branches. The situation in Volhynia, which was part of the Russian Empire before the war outbreak, was radically different. The national consciousness of Volhynia was much lower than in neighbouring Galicia, and the first societies of “Prosvita” appeared there only at the end of World War I (Kalishchuk, 2020, p. 104), after the Ukrainian Sich riflemen under the leadership of Dmytro Vitovsky founded the first Volhynia “Prosvita” in the village of Matseyiv in Kovel district (Strilchuk, 2019, p. 211). Therefore, at the beginning of the 20s of the 20th century, at the time when Volhynia became part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the “Prosvita” societies in the region were at the stage of formation, they did not have a single unifying centre (Filipovych, 2007, p. 54), often (due to the war and lack of authorities formations) did not have a registered statute.

The defeat of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and awareness of an active formation of the Ukrainian nation strengthened the desire of the Polish authorities to carry out assimilation of population of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth eastern regions as soon as possible. In fact, the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth included two western Ukrainian regions with a striking difference in a national and cultural development, a civic activity and national consciousness (Kalishchuk, 2020, p. 105). The Polish authorities decided to use this fact to divide these two regions within the borders of one state, establishing the so-called Sokal border (Strilchuk, 2018, p. 84), and thereby prevent the spread of the influence of Galicia on Volhynia, which was especially relevant under the conditions of the assimilation policy carried out by the Polish authorities (Strilchuk & Dobrzhanskyi, 2021, p. 221).

Since the “Prosvita” societies were considered by the Poles as influential public organizations that promoted the Ukrainian national idea, education and culture, the societies became the subject of oppression and prohibitions by the authorities (Kramar, 2016, p. 59). Taking into consideration the mass and popularity of the “Prosvita” movement in Galicia, the Polish state administration did not dare to oppose the Galician “Prosvita” openly (Dobrzhanskyi & Strilchuk, 2021, pp. 5–6), but in the case of Volyn, the decision was made to liquidate the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies formally using the lack of statutory documents in the majority of Volhynia branches as the main reason for liquidation (Strilchuk & Yarosh, 2021, pp. 129–130). The statutory documents of those Volhynia “Prosvita” societies that had registration, for example, Dubno, Lutsk, Rivne district “Prosvita” societies, were not recognized, because they were registered during the war years or during the post-war period (Savchuk, 1996, pp. 84–86), before the approval of the Polish state administration.

Among the main reasons that made it possible to liquidate the “Prosvita” societies by the Polish authorities in the Volhynia Voivodeship were the following: an insufficient cohesion of national Ukrainian political forces and public organizations; a low political, national and cultural development in the Volhynia Voivodeship (Kucherepa, 2018, p. 98); the assimilationist, anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish authorities towards the Ukrainians, in general, and the Volyn “Prosvita”, in particular; inter-ethnic contradictions and complex inter-ethnic Polish-Ukrainian relations during the interwar period (Strilchuk, 2016, p. 272).

The prosecution of the Polish authorities of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies began in 1927 and was manifested in restrictions and prohibitions on their activities (Kucherepa, 2001, p. 32). Thus, in a letter sent by the Dubno “Prosvita” society to Lviv on July 30, 1928,

we read the following: "...these days, the local Polish authorities, on the basis of the order of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of November or December 1922 Ch-99, completely began to refuse our Society in permits for theatrical performances, motivating the absence of permit at each play, before the performance of each play, there must be a permit given by the Polish authorities that each play is censored (by the Polish authorities) and allowed to be performed on the stage... it was not possible to achieve the cancellation of these permits, because and the theater-amateur movement stopped completely..." (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 2324, p. 9).

Such and similar bans on concerts, parties, activities of the Volhynia "Prosvita" libraries-reading rooms became widespread, which is confirmed by numerous archival materials. For example, in the Central State Historical Archive of the city of Lviv, the authors of the article found the documents that testify that the Volhynia "Prosvita" societies tried to resist liquidation by uniting around those "Prosvita" societies, which had registered statutes in the hope that such society would provide an opportunity for their existence and activities. The Lutsk "Prosvita" society took the initiative to create a single unifying centre. At the end of 1927, the Lutsk "Prosvita" society sent letters to all Volhynia "Prosvita" societies with this proposal. Thus, for example, in a letter from the Lutsk "Prosvita" society to the Kovel "Prosvita" society, dated November 17, 1927, we read the following: "The Council of the Lutsk "Prosvita" dated November 5, 1927, part 746/B in the case of the formation of the "Prosvita" societies centre in Volyn asks, in consideration of this case, to send an answer to the Lutsk "Prosvita" as to whether Kovel "Prosvita" considers a suitable formation of the Volhynia "Prosvita" Central society and the Statute legalization (which was refused by the authorities in 1921 and 1924). And also, do you consider it necessary to consider this situation to convene a meeting of representatives of the district "Prosvita" societies in Volhynia?... It is understood that in the case of a favourable attitude to this issue, the Volhynia "Prosvita" society will gather for a congress, which must be convened for hearing and approval of the final version of the Statute of the Volhynia "Prosvita society"" (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3492, p. 1).

It is known that the majority of the Volhynia district "Prosvita" societies agreed to this proposal, however, the Polish authorities did not give permission to hold the congress. Therefore, the issue of the formation of the Volhynia Central "Prosvita" society was declared, to a wide audience, at the teachers' congress held in Rivne at the end of 1927, however, no decision was made in this case, as the congress delegates had no authority.

Nevertheless, the issue of unification of the Volhynia "Prosvita" societies was widely discussed and supported by the majority of societies. In particular, in one of the decisions of the Rivne "Prosvita" Society, we read the following: "At the meeting of Rivne "Prosvita" on February 23, 1927 in the case of the "Prosvita" societies unification in Volhynia it was decided: to reply to Lutsk "Prosvita" society that the Council of the "Prosvita" society in Rivne considered the proposal of the Voivodeship and came to the conclusion that in principle it would be desirable to form the Volhynia "Prosvita" Central society so that the formation of such a Central "Prosvita" does not cause disputes and questions.... And if the voices of some "Prosvita" societies were against this formation, then the final solution of this issue should be discussed at a meeting of representatives of all Volhynia "Prosvita" societies. After all, the creation of the Volyn "Prosvita" Central society can protect the "Prosvita" societies from liquidation..." (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 4728, p. 1).

It should be noted that there were also "Prosvita" societies in Volhynia that did not support the idea of creating a single unifying centre of "Prosvita", or at least did not see themselves in such an association. Among them there was "Prosvita" of the town of Kremianets. Thus, in a

letter sent from Kremianets to Lviv on October 21, 1927, we read the following: “In response to letter No. 5833/27, the Council of the Society has the honour to reply that the issue of the creation of the Volhynia “Prosvita” Centre was discussed once again at the Council meeting this year on October 6. It was unanimously decided that the Lviv “Prosvita” should be the only moral and formal centre, and therefore a negative position was taken before the establishment of the Volhynia “Prosvita” Centre. Chairman of the Council Semen Zhuk” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3165, p. 2).

Faced with the fact of banning and liquidation, the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies tried to re-register, appearing as new organizations, this state of affairs was often reported by the Polish officials, as evidenced by archival documents of the Warsaw Archives of New Acts. For example, in the information of the Dubno Starostvo, we read: “...in Dubno district branch of the “Prosvita”, there are 112 societies and 3,200 members. The value of the “Prosvita” societies property cannot be determined at the moment... According to the collected information, Ambassador V. Chuchmai (a former head of “Prosvita” in Dubno) intends to establish a new Ukrainian organization (with a different name) as soon as possible, to which he will transfer all the property of Dubno “Prosvita”...” (ANAW, d. 979/64, p. 15).

There is another report by the Polish officials from Rivne: “The head of the liquidated “Prosvita” in Rivne was O. Karpinskyi, a deputy – R. Ishchuk, a secretary – V. Ohiboskyi”. The “Prosvita” society included 104 branches, of which 35 were less developed and active. In total, in the “Prosvita” society there were 1,044 employees before liquidation. The approximate value of property was PLN 30,000.

The liquidation congress of the “Prosvita” society in Rivne is going to renew the society, and therefore intends to transfer funds to the newly formed society. April 26, 1928” (ANAW, c. 979/64, p. 54).

However, neither the plan to create the Volhynia “Prosvita” Centre, nor attempts to re-register the Society were successful, as the Polish authorities refused to register the statutes of the public society categorically, which meant a ban on its activities. Part of the “Prosvita” societies of the Volhynia Voivodeship, already after their closure, tried to find a way out by becoming subordinate to the Lviv “Prosvita” society, and thus resume activity based on the statutory documents of the Lviv “Prosvita” society, however, this idea was not destined to be implemented in practice. In archival repositories, we find many documents that testify to this fact. For example, in a letter sent from the Main Board of the “Prosvita” society in Lviv to Rivne dated January 10, 1933, we read: “In response to your letter of December 16, 1932, we inform you that the activities of the “Prosvita” society on the territory of Galicia are very limited. When changing our Statute, the authorities did not allow us to extend our activities to all Ukrainian lands under Poland.

Therefore, it is not possible to establish new branches or reading rooms of “Prosvita” in Volhynia based on the Statutes of our Society. However, we advise you to establish an independent library on the basis of the new Law on Societies, until the time when you are able to establish a new regional “Prosvita” society. We hope that such time will come someday” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 4730, p. 1).

There were not rare cases when the “Prosvita” societies continued to operate in Volhynia even after the liquidation meeting. As a rule, this happened more often in small settlements, away from a watchful eye of the Polish officials. In the letter sent by the Kostopil starosta to the Voivodeship government on February 15, 1930, we read: “I report that the Society called “Prosvita” does not officially exist in the starostvo entrusted to me. However, the

Ukrainians create libraries-reading rooms, however, in addition to borrowing literature, the libraries conduct events that were traditionally conducted by the “Prosvita” society. There are six such libraries in the povit. Their detailed characteristics is given below....

I believe that these libraries should be checked, re-registered and taken under state control, this would prevent the cultivation of memories of “Prosvita” and the spread of “Prosvita” ideas by libraries. Starosta Z. Kubitsky” (ANAW, c. 979/64. pp. 92–95).

The Lutsk “Prosvita” society was among those who managed to resist liquidation for the longest time, however, finally on July 1, 1934, in compliance with the order of the Povit Starostva of June 16, 1934, a liquidation meeting of the Lutsk “Prosvita” was held. From the detailed minutes of the meeting of the liquidation commission, we can conclude that the meeting was difficult, it was postponed and postponed several times due to the lack of a quorum, the atmosphere was depressed, the majority of people were against the liquidation of the society. (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3492, pp. 12–14).

Faced with the inevitability of the “Prosvita” societies liquidation, the Volhynia “Prosvita” members faced another problem: where and to whom to transfer the property they acquired during their short years of existence. The most valuable parts were the books that had been collected with such difficulty by the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies (as gifts from private libraries, bought, exchanged). Among the property of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies there were also pieces of furniture, sets for theatre and costumes, musical instruments, and documentation kept in each society. Among the archival documents, there are many letters from various Volhynia “Prosvita” societies addressed to the Lviv “mother “Prosvita”” with a request to transfer their property to Lviv. Some of the letters were sent to private individuals who, according to the “Prosvita” members, had the opportunity to take custody of property, such as Oleksandr Tsinkalovskyi from the Volodymyr povit “Prosvita”, so that the latter could hide the “Prosvita” library in his house. In particular, in the letter to O. Tsynkalovsky we read; “The main department of the “Prosvita” Society, as a receiver of the property of the dissolved Volodymyr “Prosvita”, authorizes you to become the home manager of this property: the library, individual items and the collection of still unresolved debts from the branch of the Volodymyr Povit “Prosvita”... ” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1637, pp. 14).

Let’s quote another document: a letter from the Kovel Povit “Prosvita” society to Lviv, dated June 12, 1929: “Dear Chairman! The day of the funeral-liquidation of our Kovel “Prosvita” society is approaching. It will be this Thursday: 13.06. It will be necessary to transfer the “Prosvita” property to someone at the liquidation meeting. We did not know who to transfer it to and at the meeting we decided to transfer the property to the Lviv “Prosvita”. In this regard, we ask you, Mr. Chairman, to send us to Kovel someone to transfer the property on June 13” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 2902, p. 55).

Another letter sent from Lutsk to Lviv on January 13, 1935: “Dear Mr. Chairman! We cannot write everything in an official letter, so we write privately. Please do everything to ensure that the formal transfer of property, deeds, documents takes place as soon as possible!

Then we would send the Acts and seals to Lviv, and the libraries would be set up somewhere temporarily (in free premises). Let me explain: we are afraid that the fact that all debts have not been collected and can be used by someone (the authorities), and there will be no library...” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3492, p. 22).

In the next, last letter sent by the Lutsk “Prosvita” to Lviv on January 21, 1935, it informs about its final liquidation: “The Liquidation Commission of the Lutsk “Prosvita” society was held in Volhynia on January 14, 1935 and concluded liquidation of the “Prosvita” society on

the same day. All copies of the documents sent to the Lutsk povit starostvo, in accordance with the order of the Voivodeship Government.

Notifying about this, the “Prosvita” society refers to: 1) a copy of a blank and balance sheet; 2) a property description; 3) a write-off of creditors. Other documents will be transferred” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3492, p. 25).

In the majority of cases, the “Prosvita” societies tried to settle all debts before liquidation: whether it was for renting premises, or for literature bought for libraries, etc. The Central State Historical Archive of the city of Lviv contains many documents that confirm this fact. For example, on January 2, 1931, the Kovel povit “Prosvita” society informs: “We would like to inform you that all the debts of the Kovel “Prosvita”, which the authorities liquidated closed, have been paid” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1. c. 2902, p. 60).

After the liquidation commission meeting on October 10, 1935, the Kremenets “Prosvita” societies informs the “Prosvita” in Lviv: “...we are sending a list of reading rooms in Kremenets povit, which after liquidation have debts to the Lviv “Prosvita” society for previously issued books. These are reading rooms in Lopushyn, Valashchyntsi, Rynivtsi, Holybizy, Hrynky and Podlistsia...” (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3165, p. 4).

The Conclusion. Thus, during the period from the end of 1927 to the end of 1935, all the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia were liquidated, and the vacuum created in a social and cultural space of the Voivodship, the Polish authorities tried to fill with the newly created “Prosvitiansky Khaty”, which were under the authorities’ control. As for the specifics of the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies liquidation, it should be noted that the lack of cohesion of the national Ukrainian political and socio-cultural forces and a small mass and activity of the “Prosvita” movement in the Volhynia Voivodeship made possible the liquidation and ban on the activities of the “Prosvita” societies in Volhynia. The absence of statutory documents registered by the Polish authorities and a unifying centre of “Prosvita” in the Volhynia Voivodeship became a formal reason for their liquidation. Attempts made by the Volhynia “Prosvita” societies to submit to the statutory documents of the Lviv “Prosvita” failed because, under the pressure of the Polish authorities, changes to the Statute made in the early 20s of the 20th century did not allow the influence of the “Prosvita” society of Galicia to spread to other territories of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in particular to Volyn

All attempts to re-register existing or create new social and cultural centres instead of the liquidated Volhynia “Prosvita” societies ended in failure (Strilchuk & Dobrzhanskyi, 2021, pp. 225–226). The Polish state administration kept a watchful eye on the former “Prosvita” members in every possible way, trying to hinder their activities, conducting audits of reading libraries, often seizing their property, refusing permission to rent premises, and charging fines. In the second half of the 30s of the 20th century, some of the less nationally conscious Volhynians became members of the “Prosvitiansky Khaty”, which finally split the national movement in Volhynia.

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“UNION OF UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA”: PREREQUISITES OF ITS CREATION, STAGES AND DIRECTIONS OF ACTIVITY (1922 – 1940)

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the prerequisites for the emergence, stages and directions of “The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America” activity during the period of 1922 – 1940. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, application of general scientific (generalization, typology) and special scientific research methods, in particular, comparative and historical, historical and systemic, a critical analysis of sources. The Scientific Novelty. On the basis of a comprehensive study of The Svoboda newspaper and available historiographical achievements, for the first time in national historiography, the key links of organization “The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America” have been comprehensively traced. The Conclusion. Attempts to create a single organization that would direct the activities of all Ukrainian public and political centres on the American continent and represent their interests before the society and the US authorities date back to the time of World War I. Again, the idea of creating such an organization arose against the background of the defeat of the*

Ukrainian revolution and the economic crisis that gripped the Ukrainian territory during the first post-war years. In 1922 – 1940, during its activity, “The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America” was a socio-political organization of the Ukrainians in America, which aimed to carry out activities for the recognition of the Ukrainian statehood, provide material assistance to the development of the Ukrainian life in their native lands, and unify the Ukrainian emigration. The organization widely informed the public about the Ukrainian issue, collected funds to help the people of Ukraine, published books about Ukraine in English. During its activity, the Union organized 8 congresses of American Ukrainians with participation of hundreds of American Ukrainians representatives and discussed the most pressing issues of the Ukrainian national affairs and the international geopolitical situation.

Key words: *“The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America”, the USA, Ukrainian diaspora, interwar period.*

“ОБ’ЄДНАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ В АМЕРИЦІ”: ПЕРЕДУМОВИ СТВОРЕННЯ, ЕТАПИ І НАПРЯМИ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ (1922 – 1940)

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Проаналізувати передумови виникнення, етапи та напрями діяльності “Об’єднання українських організацій в Америці” упродовж його існування у 1922 – 1940 рр. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, застосуванні загальнонаукових (узагальнення, типологізація) та спеціально-наукових методів дослідження, зокрема, порівняльно-історичного, історико-системного, критичного аналізу джерел. **Наукова новизна.** На основі комплексного вивчення газети “Свобода” та наявних історіографічних здобутків уперше у вітчизняній історіографії цілісно прослідковано ключові ланки діяльності організації “Об’єднання українських організацій в Америці”. **Висновки.** Спроби створити єдину організацію, яка би скеровувала діяльність усіх українських громадсько-політичних осередків на американському континенті та представляла їхні інтереси перед суспільством і владою США, беруть початок ще з часу Першої світової війни. Повторно ідея постання такої організації, виникла на тлі поразки Української революції та економічного лихоліття, яке охопили українські терени у перші повоєнні роки. “Об’єднання українських організацій в Америці” упродовж свого існування у 1922 – 1940 рр. була суспільно-політичною організацією українців Америки, яка мала за мету проведення заходів задля визнання української державності, надання матеріальної допомоги розвитку українського життя на рідних землях та об’єднання української еміграції. Організація широко інформувала громадськість про українську справу, збирала кошти для допомоги народу України, видавала книжки про Україну англійською мовою. За час існування нею було організовано вісім конгресів американських українців за участі сотень представників американського українства та з обговоренням найактуальніших питань української національної справи і міжнародної геополітичної ситуації.

Ключові слова: *“Об’єднання українських організацій в Америці”, США, українська діаспора, міжвоєнний час.*

The Problem Statement. At the beginning of the 20th century one of the most urgent problems of the Ukrainian diaspora functioning in the USA was, firstly, its integration into American social and political life, and secondly, the unification of efforts of various Ukrainian centres around the Ukrainian national issue. The mentioned above aspect was important not only from the point of view of formation and functioning of the Ukrainian branches on the American continent, but also the Ukrainian lobby formation in America against the background of tragic events for the Ukrainian people after World War I and during the subsequent interwar period. During the period of 1922 – 1940, in the USA the key public organization, which dealt with the above-mentioned issues, was “The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America”.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the prerequisites for the emergence, stages and directions of activity of “The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America” during its activity in 1922 – 1940.

The Analysis on Recent Research Papers and Publications. Various aspects of the research issue were analyzed by A. Vahnianin (Vakhnianyn, 2021), T. Vrons'ka (Vrons'ka, 2010), O. Homotiuk and I. Nedoshytko (Homotiuk & Nedoshytko, 2021), M. Kuropas' (Kuropas', 1984; Kuropas', 2004), L. Myshuha (Myshuha, 1944), O. Sukhobokova (Sukhobokova, 2012), A. Yatsiv (Yatsiv, 2019) and the others. However, despite the fact that certain historiographical research papers are already available, there is still no comprehensive research on the activities of "The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America".

The Results of the Research. Attempts to create a single organization that would direct the activities of all Ukrainian public and political centres and represent their interests in the society and the US authorities date back to World War I. It was at that time that the Ukrainian community in the USA, seeking to help the Ukrainians in their native lands to gain statehood, held the Ukrainian Congress in 1915, at which there was founded the Federation of the Ukrainians in the USA. Its co-organizers were the most influential Ukrainian public organizations in the States, such as "Ukrainian People's Union" ("UNS"), "Ukrainian Workers' Union", "Union of Ukrainian Catholics "Provydinnia"" and the others. However, already in 1916, UNS and "Provydinnia" left it and established another central organization of the Ukrainian community in the USA – the Ukrainian Council in America. Both organizations acted in the interests of Ukraine, which ensured that President V. Wilson declared April 21, 1917, the Ukrainian Day in the USA in support of the Ukrainian people in World War I (Kuropas', 1984, pp. 38–39).

After the end of the war, the leadership was taken over by the Ukrainian Council, which in 1919 changed its name to "The Ukrainian People's Committee". In a close contact with the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Washington and individual congressmen, the Committee tried to convince the White House and Congress, as well as the world community, of the need to recognize the independence of Ukraine (Sukhobokova, 2012, p. 47).

Again, the idea of creating an organization that would unite the efforts of all Ukrainian organizations in the USA arose against the background of the defeat of the Ukrainian revolution and the economic crisis that engulfed the Ukrainian territory during the first post-war years.

At the beginning of the 1920s, one of the most active figures of the Ukrainian diaspora in the USA, Fr. Volodymyr Spolityakevych wrote the following: "The land is reaching out to us with its emaciated, bony hands; asks and begs for help and salvation before a terrible, staring death... It is a heart-wrenching pity and desolation... that we, American Ukrainians, are unable to provide adequate assistance to our enslaved brothers in Ukraine" (Tretyj Kongres Ob'iednannia Ukraïns'kykh Organizatsij v Amerytsi, 1924).

At the beginning of the 1920s, for the first time, the forces of the Ukrainians in America were accumulated around the actions of the National Defense Loan and Immediate Assistance by means of collecting money to help Western Ukraine after the defeat of the Ukrainian side in the Polish-Ukrainian war for these territories. According to its results, 140 thousand US dollars were collected. At the same time, it became the first precedent for the unification of the Ukrainian circles in the USA, which led to the idea of its further development.

Congress of American Citizens League of Ukrainian Origin was held in Washington, convened on the initiative of the chairman of the society Theodore Hrytsey, at which the issue of protecting the territory of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic invaded by Poland, whose status on the international arena had not yet been precisely determined, was discussed. At Congress it was planned to organize hearings with Secretary of State Charles Hughes, at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and the US President Warren Harding.

On June 6, 1922, 96 delegates from various cities arrived in the US capital, including representatives of dioceses, central organizations, and the press, as well as American veterans of the Ukrainian origin, led by Captain Mykhailo Darmohrai. At the meetings of the League, on the initiative of Fr. Lev Levytsky it was decided, that the League should convene a meeting of representatives of all central organizations in America to agree on the creation of a joint organization for a better material and political assistance to the Ukrainian people in Europe. In fact, the beginning of creation of a unifying institution was made even earlier: against the background of the news about the mass famine of 1921 – 1922 in the sub-Soviet part of Ukraine, on May 27, 1922, such organizations as "Ukrainian People's Union", "Provydinnia", "Ukrainian People's Aid", "Brotherhood Consent", "Sich Organization", "Ukrainian League of American Citizens" and "Ukrainian League of American Veterans" on behalf of "The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America" (hereinafter – "The Union") signed appeal on the organization of collecting money to support the starving (*Do ukrains'koho zahalu v Amerytsi*, 1922).

On June 30, 1922, a meeting of representatives of the mentioned organizations was held in Philadelphia, at which they unanimously decided to create a unifying institution: "Taking into account the great importance of the current moment in the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and in connection with this the extreme need for consolidation of national forces not only in the region, but also here in immigration, and in view of the ultimate need for general unification for the immediate distribution of a political and material aid – representatives of the Ukrainian organizations in America agreed to establish "The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America" as a civil representation of the Ukrainian people in America" (*Do ukrains'koho zahalu v Amerytsi*, 1922).

The key tasks of the future organization were outlined: assistance in obtaining recognition of an independent statehood on the Ukrainian lands; collection and regular transfers of material aid to the Ukrainians on the Ukrainian territory; unification and protection of representatives of the Ukrainian emigrants in America; creation of a single Ukrainian national camp on the American continent (Myshuha, 1944, p. 131). A political ideal of representatives of the Union was the recognition of an independent, democratic Ukrainian state on the Ukrainian territories united within the same borders, a final state structure of which was to be determined at the future national assembly of representatives elected on the basis of universal, equal, secret, direct and proportional voting (Myshuha, 1944, p. 131).

On October 26 – 27, 1922, the first "Union" Congress was held in Philadelphia, at which representatives of seven central organizations and 130 delegates representing 176 societies were present. The leader of the meeting was Omelian Reviuk, and the secretaries were Antin Tsurkovskyi and Mykhailo Stokolos.

The report of the initial stage of the organization's activities was announced by Semen Yadlovskyi, who in particular noted: "The organizers of this Union are firmly convinced that the entire Ukrainian people in immigration to America want such an organization. Voices have been raised for such an organization for a long time... Whether it was about "agreement between the leaders", or about "unification of all parties", or "about one party", or... "giving up ceaseless quarrels", or whatever was not said otherwise, all this was an expression of one opinion aspiration. All that was left in our people healthy, alive, willing to work, and not to talk and quarrel, all wanted to put an end to princely feuds, with campaigns of hetmans against hetmans, with bullying of a leader against a leader. This living grain of the people, which was not affected by the rot of private quarrels and narrow ambitions, wanted to reject this rot and unite all that is healthy for life and struggle. It may be that our history is one sad

example of the terrible consequences of such quarrels, but we must admit that it is also a proof that a healthy thought of work, organization, peace, order has never been lost among the Ukrainian people. This thought was not lost among the Ukrainian immigrants in America either..." (Promova d. Semena Yadlovs'koho, 1922).

Luka Myshuha, the representative of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was also present at the Congress, who, making his speech, emphasized: "The great time that the Ukrainian nation is going through brought us such greatness as the restored Ukrainian State, but also forced us to experience such a tragedy as the renewed complete enslavement of the entire Ukrainian nation... As in all such national catastrophes, in this case as well, one must fear more than ever that for the mass of people, shaken by great sacrifices and defeats, a time of complete dullness, despair, moral decline and decay will come... And during such period..., great political intelligence is needed on the part of those in whose hands there is the leadership of the people, in order to avert the greatest misfortune, i.e. breakdown of their own national core. And we must remember that it is in such moments that fate is accustomed to forge the fate of the people for long, long ages... Putting the principle of self-reliance as the basis of our political orientation, we are building the Ukrainian state on the inexhaustible vitality of the Ukrainian people and on their strong desire to live an independent state life, documented by millions of blood sacrifices. We declare that the future of our country will depend only on the strength of this energy" (Pryvit Ukrain'skomu Kongresovy v Amerytsi, 1922).

Osyp Nazaruk, the representative of ZUNR in Canada, making his speech on the state of the Ukrainian issue cause against the background of international situation at the beginning of the 1920s, noted the following prospects for the Ukrainian national issue and the objectives for the Ukrainian people: "Our path leads to the east, to where the majority of the Ukrainian nation live and where its heart beats, which is called Kyiv... It's time for us to understand that the Ukrainian nation is invincible, and that it once said to itself: "I must have my own state" – will get it for sure. Fulfill one precept, and you will have state independence: Go with one front against the enemy and do not give helpers from your ranks to the enemy and the oppressor. Then there is no such force in the world that could prevent us from achieving an independent Ukrainian state" (Promova deliegata halyts'koho uriadu d-ra Osypa Nazaruka, 1922).

At the Congress, the delegates approved the introduction of "The National Tax", 25 cents per month paid by a member of "The Union", which, as noted at the Congress, should "be a permanent income for the Ukrainian national issue in the United States and in Europe... the basis, on which that work should be based, the annual stable budget" (Myshuha, 1944, p. 133).

At the same time, the Congress supported appeals of "Days of Collecting Money" organization to the Ukrainians in America to help the starving in Ukraine (reported by V. Kuziv), as well as collecting money for the development of "Native School" network in Ukraine during the Christmas and Easter holidays, Flower Day (in June) and Autumn Leaf Day (in November) in the following years. Semyon Demydchuk presented the initiative to establish the Ukrainian National University and called for "Prosvita" Congress to be held in the nearest future (Vakhnianyn, 2021, p. 400). At the same time, in the speeches of abstract, S. Dembytsky and D. Shtohryn there was discussed the functioning of the Ukrainian Bank in America and a possible establishment of the Ukrainian Press Bureau.

According to the results of the Congress, 24 representatives were elected to "The Union" board – three from each of seven central organizations represented by the members at the forum, and three from local organizations that did not belong to the central ones. The executive board of the organization included: Fr. Lev Levytskyi (a head), Teodor Hrytsey,

Dr. S. Hrynevetskyi, V. Hryshko and M. Kotsiuk (deputies), Ivan Borysevych (a treasurer), Dr. Volodymyr Koval and Mykhailo Darmohray (secretaries) (Uspikh Ukrain's'koho Natsional'noho Kongresu, 1922).

In the first appeal of the formed “Union” administration, it was emphasized that “unity, agreement and sacrifice must be the basis of planned work” and that “only by a careful saving of public money and honest stewardship of public funds it will be possible to win the trust of the public”. In addition to the mentioned above members of the Executive, it was signed by I. Ortynskyi, M. Hurianskyi, V. Lotovych, V. Simenovych, Yu. Khyliak, S. Skehar, A. Taras, N. Levytskyi, V. Tytanych, V. Shabatura, M. Khandoha, M. Solovskiy, S. Bryndzei as advisers to “The Union”, and as controllers – V. Spolitatevych, M. Kopachuk and H. Pypiuk (Uspikh Ukrain's'koho Natsional'noho Kongresu, 1922).

In addition, responding to the beginning of the occupation of Galicia by the Polish army, which was a consequence of the Polish-Ukrainian war, at the first Congress “Manifesto to the Ukrainian General in America” was also adopted, in which it was noted that “a terrible judgment was brought by the Poles (liakhy) on our old Motherland-Halychyna, where thousands of Ukrainian people are arrested for not wanting to take part in the elections to the Polish Sejm”. In response, the document suggested that on December 17, 1922, meetings be held in all Ukrainian branches in America, to adopt protest appeals to the American government against “Polish Brigandage in Eastern Galicia”, and to prepare appropriate telegrammes to senators and congressmen (Vrons'ka, 2010).

At the Second Congress, held in Philadelphia on October 25 – 26, 1923, a chief focus was on the situation that was in Western Ukraine under the Polish occupation after the decision of the Council of Ambassadors from March 1923. Volodymyr Spolitatevych was elected as the head of “The Union”. Teodor Hrytsei became the treasurer, who held this position until 1930, when the headquarters of the organization was moved from Philadelphia to New York, and Mykola Danylchenko became a new treasurer (until 1936), and then – Yuliyana Pavchak.

During the Third Congress, which was held on October 21, 1924 in Philadelphia, the discussion on the issue of hetmanate intensified, as well as the possibility of subordinating the organization to “one centre or one person”, however, as a result, it was decided, that “The Union” would continue to build its activities on the democratic ideological principles that it had followed since its foundation. At the Congress, L. Myshuha was elected a secretary, who remained until the end of the institution's existence. At the same time, it was decided to convene “The Union” Congresses every three years.

Accordingly, the next, Fourth Congress was held on October 26, 1927 in Philadelphia, at which the foundations of democracy were widely discussed. At the Congress, Omelian Reviuk was elected the leader of “The Union”, who remained until 1939.

The Fifth Congress was held in New York on October 23, 1930. At that Congress the speeches presented covered various aspects related to the existence of the Ukrainian diaspora in America: “The Ukrainian Immigrant in the Cultural and Political Life of America”; “Old and New Generation of Ukrainian Immigration”; “Organization of Financial Power of Ukrainian Immigration in America”; “Ukrainian Folk Issue in America (Choir Work, Theatre, National Dances)”; “Where are American Young People of a Ukrainian Descent Headed?”.

At the same time, for the first time in the history of the existence of the “The Union”, Neonilia Pelehovych and Volodymyr Semenyna, as representatives of the younger generation of Ukrainian migrants, delivered two speeches in English, in which they outlined the urgent need to create a regional youth organization, which was soon embodied in the appearance

of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America in Chicago in 1933. At the same time, the Congress declared November of 1930 “The Month of National Mourning”, and Sunday, November 16, the Sunday of Prayer for innocent victims of the Polish terror (“pacification”) (Myshuha, 1944).

On November 3, 1933 the Sixth Congress was held in New York against the background of the Holodomor in Ukraine. Announcing the slogan of the Congress as “Save Ukraine from Starvation”, the participants put forward demands for the creation of an American commission to investigate the famine in Ukraine. In addition, the delegates declared November 19, 1933 as the Sunday of National Mourning for those who died during the Holodomor, and in general, November as a month of protest against the artificial famine in Ukraine organized by the Soviet authorities (Homotiuk & Nedoshytko, 2021, pp. 20–22).

In addition, at the Congress, the issues of “Unia and the Ukrainian Worker” and “Colonization as a Reward for Unemployment” were raised, and a teacher Anna Balko made a report on the development of the Ukrainian schools network in America, and Volodymyr Bukata spoke about the American-Ukrainian youth. At the same time, Dmytro Halychyn was elected financial secretary to “The Union” government, who remained in this position until the end of the organization’s existence.

The Seventh Congress of the “The Union” was held in New York on December 20, 1936. The chief focus was on the youth issues, as it can be seen from the topics of reports essays presented at the Congress: “What do Young People Imagine themselves to Be and what are Competing for?”; “Youth about Ukrainian School and the Ukrainian Language in America”; “Impressions of a Young Girl from Visit to Homeland” (reported by Anna Nakonechna); “The Ukrainian Language at Universities”(Sukhobokova, 2012).

The Eighth Congress, held on December 2, 1939, also in New York, focused on the military conflict that began in Europe in September of 1939, as well as on the events in Carpathian Ukraine, in the spring of 1939. Mykola Murashko chaired at the Congress (Vehesh & Horvat, 2019).

At the Eighth Congress, it was decided to convene the All-Ukrainian National Congress for the further creation of the Supreme Representative Body of American Ukrainians. The Supreme Representative Body was supposed to work on the unity and coordination of the activities of Ukrainian public institutions and periodicals in America (Istoriia Ukrain’s’koho konhresovoho komitetu Ameryky).

At the same time, “The Union” adopted a statement of American-Ukrainian citizenship, in which it condemned any occupation of Ukraine, including the Soviet and the Nazi occupations, and there was also emphasized the following: “The time has come when the fate of Ukraine, i. e. the fate of land which we are connected with by blood and spirit, will be decided again. In that important moment, we, who are under the care of the American Star-Spangled Banner, want to give new help to the Ukrainian Trident. We want to help in everything which brings the will and freedom of the Ukrainian people, and we want to help Ukraine have such a social system that would provide each unit with work, protection against extortion, development of its individual strengths, and opportunity to think, speak or write in its own way and organize its personal life” (Kuropas’, 2004, p. 34).

At the same time, the delegates of the Eighth Congress declared that they were speaking “in a demonstration in favour of going to a common issue together with all Ukrainian national organizations, communities and parishes and with all Ukrainians of good will, who are for one common defense front of Ukraine”. For this purpose, the Coordination Committee of the All-Ukrainian National Congress was established.

A financial report was also announced at the Congress, which confirmed that during the entire existence of “The Union” it allocated a total of \$367,753.83 for various humanitarian and people’s needs.

During the organization’s activity, it was also actively involved in publishing. In particular, the book D. Snowyd: “Spirit of Ukraine”, published in 1935, became the first book edition of “The Union”, which sold thousands of copies. This, in particular, was facilitated by “The Ukrainian People’s Union”, which itself purchased 3,000 copies for the youth.

In addition, there should be mentioned the following publications: “Polish Atrocities in Ukraine” (ed. by Emil Revyuk); “Ivan Franko: Moses” (transl. by V. Semenyna); “Famine in Ukraine”; D. Doroshenko “Taras Shevchenko”; S. Shumeiko “Ukrainian National Movement”; L. Myshuha “Ukraine and American Democracy”.

“The Union” also financially helped to publish the book “Ukrainian Question” by Lancelot Lawton in England. “The Union” bought 1,000 copies of the book “Polish Atrocities and West Ukraine” published in Europe, as well as 200 copies of V. Halych’s book “Ukrainians in the United States”.

“The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America” actually ceased to exist in 1940 – with the founding of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America at the First Congress of American Ukrainians in Washington on May 24, 1940, which became the successor of the unifying organization and remains till nowadays (Istoriia Ukraïns’koho konhresovoho komitetu Ameryky).

The Conclusion. Thus, during its existence in 1922 – 1940, “The Union of Ukrainian Organizations in America” was a socio-political organization of the Ukrainians in America, which had the goal of conducting activities for the recognition of the Ukrainian statehood, providing material assistance to the development of the Ukrainian life in their native lands and association of the Ukrainian emigration. The organization widely informed the public about the Ukrainian issue, collected funds to help the people of Ukraine, published books about Ukraine in English. During its existence, it organized 8 congresses of American Ukrainians with the participation of hundreds of American Ukrainians representatives and discussed the most pressing issues of the Ukrainian national affairs and the international geopolitical situation.

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**THE PERIODICAL “WIADOMOŚCI KLUBOWE KRAKOWSKIEGO KLUBU
AUTOMOBILOWEGO” (1929 – 1939) AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to carry out an archeographic analysis of the periodical “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego” (1929 – 1939). **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time the analysis of the periodical “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego” as a historical source was carried out, its value for the study of the history of public bodies in the field of motor sports and tourism during interwar Poland has been elucidated. **The methodology of the research** is based on source science methods, in particular the method of internal criticism of sources, as well as on archeography requirements. **The Conclusion.** Therefore, the “Wiadomości” (1929 – 1939) is an extremely valuable source for the history of the KKA and automobile tourism sphere in interwar Poland. The periodical publications could be divided into several thematic areas. One of the key ones was the direction that highlighted the structure and peculiarities of the functioning of the KKA as a public organization: management, membership, areas of activity. Most of the information on the pages of the “Wiadomości” was devoted to motor

sports, primarily competitions of various levels and activities of the KKA Sports Commission. Key competitions for the KKA were described in detail: “Winter Trip to Zakopane”, “Track Races” at the stadium in Zakopane, “The Tatra Races”. The reasons for the decline of some of these events and the KKA attempt to organize track (ring) races in Kraków were mentioned. The “Wiadomości” covered the participation of the KKA members in competitions organized by other auto clubs in Poland and foreign countries. The members of the KKA won victories repeatedly, in particular, the following athletes were famous: Adam Potocki, Jan Ripper, Stanislaw Holuj. A significant number of materials and notes in the “Wiadomości” were devoted to automobile tourism in general and the activities of the Tourist Commission and the Tourist Office of the KKA in particular. A social life of the club was also highlighted in the periodical: open lectures, dance evenings, joint celebrations, etc. The editor’s board chief focus was on the issue of cooperation between the KKA and the auto clubs of Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The “Wiadomości” is a valuable source for the history of road network development in interwar Poland, traffic rules formation. The periodical also highlighted the problem of reorganizing the system of automobile clubs in Poland in the second half of the 1930s.

Key words: Kraków Automobile Club, “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego”, Antoni Potocki, Piotr Rostworowski, Motoring.

ЧАСОПИС “WIADOMOŚCI KLUBOWE KRAKOWSKIEGO KLUBU AUTOMOBILOWEGO” (1929 – 1939) ЯК ІСТОРИЧНЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО

Анотація. Мета дослідження – здійснити археографічний аналіз газети “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego” (1929 – 1939). **Наукова новизна.** Уперше здійснено аналіз газети “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego” як історичного джерела, показано її цінність для дослідження історії громадських організацій у сфері автомобільного спорту і туризму в міжвоєнній Польщі. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на джерелознавчих методах, зокрема методи внутрішньої критики джерел, а також на вимогах археографії. **Висновки.** Отже, “Wiadomości...” (1929 – 1939) є надзвичайно цінним джерелом до історії ККА та автомобільно-туристичної сфери міжвоєнної Польщі. Публікації газети можна поділити на декілька тематичних напрямів. Одним із ключових був той, що розкривав структуру і особливості функціонування ККА як громадської організації: управління, членство, напрями діяльності. Велика частина інформації на сторінках “Wiadomości...” присвячена автомобільному спорту, насамперед змаганням різного рівня і діяльності спортивної комісії ККА. Детально описуються ключові для ККА змагання: “Зимова поїздка до Закопаного”, “Трекові перегони” на стадіоні в Закопаному, “Татрянські перегони”. Розповідається про причини занепаду деяких із цих заходів і спробу ККА організувати трекові (кільцеві) перегони у Кракові. У газеті висвітлювалася участь членів ККА у змаганнях, організованих іншими автоклубами Польщі та зарубіжних країн. Члени ККА неодноразово здобували перемоги, зокрема славилися такі спортсмени: Адам Потоцький Ян Ріппер, Станіслав Голуй. Значну кількість матеріалів і заміток у газеті присвячено автомобільному туризму загалом та діяльності туристичної комісії і туристичного бюро ККА зокрема. У газеті описувалося й товариське життя клубу: відкриті лекції, танцювальні вечори, спільні святкування тощо. Увагу редакції привертало питання співпраці ККА з автоклубами Італії, Чехословаччини, Угорщини. “Wiadomości...” є цінним джерелом до історії розбудови автомобільних шляхів у міжвоєнній Польщі, формування правил дорожнього руху. У газеті висвітлювалася й проблема реорганізації системи автомобільних клубів Польщі у другій половині 1930-х рр.

Ключові слова: Краківський Клуб Автомобільний, “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego”, Антоній Потоцький, Пьотр Ростворовський, автомобілізм.

The Problem Statement. Periodical printed bodies of public organizations are an important source for the history of both the organization itself and entire social sphere, which was related to an organizational activity. The periodical “Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego”, which was founded at the end of 1929 on the initiative of the Board of Kraków Automobile Club (hereinafter – the KKA), is not an

exception. The first automobile club in Kraków was founded on March 25, 1908 and was named "Galician Automobile Club". Its successor was the KKA, which was established on April 21, 1914. The club suspended its activities during World War I, revived in 1926, and it was active until World War II broke out in September of 1939 (Statut, 1992). It should be noted that during the interwar years, the KKA was one of the most active, numerous and famous automobile clubs in Poland. There were only clubs, which could compete with the KKA: the Polish Automobile Club in Warsaw (hereinafter the AC) and the Lesser Poland Automobile Club in Lviv (hereinafter – the MałKA).

The Analysis of Recent Publications. According to historiographical analysis, there was the absence of special studies on the periodical under analysis. Several scholars did research on this issue, for instance, A. Kurek's article on the development of tourism in Galicia (Kurek, 2008), Ja. Litwin's monograph on the history of automobile sports in the world (Litwin, 1980) and an essay on the history of the Automobile Club of Poland (Automobilklub Polski, 2009). We would like to emphasize that nowadays there is a topical objective to write the history of the KKA, in particular on the basis of its press body.

The purpose of the research is to carry out an archeographic analysis of the periodical "Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego" (1929 – 1939).

The Results of the Research. The first issue of the periodical "Wiadomości Klubowe Krakowskiego Klubu Automobilowego" (hereinafter – "Wiadomości") was published in December of 1929. Its editor was the General Secretary of the KKA and a renowned Kraków motorist, Adam Dygat. The "Wiadomości" was a small-format periodical, which initially consisted of 4 pages. The number of pages increased over time and in 1931 reached 24 – 32 pages. In the following years, due to reduced funding, the number of pages was reduced to 4 – 6 again, and in 1935 and 1937 two-page periodicals were published. At the beginning of 1932, Jerzy Judkiewicz became a responsible editor, editing the "Wiadomości" in 1932 – 1934 due to A. Dygat's resignation from the KKA Editor and General Secretary position. Janina Veselovska became the editor responsible for the "Wiadomości" in 1935. In 1936 and 1938, the periodical was not published. One number was issued in 1937, and at least two – 1939. It should be noted that the KKA became a role model, other Polish automobile clubs also published their periodicals. Hence, the AP published a very interesting and informative monthly the "Auto" periodical, and the MałKA – the periodical "Wiadomości Klubowe Małopolskiego Klubu Automobilowego".

In the first issue of the "Wiadomości" (December of 1929), it was noted that the periodical appeared instead of the club "Communicat", which was published for three years and contained official messages of the Board of the KKA and the most important sports information. Thus, the purpose of the periodical was declared: to influence the development of the club's organization, revitalizing a social life, awakening interest in the club's affairs among all its members. It was emphasized that the "Wiadomości" would be of an exclusively internal nature and would be sent only to the club members (Cele, 1929). There were various sections in the periodical: Announcements from the Board, Sports, Tourism, Foreign News, Club Chronicles, etc.

We should note that after analyzing the "Wiadomości" as a historical source, the available information published in the periodical could be divided into several thematic areas. One of the key ones was the direction that elucidated structure, activity and peculiarities of the KKA functioning as a public organization. Unfortunately, the KKA Statute was not published in the periodical, although it was about drafts of minor changes to it (A. D., 1930). However,

the information about the structure of the KKA can be read in the “Wiadomości”. Hence, the highest body of the KKA was the General Meeting (*in Polish* – “*Walne Zgromadzenie*”), which was held once a year necessarily, or for certain reasons it could be convened due to extraordinary circumstances. The General Assembly elected the President (*in Polish* – “*prezes*”) and several Vice-Presidents of the KKA annually. It is known that Count Antoni Potocki was the President of the KKA for a long time (1926 – 1929, 1931 – 1937) (Antoni hr. Potocki, 1937). Since the Count was abroad at the end of the 1920s, Count Piotr Rostworowski was elected the President of the KKA (January of 1930 – January of 1931). (Ś. p. Piotr hr. Rostworowski, 1934). In April of 1937, Kniaz Roman Sangushko was elected as the President of the KKA, who was the Vice-President of the club from May of 1934 (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1934; Zarząd Klubu, 1937). He was re-elected as the President on March 22, 1939 (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939).

The general meeting of the KKA elected the club’s Board of Directors, which was invariably reported in the “Wiadomości”. For example, in the periodical it was published that on January 30, 1930, the President of the club – Count Piotr Rostworowski and 17 members of the new Board were elected. In addition to it, the elected list included Vice-Presidents Tadeusz Bukowiecki, Dr. Michal Hladij, Dr. Yulian Novak, Wilhelm Ripper, General Secretary – Adam Dygat, a host Marian Lanz. The members of the Board were: Count Władysław Bobrowski, Kazimierz Dobia, Stanisław Herget, Władysław Horodyski, Major Vaclav Hryniewski, Jerzy Yudkiewicz, Adam Kwiatkowski, Bolesław Macudzinski, Lazar Pilecki, Colonel Tadeusz Piotrowski, Count Adam Potocki, Marjan Ueyski, Mieczysław Walter. Roman Chermak was the Secretary of the Club. In addition, the General Meeting elected several Commissions: Election, Audit, Sports, Tourism. For example, on January 30, 1930, the Election Commission was headed by Vladyslav Horodyski, the Audit Committee – by Adam Khmurski, the Sports Committee – by Wilhelm Ripper, and the Tourist Committee – Tadeusz Bukowiecki. A Court of Honour was also formed, consisting of: Count Adam Potocki, Dr. Maryan Ueyski, Professor of the Jagiellonian University Jan Włodek, Karol Zinkevich (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930a). All changes in the composition of these Commissions were regularly published in the periodical. At the same time, the Tourist Bureau (Turystyka, 1929) operated under the KKA, and in the second half of the 1930s, the Technical Bureau was formed (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939).

The periodical also included a lot of information about new members of the KKA. Based on these reports, we found out that the KKA had several groups of members: active members, ordinary members, members-sympathizers. Some of active members for special services received the status of honorary life members of the club, who had the right to participate in the work of the Board with an advisory vote. On March 1, 1931, there were four of them: Michal Hladij, Antoni Potocki, Wilhelm Ripper, Piotr Rostworowski (Spis Członków, 1931). On October 28, 1933, the General Meeting of the KKA decided that those honorary life members would receive not only an advisory but also decisive vote in the Board in 1933 – 1934 (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1933). Piotr Rostworowski died on December 15, 1933, and Michal Hladij – on February 10, 1934 (Ś. p. Piotr hr. Rostworowski, 1934; Ś. p. Dr. Michał Hładij, 1934). All members of the KKA paid the “entry fee” (a one-time fee upon joining the KKA) and membership fees.

In addition, there was a category of temporary honorary members of the KKA, who did not pay any dues. By decision of the General Assembly or the Board, this category includes influential people mainly – the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the city of Kraków,

members of the Polish Parliament, Consuls of foreign countries, etc. Hence, on November 6, 1929, Vice-Presidents of Kraków Ignacy Landau, Witold Ostrowski, Ludwik Schneider, Piotr Wielgus, Head of the Public Security Department Tadeusz Walicki, Consul of Czechoslovakia Arthur Meixner, Consul of France René Mondon were admitted to the group of the temporary honorary members of the KKA (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1929). The honorary members of the KKA were the President of the AP Count Karol Raczynski and the Head of the Sports Commission of the AP Janusz Regulski (Zjazd Klubów Automobilowych, 1930; Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930a). In June of 1930, General Jerzy Luczynski became a temporary honorary member of the KKA (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930b). As of March of 1931, there were 20 temporary honorary members of the KKA, among them Consul Antony Lewalski, President of Kraków Karol Rolle, German Consul Gustaw Rodiger (Gustaw Rodiger), Metropolitan Adam Stefan Sapięha of Kraków (Spis Członków, 1931).

The names of 40 active founding members of the KKA and a large number of active members, including many women, were named in the list of the KKA members for March of 1931, published in the "Wiadomości": Irena Jablonska Herget, Countess Maria Rostworowska, Countess Maria Potocka, Countess Khrystyna Potocka, Wanda Dobięowa, Maria Ludwika Kozmianowa, Maria Komornitska, Anna Skorchevska, Maria Sawitska, Countess Maria Shembek. At that time, there were still more than 50 members-symasizers. Extraordinary members of the KKA were often legal entities, for example, the companies "Auto Szawe", "Austro Daimler", "Polski Fiat" (Spis Członków, 1931).

According to the "Wiadomości" report, the KKA was already one of the largest automobile clubs in Poland by the mid-1930s, with more than 300 members (O poziom sportowy, 1930). On October 31, 1932, at the General Meeting General Secretary Viktor Vavrechko noted that in 1930 – 1931 the number of club members decreased by 2%: there were 430 members, and 419 members remained (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1932). In subsequent years, the number of members decreased, and the Board called on its active members to attract new members to the club. Later, the situation improved. If in 1937, in the KKA there were 178 members, then at the beginning of 1939 – there were 472 members (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939).

The problem of membership fees in time payment was traditional for the public organizations. The "Wiadomości" proved that this problem was always relevant for the KKA. The members of the club owed contributions in the amount of 20,000 zlotys at the end of 1929 (Kronika Klubowa, 1930). The debt for membership fees amounted to more than 36,000 zlotyh by the mid 1930 (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930). In December of 1930, the Editors of the periodical the "Wiadomości" took a radical step, which they postponed from issue to issue – they published a list of debtor members. There were the most indebted among them: Count Jozef Dunin Borkowski – PLN 438, Kazimierz Kotarski – PLN 394, Franciszek Studzinski – PLN 391 (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930d, p. 10). Due to the economic crisis, the KKA had to reduce membership fees (Komunikaty Sekretarjatu, 1930; Zniżenie wkładek członkowskich, 1931; Miesiąc propagandy, 1934). However, the problem remained. In 1935, the editors of the "Wiadomości" called non-payment of membership fees "the club's biggest disease" (Największa bolączka Klubu, 1935). On March 1, 1939, the board of the KKA decided that it would exclude from the club all those, who owed contributions for 3 months (Informacje, 1939).

The periodical the "Wiadomości" is an extremely valuable source of the history of the automobile sports development in Poland, since a large part of the information on its pages was devoted to sports competitions of various levels and the activities of the KKA Sports Commission. Sporting events organized by the KKA or other Polish or foreign auto clubs, and in

which the KKA members took part, were described in each issue of the newspaper. On the basis of the “Wiadomości”, researchers of automobile sports in Poland learn that the KKA organized winter and summer sports events. The most famous winter sports events were: “Winter Trip to Zakopane”, “Race Near Ojców”, “Gymkhana” in Zakopane (Kalendar sportowy, 1929), “Track Race” at the stadium in Zakopane (Wyścig torowy, 1930). In the summer, the KKA organized “Kraków Car Tournament” at Whitsun (May-June), which consisted of the “Star Drive to Kraków”, “Gymkhana”. In August, the KKA organized the “Tatryan Races” (Wyścig Tatrzański), which eventually gained international significance. According to the sports calendar for 1930, the auto clubs of Poland were to hold 22 competitions, 9 of which were held by the KKA. It is interesting that this sports year for the motorists began with the “Winter Raid to Truskavets”, organized by the MalKA (Kalendarz sportowy, 1930).

The “Wiadomości” described in detail the organization, conduct, results of these competitions, named the surnames of winners, their speed and car brands. It is known that on February 8, 1930, during the “Winter Ride to Zakopane”, Jerzy Widawski won the first place, who represented the AP, the second place was taken by Adam Potocki from the KKA, and the third place – by Jan Hryasz from the KKA (Wyniki, 1930c). On February 9 of the same year, during “Gymkhana”, the best was Vladyslav Tsybulski (the KKA) in the car “Rugby” (Wyniki, 1930a). On February 23, 1930, in the “Track Race” in Zakopane the racing category was won by Jan Ripper (the KKA) in a Bugatti car, in the sports category by Bronislav Frühling (the KKA), and in the tourist category by Jerzy Widawski (the AP) (Wyniki, 1930b). These events had complications due to weather conditions (B., 1930), but were visited by several thousand spectators (Wyścig torowy, 1930).

“International Tatra Races” were included in the European Mountain Championship owing to the activities of the AP (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930a). Already the third race, which took place on August 24, 1930, turned into one of the most representative actions of the KKA. Numerous renowned European racers volunteered to come to Zakopane. Financial support was provided by other car clubs in Poland and individual car enthusiasts, and the honorary prizes were financed by the town of Zakopane and a number of eminent companies: “Praga-Oświęcim”, “Standard Nobel”, “Vacuum Oil Company”, “Englebert”, “Shell”, etc. (Wyścig Tatrzański, 1930, pp. 5–6; Kronika Klubowa, 1930b). The protectorate over the competition was taken by the President of Poland Ignacy Moscicki (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1931).

The winner of the race, which stretched on a 7,5 km long track, was the German driver Hans von Stuck in the “Austro Daimler” car (racing category). German Florian Schmidt won the sports car category, and Jan Hryasch from the KKA won the tourist category. In total, 20 cars and 12 motorcycles took part in the competition (Komunikaty Komisji Sportowej, 1930a). During the race, an incident happened to the famous Polish racer, ex-champion Henryk Liefeldt (the AP). At high speed, he had to make a sharp turn because a person appeared on the road, so he had an accident. There was a certain misunderstanding between the AP and the KKA due to the above-mentioned accident, the content of which was reflected in several newspaper publications (Głos Prezesa, 1930, p. 6; S. G., 1930; Komunikat Zarządu, 1930; Komunikaty sportowe, 1930a).

Due to a high level of organization, the “IV International Tatra Races” on August 16, 1931 gained special publicity (Komunikaty Komisji Sportowej, 1930b, p. 4; Komunikaty sportowe, 1931b). Issue # 14 of the “Wiadomości” contained several interesting articles about this event (Bukowiecki, 1931; Dygat, 1931). As a result of the race, Arko Zineberg from Germany won in the category of racing cars, in the category of sports cars – the German

Rudolf Caracciola, in the category of tourist cars – T. Bukowiecki from the KKA, in the category of motorcycles – J. Bathelt (Wyniki, 1931).

In the following years, the "Tatra Races" were not held. The fifth international race near Zakopane was scheduled for August 21, 1932 (Komunikaty Sportowe, 1931c). Due to severe economic crisis, the number of sports events in Poland decreased, although in general the international competition programme for 1932 increased (M. K. Aut., 1931). Already in the spring of 1932, the Board and Sports Commission of the KKA decided not to hold this event due to the following reasons: 1) the road to Zakopane deteriorated sharply; 2) the general crisis affected amateur motorists, the number of drivers was decreasing; 3) racing car drivers became a rarity in Poland, because they could not participate due to significant financial expenses for the competition, and foreign racers did not receive refunds and start prizes; 4) racing was a very expensive business, especially in the absence of financial assistance from other clubs; 5) the town of Zakopane did not offer enough help (T. B., 1932). The last argument, by the way, was important for the KKA leadership, because in 1932 the authorities of the town of Zakopane spent PLN 27,000 for the artistic event "Mountain Opera", suffered great losses, instead refused to provide guarantees for PLN 15,000 for the "Tatra Race" (J. J., 1932; Walne Zgromadzenie, 1932).

Subsequently, the KKA members, in particular Wilhelm Ripper, came up with the idea of organizing and holding track races in Kraków (Szatkowski, 1932; Walne Zgromadzenie, 1932). One of the authors in the "Wiadomości" (December of 1932) emphasized that Poland was in need of spectacular automobile sports events, which were ring or track races at that time and which gathered many spectators. According to the author, the "Tatra Races" cannot be such, because they were not accessible to a large number of spectators, and also because of a poor condition of the roads to Zakopane. Hence, one of the authors offered to organize a circular route in Kraków Na Błoniach on the streets: 3rd May Alley, Tychy Kanczyk Alley with a bridge over the Rudawa River, Fokha Alley (over 3 km in total). The author emphasized that the motorcycle Grand Prix in Katowice attracted 80,000 spectators, the ring race in Lviv – 40,000, the "Tourist Trophy on the Vistula" – 50,000, and the race in Brno – 180,000 spectators. The KKA periodical emphasized the following: "Kraków is an environment not worse than Lviv, which holds Lviv race itself perfectly" (Szatkowski, 1932, p. 2).

This project was mentioned in the "Wiadomości" several times. It was supported by the city authorities of Kraków, in 1933 a special Commission was formed, which included 6 members of the KKA (Sport, 1933c, p. 10). The periodical emphasized that the "Tatra Races" attracted 15,000 to 20,000 spectators, even though it was more than 20 km from the railway station to the track. 80,000 – 100,000 spectators were expected at Kraków race, which was called the only event of its kind in Central-Eastern Europe. It was planned that they would have the status of a Grand Prix (Grand Prix de Pologne) and would take place during the Green Week in 1934 (Wyścig torowy, 1933). However, it never happened. In September of 1932 the KKA already joined the organization of the "Airplane-Car-Motorcycle Relay Rally" together with Kraków Aeroclub and Kraków Motorcycle Club in order to somehow compensate for the lack of a major sports competition (Sport, 1932a; Sport, 1932b). Although the relay did not take place in the next year, due to the deteriorating condition of the roads.

According to the "Wiadomości", the KKA members took part in rallies and races organized by other car clubs. For instance, in 1930 they took part in the following events: IX International AP Raid (Adam Potocki, Dr. Adam Kwiatkowski, Jan Ripper, Władysław Cybulski), "Race to the Sea" (Franciszek Rink), "Star Race to Poznań" (Mihal Hladij),

“Star Race to Katowice” (Piotr Rostworowski, Marjan Lanz, Witold Novak), “Plain Race” in Katowice (Jan Hryasch, Adam Potocki, Artur Reim and Jan Ripper) (Sport, 1930). The KKA members won victories repeatedly, in particular, the following sportsmen of the KKA were famous: Adam Potocki, Jan Ripper, Stanislaw Holuj. By the way, Jan Ripper was the Champion of Poland in 1929 (Zjazd, 1930).

The periodical the “Wiadomości” published information about the participation of the KKA members in the international competitions abroad. For instance, in 1931 Antoni Januszkowski, Jana Ripper, Maria Kozmyanova and Countess Maria Shembek took part in “Masaryk District” race in Czechoslovakia (Komunikaty sportowe, 1931c; M. R., 1931). In the same year, the pan-European Star Race to Monte Carlo took place, in which Adam Potocki won the cup for success on the Iasi – Monte Carlo track (Zjazd gwiazdzisty, 1931).

A significant number of materials and notes in the “Wiadomości” were devoted to automobile tourism in general and the activities of the KKA Tourist Commission in particular. The Tourist Board conducted various road trips around Poland and abroad. The tourist season in the KKA opened every year with a service in the cathedral on Obidova street (Turystyka, 1930). In general, several road trips organized by the KKA took place every year. For instance, the club members visited the “Vácuum Oil Company” plant in Czechowice on May 17, 1931 (Czechoslovakia) (W.K., 1931). In 1931, the KKA member Zenon Grabowski travelled in his car to Milan during his vacation. He drove 5000 km. through Czechoslovakia, Austria, Bavaria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary in Fiat 503 car, and described his journey in an extensive article, published in the periodical (Grabowski, 1931–1932).

In 1933, taking into account, the club financial situation deterioration, it was decided not to form a Tourist Commission, but to establish create Sports and Tourist Commission of the KKA. In the same year, a trip to Vienna was planned to honour the memory of the Polish king Jan III Sobieski (Sport, 1933a). In the “Wiadomości” there was also described the journey of the KKA members to the town of Žilina in Czechoslovakia (Sport, 1933c). In 1934, the KKA members planned trips to Gumnysk and Rozhnov, to Łañcut and Živets, and the following year to Slonsky Cieszyn (Komunikaty turystyczno-sportowe, 1934; Wycieczka, 1935). In October of 1938, the KKA members visited the Western Tatras, where the world’s largest hot air balloon “Star of Poland” (Gwiazda Polski) was to rise into the sky (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939). As is known, the launch of the hot air baloon was unsuccessful.

At the same time, the Tourist Commission, was actively involved in the development of tourism in Kraków along with the Tourist Bureau under the KKA. In 1930, a car park was arranged for the KKA members near the main Market Square, where thousands of cars stopped every year (Komunikaty Turystyczne, 1930c; Kronika, 1930; Walne Zgromadzenie, 1930; Turystyka, 1932). In addition, the tourist office initiated the installation of information boards on the sides of main Kraków streets. The schemes of Kraków streets were marked on them (Komunikaty Turystyczne, 1930b). A project of road signs on the city streets was developed (Komunikaty Turystyczne, 1930a). The Tourist Commission and the KKA Tourist Bureau appealed to the authorities repeatedly regarding the repair of various sections of roads, as well as their clearing from snowdrifts (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1932). Tourists from many European countries, as well as North America and Australia turned to the KKA Tourist Bureau for information about the roads (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1933, p. 4).

Numerous articles in the “Wiadomości” highlighted the KKA social life. Various activities in the club were often reported: open lectures, dance evenings, joint celebration of New Year’s Eve (“Sylwester”), bridge and ping-pong games, etc. It should be noted that the KKA

rented a house at first on the street of St. Anna (Ś. p. Piotr hr. Rostworowski, 1934), and from September of 1929 the KKA rented several rooms in Vysotski Palace on St. Jana street, 11 in Kraków (Wiadomości, 1931; Bukowiecki, 1932, p. 1). There were rooms for the secretariat, salon, restaurant and reading room. In 1935, owing to the donations of the KKA members, the premises were renovated, and there were three more rooms rented additionally (Powiększony, 1935). However, in 1938, the club changed its address, renovating the building on Harbarska street, 1 (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939).

At the beginning of 1930, an article appeared in the periodical that highlighted the problems with visiting the clubhouse. In order to attract a larger number of members to spend time in the club, the leaders of the KKA initiated the holding of "club days", "sports tea parties", etc. (Z.I., 1930). For instance, on the initiative of Wojciech Marchwiccki, who was the Hungarian Consul in Kraków, a festive dinner was organized for the club members on December 14, 1929 (Z życia towarzyskiego, 1929).

"Readings" (widczyty) were conducted actively – speeches with abstracts for members of the KKA. In particular, on November 22, 1929, Adam Dygat gave a speech and read aloud an essay about his automobile journey from Paris to Barcelona (Z życia towarzyskiego, 1929). On May 8, 1930, a "reading" of the satirist writer Magdalena Samozwaniec "From Gdynia to Kopangagen" took place in the club house (Kronika Klubowa, 1930c). On January 7, 1931, a "reading" of T. Piotrowski's "The Power and Price of Evidence in the Automobile Process" was scheduled (Z ostatniej chwili, 1930). On February 9, 1931, John V. Lawrence's lecture "On the Construction of Good Roads and Development of Automobile Traffic" was held under the auspices of the KKA in the hall of "Vtikha" cinema in Kraków, which was attended by approximately 300 people, including representatives of the authorities and local institutions (Z ostatniej chwili, 1931). On September 19, 1931, Magdalena Samozwaniec conducted a "reading" about the communication exhibition in London at the KKA building (Kronika, 1931b). On November 13, 20, and 27, 1931, reports were delivered on issues of procedural justice, administrative and criminal liability for the "automobile accidents" (Kronika, 1931b; Dr. Gr., 1931: Automobilizm, 1931; Grabowski, 1931). On November 30, 1933, there was a "reading" about air tourism, and on December 7 about preparations for an anti-aircraft defense (Kronika towarzyska, 1934). In 1937, Lucian Bernaciński, who attended the Olympics in Berlin the previous year, performed in the KKA hall (Kronika, 1937).

The attention of editors of the "Wiadomości" was also drawn to the issue of the KKA cooperation with foreign auto clubs. The journey of members of the Automobile Club from Bergamo (Italy) to Poland received a lot of reviews on the pages of the periodicals. The above-mentioned action was dedicated to honouring the memory of the Italians Francesco Nullo and Elia Marchetti, who took part in the Polish January Uprising of 1863 and died for the independence of Poland. The Italian motorists arrived in Kraków on June 17, 1931, covered a distance of 1,350 km. A friendly meeting was arranged for them in the KKA. Among those, who arrived was the President of the Automobile Club from Bergamo, Antoni Pesenti (Z ostatniej chwili, 1931; C. W. C., 1931). After returning home, A. Pesenti sent a letter of gratitude, which was printed in the "Wiadomości" and added his patriotic speech delivered during his stay in Poland (Echa, 1931). In addition, the periodical reprinted good reviews about Poland, and Kraków in particular, from the Italian press (Piotrowski, 1931).

This story continued, because the king of Italy awarded the President of KKA Antoni Potocki with the Commander's Cross of the Italian Crown (Kronika, 1932a). There were two articles about it published in the "Wiadomości", reprinted from the Italian press

(Solenne, 1932), as well as a description of the award ceremony (Uroczystość, 1932). The award ceremony took place in the building of the KKA, it was carried out by the Italian Consul in Amsterdam, Ferruccio de Luppis. The KKA was grateful to the Consul and the majority of famous participants of the journey from Bergamo by accepting them as honorary temporary members (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1932). It should be noted that the Italian award was interpreted by the KKA as an important image campaign that raised the prestige of the club in Poland and abroad.

In 1932, the Italian automobile travellers led by ambassador Eugenjusz Coselschi arrived at the KKA again. This time they were hosted not only by the KKA, but also by the Italian-Polish Society of Dante Alighieri (Kronika, 1932b). In the same year, there was supposed to be a road trip of the KKA members to Bergamo, but due to a lack of funds, they decided not to hold it (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1932). In addition to contacts with the Italians, the KKA maintained relations with the car clubs and tourist societies of Turkey and Czechoslovakia. Hence, on July 30 – 31, 1930, Reshid Safvet Bey, a member of the Turkish Parliament, editor-in-chief of the magazine “L'economiste d'Orient”, President of the Turkish Tourist Club, visited Kraków as a guest of the KKA (Kronika Klubowa, 1930b). In the same year, the KKA members visited Czechoslovakia, and also visited the “Tatra” plant (Dr. Gr., 1930). When, in 1932, the Czechoslovak racer Prince Jerzy Lobkowicz, who participated previously in the “Tatry Races”, died tragically, the KKA expressed condolences to the Automobile Club of the Czechoslovak Republic (Kronika, 1932b). At the beginning of 1931, the delegates of the Royal Hungarian Automobile Club visited the KKA (Kronika, 1931a). In 1935, participants of the International Tourist Congress, representing 30 countries of the world, were welcomed in the KKA (Raut, 1935). There was a section “Foreign News” in the “Wiadomości”, which reported various information about the international automotive life (even about races in Brazil and Argentina, speed records in the USA, car production in the USA and Europe, etc., car shows in Britain, etc.).

The editors of the “Wiadomości” paid a lot of attention to the condition of the roads in Poland. Information about the KKA initiatives before city and state authorities in the matter of road repair was published regularly (Turystyka, 1929). The former Vice-Minister Henryk Dudek published extremely interesting, analytical and rich in statistical facts article (Dudek, 1930). Later on, the Director of the Road Department of the Ministry of Public Works Melchior Nestorowich wrote an article about the state of road management in Poland in connection with the economic crisis. Some of the facts from this article were published in the “Wiadomości”. The author emphasized that in Poland there were built 459,38 km of state roads and 5101 km local government roads in 1924 – 1931. Thus, the growth of repaired roads was very slow. In order to achieve at least such a network of roads as in Germany in 30 years, it was necessary to build 3,000 km. roads every year (I. C., 1932b).

In the future, the focus of the “Wiadomości” was on the Road Fund formation issue (Turystyka, 1933; Droga, 1933). In the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Kraków, on the initiative of the KKA, conferences were held on the state of roads on May 14 and June 4, 1932, during which a member of the KKA B. Matsudzinski offered to amend the Law on the Road Fund and presented his ideas for optimizing revenues. Ignacy Cieszyński, Secretary of the Tourist Commission of the KKA, emphasized that in Kraków Voivodeship on 1113 km. roads of tourist importance were 556 km in poor condition, 477 km in average and only 80 km in good condition (I. C., 1932a). Once again the KKA members shared their ideas during the Economic Congress in Kraków next year (O gospodarzem znaczeniu, 1933). At the invitation of Kraków Voivodeship, the KKA members took part in a meeting regarding

Kraków–Morskie Oko road (Jeszcze droga, 1932). In 1935, they joined the Road League formation (Liga drogową, 1935). In 1937, the KKA initiated two conferences on the state of the roads and sent a memorial to the government, which emphasized an extremely poor state of the roads to Kraków, demanded the completion of the repair of Kraków–Zakopane–Morskie Oko, Kraków–Słonsk highways as soon as possible (Konferencja drogową, 1937).

Another topic that was of interest to the editors and readers of the "Wiadomości" was the traffic rules, which had both national and local regulations. Hence, as early as 1929, at the initiative of the Tourist Commission of the KKA, Kraków Magistrate held a conference on the rules for parking cars near shops, the maximum speed limits in various areas of Kraków (in the city centre and the VII and VIIIth districts (Stradom, Kazimierz) – 25 km/h, at other stations – 40 km/h), use of low-tone manual and mechanical signals by drivers (Turystyka, 1929). From time to time, the periodical published changes to the traffic rules, for example, regarding overtaking and bypassing a tram, (Komunikaty Zarządu, 1930d), fines for improper driving (Komunikaty Turystyczne, 1931), court punishments for car accidents dangerous for life and health of road users (Dr. Gr., 1931). It should be noted that in 1937 the technical bureau of the KKA received the right to conduct exams for driver candidates (Egzaminy, 1937). From 1938 to the beginning of 1939, the KKA members conducted 2,983 driving tests (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939).

News about life of other car clubs in Poland was printed on the pages of the "Wiadomości". The column, called: "What New is Heard in Regional Clubs" was active for some time (1931), formed on the basis of messages sent from the auto clubs of Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Łódź, Śląsk, Volyn, Wilen, Pomeranian (Co słytać, 1931a; 1931b). The editorial office of the periodical focused on the coverage of the competitions organized by the above-mentioned clubs, primarily the "International Ring Race" in Lviv (Kalendarz Sportowy, 1930a; Wyścigi, 1930; T. B., 1931; Grabowski, 1932; Sport, 1933b). There was an excitement in the field of motor sports in Poland due to the attempt of several renowned sportsmen, including two members of the KKA, A. Januszkowski and Ja. Ripper, to organize Professional Union, which would, on a contractual basis, determine with the clubs payment of sportsmen for their participation in competitions – the so-called "starting" (Wysokoobrotowy kartel, 1931; P. hr. R., 1931; Rostworowski, 1931; Januszkowski, 1931).

In the second half of the 1930s, there were centralizing tendencies among the Polish car clubs. A vivid example was probably Germany, where the automobile clubs were united into one – Der Deutsche Automobil-Club (DDAC) in October of 1934 (Wiadomości zagraniczne, 1934). In 1935, the AP delivered a speech and offered a new statute, which provided for an unconditional centralization of all clubs within the AP. Regional clubs were supposed to be transformed into AP departments. The above-mentioned project caused dissatisfaction of other Polish clubs. The KKA convened a conference with the representatives of other clubs, during which they criticized the AP project (Automobilklub, 1935). The draft statute of the AP was rejected at the interclub Congress in Warsaw on April 27, 1935, and the Commission of the AP, KKA and MałKA representatives was instructed to prepare a new draft (Z ostatniej chwili, 1935; Nowy ustrój, 1935).

Taking into consideration the analyzed periodical, a conference of representatives of all Polish automobile clubs was held in Warsaw on April 25, 1937. The representatives considered a compromise draft of the charter, according to which the clubs retained their independence and received the rights and obligations of AP members. At the same time, the AP received the right to form its own departments and delegations. The Council of Automobile Clubs was determined as the body that was supposed to settle all matters. In this Council the AP could have approximately 1/3 of the votes. The statutes of territorial clubs had to be agreed

with the statute of AP (Wieloletnie dyskusje, 1937). Evidently, the above-mentioned statute was approved, so the clubs had to agree their new statutes with the AP. It is known that in March of 1939, the issue of harmonizing the statute of the KKA with the AP was settled the following way: the people of Kraków adopted the framework statute of the AP, but in 1940, amendments to the statute that would arise from local conditions and needs were to be sent to the Council of Automobile Clubs (Walne Zgromadzenie, 1939).

The Conclusion. Therefore, the “Wiadomości” (1929 – 1939) is an extremely valuable source for the history of the KKA and automobile tourism sphere in interwar Poland. The periodical publications could be divided into several thematic areas. One of the key ones was the direction that highlighted the structure and peculiarities of the functioning of the KKA as a public organization: management, membership, areas of activity. Most of the information on the pages of the “Wiadomości” was devoted to motor sports, primarily competitions of various levels and activities of the KKA Sports Commission. Key competitions for the KKA were described in detail: “Winter Trip to Zakopane”, “Track Races” at the stadium in Zakopane, “The Tatra Races”. The reasons for the decline of some of these events and the KKA attempt to organize track (ring) races in Kraków were mentioned. The “Wiadomości” covered the participation of the KKA members in competitions organized by other auto clubs in Poland and foreign countries. The members of the KKA won victories repeatedly, in particular, the following athletes were famous: Adam Potocki, Jan Ripper, Stanislaw Holuj. A significant number of materials and notes in the “Wiadomości” were devoted to automobile tourism in general and the activities of the Tourist Commission and the Tourist Office of the KKA in particular. A social life of the club was also highlighted in the periodical: open lectures, dance evenings, joint celebrations, etc. The editor’s board chief focus was on the issue of cooperation between the KKA and the auto clubs of Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The “Wiadomości” is a valuable source for the history of road network development in interwar Poland, traffic rules formation. The periodical also highlighted the problem of reorganizing the system of automobile clubs in Poland in the second half of the 1930s.

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**LEGAL PERIODICALS FOR CHILDREN IN THE TERRITORY
OF THE GENERAL DISTRICT “VOLYN-PODILLIA”
DURING THE NAZI OCCUPATION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the subject matter, ideological and educational potential of legal children’s periodicals that were published in the territory of the general district of “Volyn-Podillia” during the Nazi occupation. The research methodology consists of general scientific and special historical methods. The research is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity and a problem-chronological approach. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that, on the basis of primary sources, the thematic and content issues of legal children’s periodicals, which were published in the territory of the general district of “Volyn-Podillia” during the Nazi occupation, have been analyzed in detail. The Conclusion. It has been determined that in the territory of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”, which was part of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine”, during the Nazi occupation, several specialized legal Ukrainian-language periodicals for children were published: “Orlenia”, “Ukrainska Dytyna”, “Shkoliaryk” and “Shkoliaryk’s Leaflet”. At the same time, there were “children’s pages” in some contemporary universal periodicals. The chief editors of*

the magazines were journalists, teachers, cultural and public figures known at that time. The children's magazines under analysis were distributed in different regions of Ukraine. Taking into account the conditions under which schoolchildren of that time lived – the lack of textbooks, children's literature, impossibility of attending school and the lack of full-fledged education – publications were a significant educational tool that contributed to education and development, awareness in various fields, and encouraged creativity. Since the publishing houses operated under control of the occupation authorities, the magazines simultaneously served as a platform for the spread of the Nazi ideology and propaganda work. Each of the above mentioned magazines for children had a certain structure, which provided for the presence of a number of permanent and changing sections. The thematic and genre palette of children's publications was quite diverse. Materials on the history of Ukraine, geography, Ukrainian literature, mathematics, etc., recommended for use in the educational process, were published. An important component of children's periodicals were illustrations that served to illustrate the text, some of them contained a corresponding ideological direction, some – simply decorated the pages. Despite the propaganda, anti-Soviet orientation of the publications and orientation that everything German is the best, the magazines were sufficiently informative, interesting, educational and contributed to education, upbringing and development of school children.

Key words: children's periodicals, the Nazi occupation regime, general district "Volyn-Podillia".

ЛЕГАЛЬНІ ПЕРІОДИЧНІ ВИДАННЯ ДЛЯ ДІТЕЙ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЇ ОКРУГИ “ВОЛИНЬ-ПОДІЛЛЯ” У ПЕРІОД НАЦИСТСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати тематику, ідеологічний та освітній потенціал легальної дитячої періодики, що виходила друком на території генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля” в період нацистської окупації. **Методологію дослідження** складають загальнонаукові та спеціальні історичні методи. В основу роботи покладено принципи історизму, наукової об’єктивності та проблемно-хронологічний підхід. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі першоджерел досить детально проаналізовано тематично-змістове наповнення легальної дитячої періодики, що виходила друком на території генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля” у період нацистської окупації. **Висновки.** Простежено, що на території генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля”, що входила до складу рейхскомісаріату “Україна”, в період нацистської окупації виходили друком декілька спеціалізованих легальних українськомовних періодичних часописів для дітей: “Орленя”, “Українська дитина”, “Школярик” та “Листок школяра”. Крім того, “дитячі сторінки” були передбачені у деяких тогочасних універсальних виданнях. Головними редакторами часописів були знані тогочасні журналісти, педагоги, культурні й громадські діячі. Досліджувані нами дитячі журнали поширювалися у різних регіонах України. Зважаючи на умови, в яких перебували школярі того часу, – нестача підручників, дитячої літератури, неможливість відвідування школи і відсутність повноцінного навчання – видання були значимим освітнім інструментом, що сприяв вихованню та розвитку, обізнаності у різних сферах, закликав до творчості. Оскільки видавництва діяли під контролем окупаційної влади, журнали водночас слугували майданчиком для поширення нацистської ідеології та агітаційно-пропагандистської роботи. Кожен із названих часописів для дітей мав певну структуру, що передбачала наявність низки постійних та змінних рубрик. Тематично-жанрова палітра дитячих видань була досить різноманітною. Тут публікували матеріали з історії України, географії, української літератури, математики тощо, рекомендовані для використання в освітньому процесі. Важливим компонентом дитячих періодичних видань були ілюстрації, що слугували унаочненню тексту, окремі з них мали відповідне ідеологічне спрямування, деякі просто прикрашали сторінки. Незважаючи на пропагандистську, антирадянську спрямованість видань та орієнтацію на те, що все німецьке – найкраще, вони були достатньо інформативними, цікавими, пізнавальними і сприяли навчанню, вихованню та розвитку дітей шкільного віку.

Ключові слова: дитячі періодичні видання, нацистський окупаційний режим, генеральна округа “Волинь-Поділля”.

The Problem Statement. During the difficult period of the Nazi occupation of the territory of Ukraine, a special direction of publishing activity was the children’s press. Several legal Ukrainian-language magazines for children were published, which, given their specificity, performed informational, campaigning-propaganda, educational developmental and educational functions. Under the conditions of complete dependence on the German administration and strict censorship, the editorial boards, led by journalists, teachers, public figures and representatives of the cultural sector, who were well-known at that time, tried to balance between ideological guidelines and real needs of children. That is why, substantive and illustrative content of the magazines was quite diverse, but the emphasis on educational materials was clearly visible. In contrast to pro-German topics, articles on the history of Ukraine and native region were published. Materials on Geography, Ukrainian literature, Mathematics, etc., were important for the formation of key and subject competencies of children.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. In historiography, the issue of legal periodicals content for children, which were published in the territory of the general district of “Volyn-Podillia” during the Nazi occupation, was analyzed fragmentarily and for the most part, in the context of considering educational processes and various aspects of the functioning and role of the press at that time. In this aspect the research of the Ukrainian historians, is represented by publications of M. Mykhailiuk (Mykhailiuk, 2001), A. Zhyviuk (Zhyviuk, 2004), I. Pavliuk (Pavliuk, 2005), R. Radchuk (Radchuk, 2006), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2007, 2010), O. Salata (Salata, 2010, 2020), V. Hinda (Hinda, 2012), V. Danylchuk (Danylchuk, 2012), V. Yaremenko (Yaremenko, 2012), V. Mysan (Mysan, 2013), O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2022) and the others. Therefore, a number of aspects related to the thematic and genre specificity of children’s magazines, the analysis of textual and illustrative materials, the possibilities of their use in the educational process, etc. are not analyzed by scholars.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the subject matter, ideological and educational potential of legal children’s periodicals that were published in the territory of the general district of “Volyn-Podillia” during the Nazi occupation.

The Results of the Research. During the Nazi occupation, a number of legal Ukrainian-language periodicals were published on the territory of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”, which was part of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine”, which, according to the classification suggested by K. Kurylyshyn, can be divided by problem thematic, target and readership issues into magazines: universal, normative, economic, as well as newspapers and magazines for children, youth and women (Kurylyshyn, 2010, pp. 5–6).

The functioning of the legal Ukrainian-language press took place under conditions of dependence on the German administration and was considered by it as a significant means of mass information in the aspect of agitational and propaganda activities. Therefore, the content of publications was determined by the contemporary requirements of the occupation authorities and had a clearly defined ideological focus (Mykhailiuk, 2001, pp. 644–651).

Informational influence on the population had to be carried out starting from childhood. For this purpose, in particular, the publishing of specialized magazines for children and youth was allowed on the territory of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”, such as: the magazines “Orlenia” (under the patronage of the Ukrainian publishing house “Volyn”), “Ukrainska Dytyna” (published by the publishing house “Kostopilski Visti”), “Shkoliaryk” (published by the Ukrainian Department of Education and Training in Dubno) and “Shkoliaryk’s Leaflet” (published in Shepetivka/Slavuta). It is known that the mentioned above magazines were

published from the autumn of 1941 to the end of 1942 with the frequency of issues – once or twice a month. The cost of copies ranged from 50 kopicks up to 4 krb (Kurylyshyn, 2007, pp. 138–142, 347–350, 534–536). The chief editors of the magazines were journalists, teachers, cultural and public figures known at that time.

In addition, in some universal legal Ukrainian-language periodicals there were the so-called “children’s pages”. For example, separate issues of the newspaper “Ukrainskyi Holos” of 1942 and 1943, which was published in the town of Proskuriv, contained an appendix called “Page for a Schoolboy” (Ukrainskyi holos, 1942a, 1942b, 1942c, 1942d, 1942e, 1942f, 1942g; 1943a).

The first magazine for Ukrainian schoolchildren, which began to be published in the occupied territories that were part of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”, was the fortnightly “Shkoliaryk”, which was edited by a poet, a playwright, a journalist, a director, a teacher, a compiler of the Ukrainian language textbooks and of literature – Avenir Kolomiets. As L. Holovata mentioned, – “against the background of other periodicals for school youth that appeared in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” at the time, the “Shkoliaryk” magazine was advantageously distinguished by the fact that it was devoid of servile articles directed at the German occupiers. The periodical turned out to be generally imitative, but, disregarding official prescriptions, it was filled with non-circular propagandistic interspersions, which were supposed to advertise prudence and moderation of the editorial board in relation to the regime’s policy, but with materials traditional for the Ukrainian pre-war magazines of Galicia – about the state symbols, princes, heroes of Bazaar, etc.” (Holovata, 2017, pp. 291–293).

A specialized periodical for school youth aged 7 to 14 was the monthly “Ukrainska Dytyna”, which was edited first by the University student Hryhoriy Rybak, and later by Roman Danylevych, the priest and active educator. As it was noted in Issue # 1, due to the lack of technical capabilities, it was not “expensive, colourful book full of artistic illustrations, but a modest, ordinary notebook of 8(12) pages, in which a child can read about different things, about life in God’s world, about life in one’s own world” (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942a, p. 1).

The most powerful among the above mentioned children’s magazines was “Orlenia”, which, according to I. Pavliuk, was “the only “thick” (32-page) magazine for children of the war period in the lands of Volhynia, Polissia, Kholmshchyna and Pidliashia” (Pavliuk, 2005, p. 63). Petro Zinchenko, a journalist, a teacher, an illustrator, a graphic artist, who later edited the newspaper “Volyn” was responsible for its publication (Rudenko & Bereziuk, 2010). Much hope was placed on this magazine, and its objectives were defined as follows: “May it become a true friend of every Ukrainian child. Let it provide not only entertainment, but also good advice, let it awaken national consciousness and teach us who we are and whose children we are, let it become a book that no one among a younger generation can do without” (Orlenia, 1941, p. 32).

Under the conditions of educational sector reformation, the Nazi occupation authorities prohibited the use of the Soviet literature and school textbooks. However, preparing new editions required time and adequate resources, which were in a short supply. In order to solve this problem to some extent, teachers were recommended to use children’s magazines for teaching. For example, in July of 1942, the general commissar, and later the education departments of the Volyn-Podillia general district, instructed heads of schools to organize subscriptions to children’s publications. In particular, it was noted that at least 5–10 copies of the “Orlenia” magazine were needed per school and one copy for each teacher (Ukrainskyi holos, 1942a, p. 3; 1942b, p. 3). This instruction also concerned other press for children.

Therefore, the content orientation of children's publications was determined, on the one hand, by the need for informational influence and the main types of activities of a child (a play and study), on the other hand, by the main tasks of an adult addressee (upbringing, education, entertainment), etc. (Syromlia, 2020, p. 169).

In the aspect of "development" of a "new school" of that time, it was about changing the concept of education and upbringing. The Soviet model, which provided for "pioneers and Komsomol members, red flags, slogans, social campaigns, voluntary and paid spies and informers..." was called unacceptable, and the basis of new transformations was to be "God and Motherland". The anti-Soviet orientation of the textual and pictorial materials was clearly visible. The emphasis was mainly on the fact that "after the overthrow of the Jewish-Bolshevik regime, silence and peace reigned in Volyn..., economic life was revived..." (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942, pp. 1–12; Orlenian, 1941a, p. 7; Kotsur, 2021, pp. 156–163).

Each of the mentioned above magazines for children had a certain structure, which provided for the presence of various thematic permanent and changing sections. For example, in the "Ukrainska Dytyna" magazine there were the following sections: "Grandfather's Conversations with Children" – stories about the origin of Christianity, the importance of the Church, native land, instructions on rules of conduct, respect for parents; "Grandmother's Fairy Tales for Hryts and Hannusia" – Ukrainian fairy tales and fairy tales of the peoples of the world; "Pages of a Primer for a Small Schoolboy" – stories, poems, riddles; "Life and Science" – scientific and cognitive materials; "Entertainment and Jokes" – riddles and humour; "Children's Creativity" – the best works of children sent to the editorial office; "Answers of the Editor Board" – communication of the editor board with contributors. Also, "Songs to Learn by Heart" and "Choice of Readers" were published for primary school children students (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942, № 1–10).

The magazine "Orlenia" included the sections: "Native Literature" – biographical references and works/fragments of works of domestic writers and poets (L. Hlibov, I. Kotliarevskiy, P. Kulish, T. Shevchenko, U. Samchuk, I. Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Marko Vovchok, etc.); the magazine "Historical Calendar" – chronology of historical events; the magazine "In Short about Everything" and the magazine "To Help a Young Technician" – scientific and educational materials, which were often supplemented with research and inventions of the German scholars; the magazine "Games and Entertainment" – crosswords, puzzles, riddles, charades, joke problems, tongue twisters, puzzles; the magazine "Creativity of our Readers" – riddles, poems, stories of young readers. The literary trend, in general, was quite powerfully represented on the pages of all the magazines mentioned above.

Despite the fact that these were children's publications, the occupation authorities used them as a platform to spread the Nazi ideology. Editorial boards of legal periodicals could not ignore this, although they did a lot to make the information presented less expressed (Honcharenko, 2021, pp. 151–156). War topics were mandatory for coverage, which were in the headings: "Review of War Events" (the magazine "Ukrainska Dytyna"), the magazine "What's New in the World" (the magazine "Orlenia"). In addition, articles devoted to the German victories were periodically published, in which there was mentioned the beauty and greatness of Germany, an advanced way of life. Everything German was shown as the best. All this was done with the aim of forming a favourable attitude towards this country in the young generation.

In the context of campaigning and propaganda direction, a number of articles were quite indicative. In particular, the article "Youth Organization in Germany", reinforced by an illustrative photo of J. Goebbels during "a friendly conversation with German youth", called

on Ukrainian schoolchildren to receipt “Hitler Jugend” as an example and organize according to this model (Orlenia, 1941b, pp. 5–7). In order to bring the information as close as possible to a young reader and make a psychological impact more effective, the publications “Bavaria – the Most Beautiful and Interesting German Country”, “The Glorious Bavarian City of Nuremberg” and the others were presented in the format of a letter from a newspaper reader – Ukrainian schoolboy, a member of a German children’s organization who got to Bavaria, visited a school there and talks about some peculiarities of education, as well as about various aspects of life abroad, about their traditions, which are different from the Ukrainian ones, about workers from Ukraine who work there and are delighted with this country (Orlenia, 1942a, p. 12; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942f, p. 3; Pohorielov, 2019, pp. 38–55).

An important component was a historical issue, which contributed not only to informing children about various events, periods of history, about notable figures, but also to a patriotic upbringing of youth and love for the homeland. Thus, the magazine “Orlenia” (1942, № 1–3; № 5; № 8–10) included the stories “Yaroslav the Wise”, “Kyiv in the Time of Princes”, “Ukrainian Army in the Time of Princes”, “Liberation Struggle of our Ancestors”, “Baptism of Ukraine-Rus”, essays about Khmelnytskyi period, about S. Petliura (Honcharenko, 2022, pp. 109–118) and the others. The monthly periodical “Historical Calendar” helped navigate dates and events.

In the magazine “Shkoliaryk” there were published the following stories: “The Wise Princess”, “The Town of Dubno”, “The Oldest Inhabitants of the Ukrainian Land”, the poetry “Love your Native House”, the poems “Ivas Reads the History of his Native Land”, “Children, Learn”. At the same time, the “National Anthem” was published (Shkoliaryk, 1941a, 1941b), in an accessible form, the essence and significance of Ukrainian symbols (“Signs of Power and Statehood”), etc. were highlighted. The editors of the publication “Ukrayinska Dytyna” also offered relevant thematic materials on the history of Ukraine for readers. Here we find “Historical Memories in January”, “Kruty”, “Yaroslav the Wise”, “How Zaporizhzhia Sich Rose” (Ukrayinska dytyna, 1942; Yaroslav Mudryi, 1942; Yak povstala, 1942), etc. All these texts helped teachers to a great extent in teaching a new subject at that time – History of Ukraine.

Religion and Geography of Ukraine were among the new subjects introduced into the curriculum. Therefore, religious, natural and geographical aspects became an important component of children’s magazines and children’s pages in universal periodicals during the occupation period. In particular, the periodicals we find stories about the origin of Christianity, about Christmas, the Resurrection of Christ, about the meaning of the Church, images of saints, numerous prayers, poems and stories of a spiritual and moral content, carols (Molytva, 1942; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942a, p. 3; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942b, p. 3; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942e, p. 3; Orlenia, 1942d, pp. 1–5; Orlenia, 1941c, pp. 30–31; Orlenia, 1942a, pp. 28–29).

The articles “Was Columbus the first in the New World?”, “About Comets – Tailed Stars” were useful in the aspect of forming children’s geographical competence (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1943a, p. 3), “Why are there Phenomena: Fog, Clouds, Dew, Rain, Snow” (Chomu tuman, 1942, p. 3), “The Moon” (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942f, p. 3), “About the Earth and the Sun” (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942e, p. 3), “Relief and its Image on Maps” (Orlenia, 1942b, pp. 28–29) and the others. Numerous publications about nature were informative.

Mathematical exercises published in children’s magazines were also of a quite interesting content, often close to the life of schoolchildren, such as: “How Many Seedlings are Needed”, “Broken Window” (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942e, p. 3). Tasks were periodically published which

could be used as handouts at lessons. Explanations were added to more complex tasks (Orlenia, 1942a, p. 31). The articles for young technicians were informative and at the same time practically oriented.

In the magazines the editorial boards also included recommendations regarding the use of interesting forms of work with schoolchildren, for example, organization of school theatres. To help in this matter, there were submitted scripts of plays with detailed instructions for their staging, and there was also published staging of songs, etc. (Orlenia, 1941a, pp. 21, 30). In terms of arranging educational environment, they included advice on using books, magazines in classrooms (Shkoliaryk, 1941b).

On the pages of children's periodicals, there was also focus on physical education, hygiene and their importance in every person's life, considering that "Ukraine needs strong and healthy people". Textual information with instructions for maintaining physical condition were complemented by illustrations that demonstrated step-by-step algorithm for doing one or another exercise (Orlenia, 1942a, pp. 25–27). For educational purposes, materials related to the rules of "good behaviour" were published, interesting visual tasks were offered to check knowledge of "good behaviour" (Shkoliaryk, 1941b). Therefore, an educational component took its proper place in children's magazines. They were sufficiently powerful and were represented by a significant amount of educational, cognitive and developmental materials.

Illustrations were an important component of children's periodicals. Black-and-white "sketches" served to illustrate the text, some of them contained a corresponding ideological direction, some – simply decorated the pages of children's periodicals. There were also portraits/photos of writers, politicians, historical figures (both Ukrainian and German), pictures of German planes, equipment, and victorious fragments from the life of the military. In order to increase interest of young readers in magazines, the title pages were designed well, especially the magazine "Orlenia". Certain drawings were intended for colouring, templates were included with instructions for making various handicrafts with your own hands, for example, Christmas tree ornaments. For the development of attention and thinking, it was suggested comparing "pictures" and finding differences, recalling proverbs to the given pictures, coming up with poems or stories, describing pictures, working on "business cards", "mysterious pictures", riddles, etc. (Orlenia, 1941a, pp. 12, 16, 32; Orlenia, 1941b, pp. 23, 24, 29; Orlenia, 1942c, p. 16).

Visual materials of the children's press represent agricultural, Ukrainian, patriotic (Ukrainian symbols, ornaments, the Cossacks, boys and girls in embroidered dresses, folk musical instruments, sown, fertile fields, rural houses, towns with their architecture, landscapes), pro-German (German cities, streets, buildings) and anti-Soviet topics. In order to form an extremely negative image of the Bolsheviki, they used one of the effective means of information warfare – caricatures. In particular, the caricature "Bolshevik Runs Away", published in the "Orlenia" magazine (Orlenia, 1941b, p. 23), mocked and humiliated the Soviet government by comparing it to rats that were expelled and drowned in the Dnieper. At the same time, the image was intended to make readers feel disgusted.

The use of a significant amount of illustrative materials of an appropriate thematic load was an important means of influencing the consciousness of children, because illustration helps a child learn about the world, influences formation of moral values, aesthetic ideals, deepens understanding of a literary work, certain social processes, which the German administration focused on.

The children's magazines under analysis were distributed not only in Rivne region, but also in many other regions of Ukraine and received favourable reviews from colleagues and readers. For example, in January of 1942, an article with a brief description of the "Orlenia" magazine appeared in the "Free Word" periodical, which was published in Drohobych, part of "Halychyna" district. There should be emphasized the fact that this monthly periodical had been published since October of 1941 and was quite voluminous. "The content of the magazine is educational, sincerely national, and at the same time very diverse. In addition to occasional poems and stories, there are political reviews, and columns: literary, natural, geographical, historical, "to help a young technician", games and entertainment, etc. The magazine as a whole is interestingly edited, with knowledge of children's psychology, the articles are richly illustrated. With its content, it is best suited for young people in the senior classes of the national school. We sincerely congratulate a good start of our brothers from Volyn and wish them the best of success in their educational work" (Orlenia – chasopys dlia ditei, 1942, p. 4). We find similar reviews in other publications.

The Conclusion. Thus, during the period of the Nazi occupation children's periodicals were a special sphere of publishing activity. At that time, few legal Ukrainian-language magazines for children were published, which increased the demand for existing publications. Taking into account the conditions under which schoolchildren of that time lived – the lack of textbooks, children's literature, impossibility of attending school and the lack of full-fledged education – publications were a significant educational tool that contributed to education and development, awareness in various fields, and encouraged creativity.

The thematic and genre palette of children's publications was quite diverse. The magazines published short historical calendars, excerpts from works of art, sketches, plays recommended for staging, songs, carols, poems, stories, fairy tales, information on the history of Ukraine, materials of a scientific and cognitive nature, tasks for intellectual development (riddles, puzzles, charades, joke tasks), etc. The contents of the magazines echoed to a certain extent. Despite ideological instructions and censorship of the occupation authorities, editorial teams tried to convey a key message to readers, the essence of which was that training and education are important. And this importance is clearly visible in the children's press. Therefore, despite educational, propagandistic, anti-Soviet orientation of the periodicals and orientation that everything German is the best, the magazines were interesting and contributed to the development of children of all ages.

In the further study of the mentioned above issue, it will be appropriate to do a comparative analysis of the children's press, which was published in various administrative and territorial districts during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine, a detailed analysis of ideological and educational component, etc.

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SOVIET MYTHMAKING IN THE STALIN ERA: CONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF “THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE’S REUNIFICATION”

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to study the process of constructing the myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” during the Stalinist period, its position and role in the Soviet mythology’s system, and its influence on the historical memory of the annexed Ukrainian territories’ community. The Methodology of the Research.* In the article there have been used contemporary methodological approaches that consider myth in interconnection with political ideology. They emphasize the role of myths, which are constructed narratives that convey particular meanings, values, and ideals of the community’s consolidation and mobilization and the formation of identity and collective memory. Historical genetic, historical systemic, and historical comparative methods, as well as methods of historiographical analysis and critical discourse analysis, were the methodological basis

of the research. **The scientific novelty** of the article is that the authors, for the first time, consider the idea of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” as the Soviet myth, which formed a ground for the Soviet version of the annexed Ukrainian territories’ historical past. **The Conclusion.** The annexation of new Ukrainian territories in 1939 – 1940 required the Soviet regime’s legitimization. The constructed Soviet myth confirmed the historical right to these lands and interpreted the Soviet military campaigns as a mission to liberate oppressed peoples who wanted the reunification with Soviet Ukraine. During the Soviet-German war, the myth was based on the idea of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification”, which the Soviet ideologists considered an alternative to the concept of “a united and independent Ukraine”. The myth was intended to make the Ukrainians believe in the possibility of their being united only within the Soviet Union and under the patronage of the Russian people. Together with the legitimization function, the myth had identification, consolidation, and mobilization functions and was used as a tool of struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement and the Uniate Church. In 1949 the large-scale myth’s ritualization indicated its final entrenchment in the Soviet mythological system.

Keywords: mythmaking, Soviet ideology, Ukraine, Stalinism.

РАДЯНСЬКА МІФОТВОРЧІСТЬ У СТАЛІНСЬКУ ЕПОХУ: КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ МІФУ ПРО “ВОЗЗ’ЄДНАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАРОДУ”

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження процесу конструювання міфу про “возз’єднання українського народу” в сталінський період, його місця і ролі у системі радянської міфології та впливу на історичну пам’ять населення анексованих українських територій. **Методологія дослідження.** Стаття ґрунтується на сучасних методологічних підходах, які розглядають міф у взаємозв’язку з політичною ідеологією, підкреслюючи його роль у консолідації та мобілізації спільноти, формуванні ідентичності й колективної пам’яті на основі сконструйованих наративів, що передають певні значення, цінності й ідеали. Методологічною основою дослідницького пошуку стали історико-генетичний, історико-системний та історико-порівняльний методи, а також методи історіографічного аналізу і критичного дискурс-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що автори вперше розглядають ідею “возз’єднання українського народу” як радянський міф, який складав основу радянської версії історичного минулого приєднаних українських територій. **Висновки.** Приєднання нових українських територій у 1939 – 1940 рр. потребувало легітимації радянського режиму. Сконструйований радянський міф підтверджував історичне право на ці землі та інтерпретував радянські воєнні кампанії як місію визволення пригноблених народів, які бажали возз’єднатися з Радянською Україною. Упродовж радянсько-німецької війни в основу міфу була покладена ідея “возз’єднання українського народу”, яка розглядалася як альтернатива концепту “соборної і незалежної України”. Міф мав сформувати у населення уявлення про можливість об’єднання українських земель лише в складі Радянського Союзу й під заступництвом російського народу. Крім легітимаційної, він виконував ідентифікаційну, консолідаційну й мобілізаційну функції, використовувався як інструмент боротьби з українським визвольним рухом та уніатською церквою. Масштабна ритуалізація міфу у 1949 р. свідчила про його остаточне утвердження в радянській міфологічній системі.

Key words: міфотворчість, радянська ідеологія, Україна, сталінізм.

The Problem Statement. The secret Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact’s publishing and denunciation at the end of the 1980s caused a rethinking of the consequences of the Soviet annexation of Ukrainian territories. However, narratives about the Ukrainian lands’ “reunification” during World War II maintained their dominant influence in official and historical Ukrainian discourses in the early decades after independence. Moreover, the Ukrainians’ divided memory of World War II was intensified by the state-level commemorations of the anniversaries of the particular Ukrainian territories’ “reunification,” the preservation of the relevant Soviet sites of memory, and the use of these narratives in political discourse. According to the authors, the firm rooting of the “reunification” idea in the collective memory should be considered a result of the Soviet mythmaking during the Stalin

era. Analysis of the myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” allows the discovery of the mechanisms of the Soviet memory politics’ influence on collective consciousness and the factors of the Soviet mythologemes’ conservation in post-communist Ukrainian society.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The understanding of myth in social and humanitarian sciences has evolved from a portrayal as the opposition to truth, rational thought, and historical thinking to being seen as essential to national identity formation, the preservation of collective memory, and the mobilization and consolidation of the community. Classical theories defined truth as the criterion for distinguishing between historical and mythical narratives. Still, contemporary theorists deny the definition of myth as an irrational and false representation of the past. Anthony Smith attributed the existence of common myths to the main features of a nation and considered collective mythmaking as an essential process in its formation (Smith, 1999, p. 115). George Schöpflin pointed out that myth is an instrument of the community’s self-definition and self-awareness, identity transfer, a simplified representation of reality in a communication process, cultural adoption and reproduction, strengthening of solidarity, and maintenance of memory (Schöpflin, 1997, pp. 22–28). According to Bo Stråth, myths do not just preserve collective memory but also assign limits to memory, defining what is possible and what is impossible to remember (Stråth, 2005, p. 260). Some scholars equated myths with collective or national memory, separating them from true individual memories or “mass personal memory” (Snyder, 2002, p. 50; Gildea, 2002, p. 59). Barbara Shatska did not associated collective memory with myth but accentuated the process of mythologizing of the past as part of a collective memory formation (Shatska, 2011, p. 98). At the same time, Duncan Bell emphasized the necessity to draw a clearer distinction between memory and myth and suggested a “national mythscape” instead of “national memory” (Bell, 2003, p. 75).

Chiara Bottici defined the narrative form as the main feature of the myth. Mythic narratives operate with figurative means, have a dramatic plot, demonstrate pathos, and always represent a certain morality. However, a narrative becomes a myth only after its acceptance by the audience (a social group or society) for which it was constructed. Therefore, a myth is a narrative that provides meaning and significance (Bottici, 2007, p. 179). Based on belief, the myth retains a significant symbolic power and has the status of sacred truth within the social group that accepts it. This acceptance depends not on the persuasiveness of the evidence but on the community’s need to feel that it is true (Archard, 1995, p. 478).

The scholars emphasized the connection between myth and ideology, considering myth as an “ideology in narrative form” (Wydra, 2008, p. 11) or an “ideologically marked” narrative (Flood, 2002, p. 42). Graeme Gill pointed out that a simplified representation of ideology was presented in a metanarrative, which allows meaning to be transferred in an accessible, symbolic form. Such a metanarrative is a communication vehicle between the political regime and the people. It consists of myths, which ensures its functioning and the transfer of its particular meanings to the community (Gill, 2011, p. 3).

According to Gerard Bouchard, ideology is a combination of reason and myth, the latter of which plays the role of its engine. He indicated six myth features: an archetypal basis, hybridity, emotionality, sacredness, instrumentality, and narrativity (Bouchard, 2017, pp. 24–25). The scholar compared the mythical system’s structure with a pyramid. It comprises a stable layer of master myths, which are long-lasting and slowly changing, and a layer of derivative myths, which are changeable, quickly adapting to new conditions and keeping the spirit of master myths (Bouchard, 2017, pp. 112–113). Moreover, a derivative myth can become the basis for

the rise of other myths, becoming the master myth in a new pyramidal structure. From the entire assemblage of master myths, one can single out national myths based on the features of a powerful collective experience and a strong connection with collective memory. These myths are like constellations that are tightly integrated clusters of sub-myths.

Ernst Cassirer was one of the first to reveal the conditions for the appearance, nature, and functioning of myths in totalitarian societies using the examples of Italian fascism and German national socialism. On one hand, a systemic crisis in Europe caused the emergence of a mythical consciousness to which society returned, abandoning rational thought. On the other hand, political myths were artificial constructions created by skillful and cunning artisans using new methods (changing the function of language, ritualizing political life, constraining and suppressing dissent, and influencing the imagination of the masses through prophecies). Finally, the emergence of the political myth resulted from the activity of modern politicians who combined rational and irrational roles. They became preachers of a new religion (*homo magus*) but proceeded very methodically (*homo faber*) (Cassirer, 1946, p. 282). Such a political religion represented a system of beliefs, myths, rituals, and symbols, which a powerful propaganda apparatus spread under a total monopoly through its communication channels. Ideology, therefore, turned into dogma and commandments, and political power took on a sacred essence. Thus, the sacralization of politics was one of totalitarianism’s fundamental features (Gentile, 2006, p. 47). It was based on the Manichean reception of the real world, where there was absolute good and evil. Such a primitive value matrix made it possible to interpret political reality as a constant struggle of good against evil, justifying the necessity of exterminating enemies for the community’s survival (Sviličić & Maldini, 2014, p. 731).

The Soviet mythological system was finally formed in the mid-1930s when Stalin’s vision of the communist state and society replaced Lenin’s one, without undergoing fundamental changes during this time. According to Mikhail Heller, myths became a powerful weapon used by the Communist Party to form the Soviet man (Heller, 1988, p. 226). He defined the following Soviet myths: (1) the myth of the new world’s creation (the myth of the revolution), (2) the myth of the state (it contained the myth of the party, the myth of the leader, and the myth of the people), and (3) the myth of the monolith, or unity (this also included the myth of the enemy, which encroached on this unity). According to Carol Barner-Barry and Cynthia Hody, the mobilization of society to achieve the idea of the Soviet utopia, the creation of a new type of person (“a builder of communism”), and the taking of symbolic control over people were the main functions of the Soviet mythology. Its master myths were the foundation myth (the myth of the Bolshevik revolution), the sustaining myth (the myth of the building of communism), and the eschatological myth (the myth of the world Communist revolution) (Barner-Barry & Hody, 1994, pp. 617–625). Gill identified six Soviet myths instead a single foundation myth: the foundation of the regime, the building of socialism, the nature of leadership, the internal opposition, the external opposition, and victory in the war (Gill, 2011, pp. 4–5).

Particular Soviet myths are of scientific interest in historiography – for instance, the myth of the revolution (Corney, 2004), the myth of “friendship of the peoples” (Tillett, 1969), and the myth of “the Great Patriotic War” (Weiner, 2001; Brunstedt, 2021). At the same time, the Ukrainian Soviet myths, including the myth of “the Ukrainian people’s reunification,” received little scientific attention. Among the studies on this issue, Serhy Yekelchuk described the formation of the Soviet mythologemes in the Stalin era (Yekelchuk, 2004). Although the issue of the Ukrainian lands’ reunion was widely presented in contemporary Ukrainian historical discourse (Humeniuk, 2004; Danyliuk & Mishchanyn, 2013), scholars primarily

focused on the issues of illegitimacy of the Soviet invasion of Western Ukraine (Kulchytskyi, 2009) and the influence of “reunification” on national identity (Hrynevych et al., 2004), historical science (Yusova, 2004), and post-Soviet nation-building (Zhurzhenko, 2013).

The purpose of the article is to examine the process of creating and spreading the myth of “the Ukrainian people’s reunification” (a full name is the myth of “the Ukrainian people’s reunification within a single Ukrainian Soviet state”) as a means of legitimizing the Stalinist regime in the annexed territories and constructing the Soviet identity. Supporting the thesis that the myth needs to be constantly updated, in the article there is described the “reunification” myth’s changes during the Stalinist period. Considering the complexity of the Soviet mythology system, the authors have revealed the connection of this myth with other master myths.

The Results of the Research. The transition of Stalinist ideology to National Bolshevism (Brandenberger, 2002) required the creation of new myths or the rehabilitation of the old imperial myths. These myths were intended to narrate the thousand-year history of the Soviet state, an organic part of which was Russian history. At the same time, Stalinist ideologues had to harmonize them with the master myths of the revolution and the building of communism, ultimately leading to their renewal. Therefore, a blurring between the Soviet and Russian histories allowed the Soviet leader to legitimize power in a broader historical context (Nemchynov, 2017, p. 88). The mythological systems of the Soviet republics also needed updating. National myths were, firstly, to accord with the Soviet master myths and, secondly, to indicate the connection between national history and Russian history and the role of Russia in the formation and development of each Soviet nation. Thus, the Soviet authorities invented new national myths of the subject peoples and entered their past into the all-Soviet metanarrative.

“Remembering the nation” in the Ukrainian SSR began after the Great Terror (Yekelchyk, 2004, p. 19). The national narrative was rehabilitated in 1938 – 1941, and Ukrainian national figures (Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Taras Shevchenko, Danylo Halytskyi, and the others) were included in the Soviet heroic pantheon. The creation of new Soviet national myths coincided with the beginning of the USSR’s aggressive military campaign during World War II. The legitimation of the Stalinist regime in the annexed territories (Eastern Halychyna, Volyn, Northern Bukovyna, Southern Bessarabia, and later Zakarpattia) thus required a myth that would be consistent with the new version of the Soviet Ukrainian past.

Stalinist ideologues began constructing a legitimation myth from the beginning of the Soviet invasion of Poland. It justified aggression under the pretext of helping the Ukrainians and Belarusians living in Poland. Viacheslav Molotov, the head of the USSR Government, announced the official motives for sending the Soviet troops into Western Ukraine and Western Belarus on September 17, 1939. He stated that the collapse of the Polish state because of the war with Germany had caused probable threats to the safety of the Soviet Union and had put the “consanguineous Ukrainian and Belarusian brothers” in a hopeless situation. Therefore, sending troops was considered a “sacred duty to lend a helping hand” to these peoples, who had existed in Poland as “rightless nations.” Moreover, the Soviet army liberated not only the peoples of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus but also the Polish working masses from capitalist oppression and the “ill-fated war” (Molotov, 1939, pp. 5–6). Semen Tymoshenko, the commander of the Ukrainian front, ordered the troops to enter the territory of Poland to liberate the Ukrainians and Belarusians from the “Polish landowners’ oppression.” He proclaimed, “We are going to Western Ukraine not as conquerors, but as liberators...” (Tymoshenko, 1940, p. 115).

One of the first official explanations of the reasons for the “liberation campaign” was the article by the leading Soviet party historian Yemelian Yaroslavskii, “To whom we go to rescue,” published on September 19 in “Pravda.” It described the image of a “Polish nobility state” where the economic ruling class (Polish nobility – “szlachta” or “pany”) exploited the working people. The szlachta, in his opinion, was considered guilty of the collapse of the Polish state. The Ukrainians and Belarusians suffered the most in this state. Turning Western Ukraine and Belarus into “an internal colony,” Polish capitalists reduced the people to material impoverishment. Furthermore, the Poles implemented a forcible Polonization of national minorities (Yaroslavskii, 1939, pp. 23–31).

On October 27, 1939, the People’s Assembly of Western Ukraine, organized by the Bolsheviks, adopted the “Declaration on Incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.” On November 1, 1939, the Soviet Parliament adopted the law “On Inclusion of Western Ukraine into the USSR and its Union with the Ukrainian SSR.” Two weeks later, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR included the new territory by a corresponding law and “reunited the great Ukrainian people in a single Ukrainian state” (Zakon, 1939, p. 130).

Thus, the Stalinist regime legitimized aggression against Poland using the “liberation myth.” This myth had a typical dramatic plot that included mythologemes of (1) territory and common origin, (2) enemy, (3) persistent suffering, (4) heroic struggle, (5) savior, and (6) building a new life. Each of them actually was a particular myth that organically intertwined with others, forming a master myth.

The liberation myth substantiated the historical right to Western Ukraine and the nation’s age-old historical ties with the region’s community. Therefore, this myth was connected to the national foundation myth, which Stalinist ideologists were revising at that time. However, there were certain contradictions between historical narratives. On the one hand, central Soviet academic historians formulated the concepts of the “Old-Russian nation” and Kyivan Rus as a “common cradle of three brotherly peoples” (the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the Belarusians), who were the basis of the official Soviet interpretation of the East Slavic nation’s origin. They considered the ancient history of Western Ukraine as part of Russian history, denoting this territory as “originally Russian lands and a part of the Rurik empire” and the Galicia-Volhynia principality as “a natural continuance of South-Western Rus” (Grekov, 1939, p. 248; Picheta, 1939, p. 157). On the other hand, the annexation of new territories in 1939 – 1940 actualized the issue of Ukrainian people’s origin in the Ukrainian Soviet historical discourse (Yusova, 2004, p. 176). The Ukrainian Soviet historians highlighted the close connection between Western Ukraine and other Slavic lands but identified the Galicia-Volhynia principality as “the largest and most powerful principality in Ukraine” (Ohloblin, 1940, pp. 9–11).

The image of the enemy was central to the myth structure. For its design, mythmakers used the negative emotional background of the Western Ukrainian community toward Polish rule. These remembrances functioned as an anchor for mythical narratives. Therefore, the Polish szlachta was depicted as the primary enemy, the image of which contained several features. Firstly, it was abstract. The enemies were not individuals who pursued politics of colonial oppression but the economically dominant class, which included various strata of society from magnates and landlords to a petite bourgeoisie. Secondly, the enemy had class and national nature. The Polish szlachta pursued “national and colonial oppression” politics, exploiting the working people, prohibiting the national language, closing national schools, carrying on Polonization, and persecuting Orthodox Christians. Thirdly, the Polish szlachta

was portrayed as the “eternal enemy of the Ukrainian people,” who had claimed Ukrainian lands since Kyivan Rus.

In addition to the Polish szlachta, the “Western imperialistic states” posed a significant danger. They created an “artificial multinational” Poland after the end of the Great War and made it “an outpost in the fight against the young Soviet republic” (Semernin, 1939, pp. 44–45). Moreover, Poland was viewed as a “semi-colony of Anglo-French imperialism” (Babaiev, 1939, p. 50). The Soviet authorities considered “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists,” who were all the figures of the Ukrainian national movement opposing Bolshevik ideas and the union with Russia, and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church as internal enemies. They were represented as betrayers of the Ukrainian people who had helped to occupy Western Ukrainian lands.

The Soviet mythmakers depicted Western Ukraine’s past as persistent suffering of the people from Polish oppression. The “colonial” status of the community did not change until the Soviet army’s “liberation campaign.” It is worth noting that the term “Ukrainian people” only referred to its working class. The wealthy peasantry (“kulaks”) and other privileged classes were identified as “having lost connection with their people” and were “turning into tools of the Polish nobility in the denationalization politics” (Picheta, 1940, p. 123). Furthermore, the Soviet narratives described Western Ukraine’s working people as a homogeneous Ukrainian ethnic community, keeping quiet about other ethnic groups, primarily the Jews, who predominantly lived in cities.

The heroic struggle against the Polish szlachta was the main plot line of the Ukrainian metanarrative during 1939 – 1940. This “thousand-year” struggle contained several stages: Princely, Cossacks’, Cossack-peasants’, the Liberation War in 1648–1654, Peasant uprisings (the 18th century), the Anti-Polish struggle within the Austrian and Russian empires (the 19th century), the Soviet-Poland War (1918 – 1920), and workers’ struggles (1920 – 1939) (Sukhopalko, 1940; Picheta, 1940). Its goals were liberation from Polish oppression, return to the “family of brotherly nations,” and unity with Russia. Therefore, the most crucial episode of this struggle, including for Western Ukraine, was the Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s liberation war, which led to the “two brotherly peoples’ unity,” despite that Western Ukrainian lands still remained a part of Poland (Petrovskiy, 1939).

The “act of liberation” culminated in the myth’s dramatic plot. The Soviet invasion was named the “Red Army’s liberation march” and was interpreted as a “great liberation mission,” which the Soviet troops carried out by order of the party and the government (Sukhopalko, 1940, p. 41). Thus, this mythologeme corresponded to an eschatological myth about the Soviet state’s sacred role as the saviour of the enslaved working masses. Mythical narratives did not describe military battles between the Soviet and Polish troops, forming the illusion of their absence. At the same time, the heroism of the Soviet soldiers who “destroyed enemy nests that tried to resist” was emphasized (Abramov & Venskii, 1940, pp. 46–47). Instead of the characterization of the military campaign, the mythmakers focused on representing the Soviet troops’ friendly welcome by the local inhabitants (Bielousov, 1940, p. 105).

The liberation myth’s plot finished with an image of the new era. It was a life in the “new and free” family of the Soviet peoples, where the Western Ukrainian community was meant to build a “socialist society” and a culture “national in form and socialist in content” (Picheta, 1940, p. 127). It pointed at the myth’s mobilization function as characteristic of any myth.

In 1940 the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna due to diplomatic pressure and the military campaign against Romania strengthened the liberation myth’s influence on the collective Soviet consciousness. The official Soviet discourse used similar

mythologemes to legitimize the new “liberation march”: common origin; historical, linguistic, and cultural ties with Soviet Ukraine; the existence of an eternal enemy (in this case, “Romanian boyars”); continuous suffering of the people; and the constant and heroic struggle for freedom. The media welcomed “the liberated peoples” of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna on behalf of the people and thanked Stalin for his “wise and peaceful foreign policy” (Teumin, 1940, p. 31).

However, there were substantial differences in the “liberation” of new territories. Western Ukraine was occupied due to the military campaign, while the issue of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna was resolved diplomatically – although minor military skirmishes between the Soviet and Romanian forces did occur. Moreover, the USSR never recognized the Romanian incorporation of Bessarabia and claimed it as the Soviets’ rightful territory. Therefore, its annexation was interpreted as a “return to the Motherland.” In turn, the Soviet diplomacy demanded Northern Bukovyna as “a minor way of indemnification to the USSR and the Bessarabian citizens by Romania’s 22-year rule in Bessarabia” (Teumin, 1940, p. 2). In August of 1940, the Soviet parliament incorporated Northern Bukovyna and the Khotyn, Akkerman, and Izmail districts of Bessarabia into the Ukrainian SSR.

The Stalinist regime used the entire Soviet propaganda arsenal to create and spread mythical narratives. For example, the bibliographic guide on the first anniversary of “Western Ukraine’s Liberation” included 659 publications in 1939 – 1940 (monographs; academic articles; scientific; literary; and propaganda texts; articles in periodicals, etc.) (Hensorskyi & Tur’ian, 1940). The propaganda scope was similar in Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia (Mandryk-Melnychuk & Kotsur, 2020). Propaganda and agitation departments issued brochures for local agitators, which contained basic historical information about the annexed territories, official texts, and literary works. Pedagogical journals published articles about the historical and geographical characteristics of the new lands, which teachers were then required to relay to their students (Medvedenko & Starovoitenko, 1940). In addition to a large amount of propaganda and historical writings, the Soviet press publicized various documents and local inhabitants’ memories as evidence of social and national oppression.

Propaganda included visual images, such as posters, illustrations, and photographs, that showed the people’s joy at the Soviet “liberation.” They illustrated the Soviet soldiers holding children in their arms or greeting peasants, who personified the image of the liberated Ukrainian people. The caricatures ridiculed the image of the enemy while similarly portraying “Polish szlachta” and “Romanian boyars” as working people’s exploiters. Cinematography played a significant role in visualizing Soviet mythical narratives for their further retransmission among the masses. Therefore, propaganda movies about each annexed territory (“Liberation of Ukrainian and Belarusian Lands from the Polish Szlachta’s Oppression and the Reunification of Brotherly Nations into a Single Family,” “On the Danube,” and “Bukovyna – Ukrainian Land”) were filmed in 1940.

Ritualization is a necessary element in working on a myth. If myth is a description, ritual is its articulation. Therefore, the ritualization of the liberation myth became an essential component of the Soviet celebration discourse in the annexed territories. The Red Army’s aggressive campaigns against Poland and Romania turned into celebrations of the enslaved peoples’ liberation. Throughout the country, authorities organized party meetings, demonstrations, rallies, and letters’ writings to support the liberated peoples and to approve the Stalinist government’s politics. The most significant event was a multi-thousand-person rally on the first anniversary of “Western Ukraine’s Liberation” and the

laying of a monument to Lenin in Lviv on September 17, 1940. Newspapers reported that 200,000 people had gathered at the rally (Samokhin, 1940, p. 1). The mass rallies' organizing aimed to demonstrate the unconditional people's support of the Soviet government and their sincere thankfulness for the liberation of Western Ukraine. Preparations for the first-anniversary celebration began in Southern Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna in June of 1941, but the German invasion interrupted them.

Thus, the propaganda tried to persuade the local community of the Soviet campaigns' liberating nature and to demonstrate the prospects of new life in the "Soviet peoples' free family." The advancing mythical narratives shaped the image of the Soviet Union as a defender of the Ukrainian working people's social and national rights. De facto, the Soviet regime's actual politics radically differed from the constructed image. Stalin's "Revolution from abroad" brought Western Ukraine collectivization, confiscation of property, imprisonment, NKVD torture, executions, and deportations (Gross, 2002). Precisely this contradiction between the liberation myth and reality was nullifying the efforts of Soviet propagandists.

From 1939 to 1940, ethnic Ukrainian territories were incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. The Soviet authority interpreted it as the achievement of the most crucial aim of the Ukrainian people – "reunification within a single state." It is worth noting that the concept of the "Ukrainian people's reunification" was a Soviet alternative to the idea of "United Ukraine" ("Soborna Ukraina"), the implementation of which in collective memory was associated with the Act of Unification of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic on January 22, 1919. However, Stalin's ideologists did not formulate the concept of "reunification" with the beginning of aggression campaigns. Therefore, the official Soviet discourse used different words to indicate the incorporation of new lands into the Ukrainian SSR: "unification" ("z'iednannia"), "reunification" ("vozz'iednannia"), and "inclusion" ("priednannia") (Bielousov, 1940, p. 97; Picheta, 1939, p. 155; Sukhopalko, 1940, p. 7).

After the annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, narratives about the "Ukrainian people's reunification" increasingly appeared in official Ukrainian historical discourses. At the end of 1940, the Institute of the History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR issued the first systematic study of Ukrainian history according to the new paradigm. Its last chapter, "The Reunification of the Great Ukrainian People within the Single Ukrainian Soviet State," depicted "the great historical mission of the Soviet Union to liberate Ukrainian lands from foreign oppression" (Bielousov et al., 1940, p. 392).

The new concept of "reunification" had more integrative power than the idea of liberation from an abstract external enemy. It referred to the "golden age" – a mythical time when the Ukrainians lived together with their "consanguineous brothers," Russians and Belarusians, within a single "Old-Russian state." After its collapse and foreign invasions, reunifying these peoples was presented as the primary goal and a constant process, the first stage of which was the "unification of Ukraine with Russia" in 1654. The completion of this process in 1939 – 1940 and the beginning of a new "golden age" for the "liberated" territories was interpreted as a result of Stalin's politics. Thus, mythmakers used the realization of this "age-old historical goal" not only to legitimize the annexation of territories but also to strengthen Stalin's cult and to confirm the correctness of his course on "building socialism in one country".

Myths are dynamic constructs that constantly change over time. They must always be up to date, sustain emotional significance for the community and adapt to new contexts (Bottici, 2007, p. 183). The Soviet-German war significantly influenced the Soviet mythological system, including the liberation myth. The major historical enemy of the "fraternal Slavic

peoples” became the Germans, and the narratives about the Rus princes’ victory over the German “dog-knights” were included in the Stalinist metanarrative. The mythmakers also interpreted the reason for the “liberation” of Western Ukraine in 1939 differently, pointing to the threat of its enslavement by Germany (Voblyi et al., 1942, p. 203).

Furthermore, the image of the internal enemy, “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists,” substantially changed. Soviet narratives defined them as “Ukrainian-German nationalists” and the “fiercest enemies of the Ukrainian people,” who were entirely subordinate to the external enemy and aimed to renew the exploitation of the working people. The idea of an independent and united Ukraine was primarily dangerous to the Soviet ideology. The nationalist version of Ukraine’s past proved the right of the Ukrainian nation to be an independent state and emphasized the negative consequences of Russian rule and the Soviet power. Stalinist ideologues had to oppose this version with a concept that would prove the only possible way for the Ukrainian people’s historical development in the union with Russia. Therefore, the mythmakers based the updated myth on the “struggle for” (social and national freedom, the Ukrainian people’s reunification, and the union with Russia) instead of the “struggle against” (external and internal enemies).

Mykola Petrovskiy finally formulated the comprehensive concept of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” in 1944. The historian contrasted it with the nationalist concept of “United Ukraine.” His grand narrative represented the Soviet version of Ukrainian history, which described the nation-building process as a constant struggle for reunification within a single state. However, each stage of this process was considered in the context of Russian history, emphasizing the strong historical ties between the two peoples and the intention of the Ukrainians to join the Russian state. “Without uniting with the Russian people, the issue of reunifying the Ukrainian people in a single Ukrainian state could not be resolved positively,” he noted (Petrovskii, 1944, p. 73).

Therefore, two reunification myths were constructed in the new Soviet mythology. The first one, the myth of the “reunification of Ukraine with Russia,” represented the common history of “brotherly peoples” from the time of Kyivan Rus, interrupted by the Tatar-Mongol invasion and restored after the conclusion of the Pereiaslav Treaty in 1654 by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. It justified the incorporation of Ukraine into the Russian state and defined it as a historical regularity and a direct intention of the Ukrainian people. Before the beginning of the Soviet-German war, the official discourse characterized the conclusion of the Pereiaslav Treaty and joining Russia as a “lesser evil” compared to Polish and Turkish rule. During the war, this event already had a new interpretation as the “only right path” (Yekelchuk, 2004, pp. 36–37).

The second one, the myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification,” justified Stalin’s annexationist policy as the realization of Ukrainians’ historical right to unite within a single state. Although it was based on the actual historical intention of the Ukrainians, the myth strengthened the idea of the inability to create an independent state in their collective consciousness. It evoked in people a sense of constant gratitude to the Soviet government, the Communist party, Stalin personally, and the Russian people for “liberation and reunification” and motivated them to support friendly relations with the “great Russian people” and all the peoples of the USSR.

The myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” was closely integrated into the Soviet mythic system and was based on the Soviet master myths: (1) the myth of the “golden age,” describing Kyivan Rus as a powerful state of the ancient East-Slavic people; (2) the myth of the “October Revolution,” noting that the unification of the Ukrainian lands became possible

only after the Bolshevik Party's victory and the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine; (3) the myth of the leader, attributing the reunification process to Stalin's "wise politics"; (4) the myth of the enemy, interpreting the Ukrainian people's long-lasting separation as the result of external enemies' aggression and their conspiracy with internal enemies; and (5) the myth of the building of communism, depicting the economic and cultural revival of the "liberated" lands and the joyful and free life of its population. In addition, this myth was connected with national myths of the Ukrainian people's heroic struggle, the central one of which was the myth of the "reunification of Ukraine with Russia."

With the beginning of the Soviet counteroffensive and the return of Soviet power in Ukraine, the myth of the "reunification of Ukraine with Russia" played a crucial identification role for the population under German occupation. This is evidenced by Soviet commemorations, particularly the celebration of the 290th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Council in January of 1944. At the same time, party leaders' proclamations used the mythical narratives of the "Ukrainian people's reunification" as arguments for the return of the lands annexed in 1939 – 1940 and claims to other ethnic Ukrainian territories (Khrushchov, 1944, pp. 1–2).

The reunification myth was finally entrenched in the official discourse with the incorporation of Transcarpathian Ukraine in 1944 – 1945. Soviet narratives proved the historical right to this territory according to the traditional scheme, pointing to the historical ties of Transcarpathian Ukrainians with "consanguineous brothers," the people's social and national oppression by the "Hungarian magnates," the constant intention for "reunification" with the Ukrainians and union with the Russians (Voblyi & Stetsiuk, 1944; Petrovskyi, 1944; Bazhan, 1945). At the same time, they described the "nine-hundred-year struggle" of Transcarpathian Ukrainians for reunification, which contradicted the foundation myth. This was not the first time such appeared, but ideologues deliberately allowed them to exist to prove the unity of ethnic Ukrainian territories. The "reunification" of Transcarpathian Ukraine took place after the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the Republic of Czechoslovakia on June 29, 1945, although the Soviet authorities completely controlled political power in the region after the deployment of their troops at the end of October of 1944. One of the reasons for concluding this treaty was the community's intention for reunification, proclaimed in the Manifest of the First Congress of Transcarpathian Ukraine People's Committees on November 26, 1944. Although, the Soviet officials prepared the draft of the Manifest in advance, and higher-level Soviet leadership approved it (Mishchanyin, 2018, p. 99). This document contained all relevant official Soviet narratives, recognized the reunification as an act of historical justice, and portrayed the history of the "Transcarpathian-Ukrainian people" who "being separated from their Motherland Ukraine for centuries... were doomed to poverty and extinction" (Manifest, 1944, p. 2).

On June 29, 1945, during an address in the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, M. Khrushchov informed the deputies of the signing of the treaty by the USSR and the Republic of Czechoslovakia and proclaimed the completion of all Ukrainian lands' reunification. He declared, "From now and forever, for the first time in its history, the Ukrainian people will be completely reunited within a single Ukrainian state" (Khrushchov, 1945, p. 1). At the same time, he accentuated the leading role of the party and Stalin in reunification, as well as the help from the "fraternal" Russian people. Thus, the Soviet leadership officially completed the "collecting" of Ukrainian lands.

The Soviet authorities used the concept of "reunification" not only to legitimize the annexation of Ukrainian territories. Stalinist ideologues formalized the liquidation of the

Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as “reunification with the Orthodox Church” (David, 2018; Datskiv & Kapitan, 2022). Waging a fight against the liberation movement in Western Ukraine, the Soviet power thus tried to deprive it of the primary ideological support, the Uniate clergy. Moreover, the resolution on the churches’ “reunification,” adopted at the Lviv Council in 1946, returned Greek Catholic Galicians to the Orthodox faith. Propagandists used its decision as an argument to confirm the mythologeme of the violation of Eastern Slavic peoples’ “old-age ties” by foreign rule and to explain the historical justice of reuniting the Ukrainian lands.

The Soviet authorities carried out a large-scale ritualization of the myth in 1949, celebrating the 10th anniversary of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification.” Stalinist leadership set the new date of “reunification” on November 1, 1939, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR had adopted the “Law on the inclusion of Western Ukraine into the USSR with its union with the Ukrainian SSR”. The invented anniversary celebration aimed to unite Ukrainian society around the idea of communism, to demonstrate the economic, political, and cultural achievements of the post-war development of Soviet Ukraine, and to illustrate support for the Soviet government in those annexed regions where the anti-Soviet national movement was active. That is why the main official anniversary celebrations were held in three cities at once – Kyiv, Lviv, and Uzhhorod. These celebrations included military parades, demonstrations by thousands of workers, monument layings, and memorial plaque unveilings. The celebration became not just a massive ritual but also a mobilization resource for increasing the collectivization’s pace, intensifying mass-political work, and implanting the Soviet cultural models in annexed territories. Furthermore, like most mass holidays of this period, the anniversary became a ritual of thanks to Stalin (Yekelchyk, 2014, p. 45).

Analyzing the official narratives during the celebration allows us to assert another renewal of the reunification myth. Firstly, in the conditions of continued struggle against the Ukrainian national movement and new ideological campaigns against the intellectuals, the internal enemy’s activity was represented as the primary cause of the separation of Ukrainian lands. “Bourgeois nationalists” were portrayed as betrayers to the Ukrainian people who “conspired with the imperialists and helped them turn the Western Ukrainian, Transcarpathian, and Bukovyna lands into colonies of capitalist states” (Khrushchov, 1950, p. 54). Secondly, the myth was supplemented with narratives about the “great victory” in World War II and post-war reconstruction successes. The Ukrainian historical Soviet discourse quickly reacted to changes in the official interpretation of reunification. The new narrative by Serhii Belousov considered the formation of Soviet Ukraine and the “reunification” of Ukrainian lands as a continuous process resulting from “the implementation of a wise Leninist-Stalinist national policy.” The final stage of this process was the fight against the “German-fascist invaders.” Therefore, the author defined the victory in the “Great Patriotic War” as a decisive factor in the Ukrainian lands’ unity. Finally, the narrative demonstrated the post-war five-year plan’s achievements in Ukraine, creating the illusion of a new “golden era” during which “the reunited people of Soviet Ukraine together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union would be coming to complete victory of communism” (Bielousov, 1951, p. 164).

Creating a new Ukrainian Soviet mythology was finalized by a grandiose celebration timed with the 300th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty in 1654. It was named the “300th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia”, and its preparation began in 1952. Although Stalin died in March 1953, the anniversary was held under the Stalin model of remembrance. “The last Stalinist festival,” as Yekelchyk named it (Yekelchyk, 2004, p. 154), was supposed to crystallize the master myth of the “unity between two fraternal peoples” in

the mass consciousness. The main official narrative was “Theses on the 300th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia (1654 – 1954), “representing the new Soviet scheme of Ukrainian history. It was based on previous myths, condensing them into a single archemyth that approved the Ukrainian national history’s dependence on Russian history. The myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” already emphasized the significant geopolitical meaning of Ukrainian lands’ reunification, namely Soviet Ukraine’s transformation into one of the largest states in Europe (Tezy, 1954, p. 3). Despite preserving the Stalinist model of Ukrainian national memory, the updated grand narrative did not emphasize Stalin’s role in reunification. Even before the official beginning of de-Stalinization, new historical works about “reunification” did not mention Stalin’s name.

The Conclusion. The myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” was the Soviet political myth that occupied a central place in the official version of the annexed Ukrainian territories’ historical past. Its archetypal basis was the idea of uniting Ukrainian lands into a single state, which was a component of the Ukrainian national idea and one of the Ukrainian national movement’s primary goals. However, the Soviet mythmakers manipulated it to create narratives that would transfer meanings to the community corresponding to Stalinist ideology. They interpreted the annexation of new territories as a restoration of historical justice, emphasized the decisive role of the Bolshevik Party and its leader in the Ukrainian lands’ reunification, designated the help of the Russian people as a critical factor in achieving this goal, and instilled a belief that Ukrainians were unable to create a state and unify without a union with Russia.

The construction of a new myth underwent several stages, during which the myth changed its functional purpose. Initially, there was a liberation myth, which had a legitimization function and aimed to justify the annexation of Western Ukraine, Northern Bukovyna, and Southern Bessarabia in 1939 – 1940. It created the image of a primordial external enemy from whom the Soviet troops had to protect the “fraternal” oppressed population. During the Soviet-German war, the liberation myth was transformed into the reunification myth used during the incorporation of Transcarpathian Ukraine. Furthermore, it played an identification role, forming the alternative Soviet version of Ukrainian history as opposed to the concept of a “united and independent Ukraine.” The myth was a tool of ideological struggle against the Ukrainian anti-Soviet liberation movement and the Uniate Church, establishing them as internal enemies in Ukraine. The myth had a mobilizing function during its ritualization in 1949, after which it finally entered the Soviet mythological system.

The constructed myth was interlaced with other Soviet master myths, namely the foundation myth, the myth of the “reunification of Ukraine with Russia,” the myth of the “Great Patriotic War,” and the myth of the building of communism. It allowed the myth of the “Ukrainian people’s reunification” to entrench itself in the Ukrainians’ public consciousness for a long time. The prospect of further research is a comparative analysis of Soviet mythmaking in the annexed Ukrainian territories as a component of Stalin’s memory politics.

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**PREREQUISITES AND FEATURES OF THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT
IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC COUNTRIES:
POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL ASPEKT (1990 – 2004)**

Abstract. The purpose of the research is to study the process of power change as a result of parliamentary and presidential elections in Ukraine and the Baltic countries under the influence of the consequences of unpopular reforms in the social and economic sphere during the first decade of their independence. The research methodology is in the use of various tools to achieve the goal. It includes: historical and comparative comparison of election results in the studied countries to determine their political features in the transition period; dynamics, with the help of which the quantitative and

qualitative political changes in these countries during the first decade of independence were considered; synchronous, which was used to analyze the results of elections in the studied countries in parallel, in the same period; political analysis, which contributed to a clear understanding of the party architecture in the parliaments and the peculiarities of the formation of the executive power in the specified countries. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in the scientific discourse, the results of the elections in Ukraine and the Baltic states in the first decade of independence are determined through the prism of support for right and center-right, as well as left and center-left parties after they carried out reforms in transit conditions. **The Conclusions.** In the study, it was determined that in the Ukrainian political model, according to which the president had the key right to form the government, politicians of the left segment, criticizing the actions of the head of state, in the conditions of transition from a planned to a market economy, received the majority of mandates, both according to the majority component, and later according to the lists of political parties. In Latvia and Estonia, electoral sympathies were the opposite of Ukrainian, because in these countries the voters were inclined to support right-wing and center-right politicians who, under parliamentary forms of government, formed governments that carried out more effectively the transition of their countries to the market. The Lithuanian experience of the change of power in the 1990s is special, because in each subsequent election the opposition won, which was more reminiscent of a kind of “electoral pendulum”.

Key words: center-left, center-right, party, elections, transit, president.

ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ТА ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЗМІНЮВАНОСТІ ВЛАДИ В УКРАЇНІ І КРАЇНАХ БАЛТІЇ: ПОЛІТИКО-ІСТОРИЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ (1990 – 2004)

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження процесу змінюваності влади в результаті парламентських та президентських виборів в Україні і країнах Балтії під впливом наслідків від непопулярних реформ у соціально-економічній сфері протягом десятиліття їх незалежності. **Методологія** дослідження полягає у використанні різного інструментарію для досягнення мети. До нього відноситься: історико-компаративне зіставлення результатів виборів у досліджуваних країнах для визначення їх політичних особливостей в перехідний період; динаміки, за допомогою якого було розглянуто кількісні та якісні політичні зміни у цих країнах протягом першого десятиліття незалежності; синхронний, який використовувався для аналізу результатів виборів у досліджуваних країнах паралельно, в один й той самий період; політологічного аналізу, який сприяв чіткому розумінню партійної архітектури у парламентах і особливостей формування виконавчої влади у зазначених країнах. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в науковому дискурсі визначено результати виборів в Україні і країнах Балтії у перше десятиліття незалежності через призму підтримки правих і правоцентристських, а також лівих і лівоцентристських партій після проведення ними реформ в умовах транзиту. **Висновки.** У дослідженні визначено, що в українській політичній моделі, згідно якої президент мав ключове право на формування уряду, політики лівого сегменту, критикуючи дії глави держави в умовах переходу від планової до ринкової економіки, отримували більшість мандатів, як за мажоритарною складовою, а згодом і за списками політичних партій. У Латвії та Естонії, електоральні симпатії були протилежними українським, адже у цих країнах виборці схилилися до підтримки саме правих і правоцентристських політиків, котрі в умовах парламентських форм правління формували уряди, які здійснювали більш ефективно перехід своїх країн до ринку. Литовський досвід змінюваності влади у 1990-х роках є особливим, адже на кожних наступних виборах перемога дісталася опозиції, що більше нагадувало своєрідний “електоральний маятник”.

Ключові слова: лівоцентристи, правоцентристи, партія, вибори, транзит, президент.

The Problem Statement. The events of August 1991 in Moscow contributed to the declaration of independence by the parliaments of Ukraine and the Baltic states. This process took place thanks to the active activity of political power of the right spectrum in the parliaments of the studied republics. Since the representatives of this national-democratic direction in Ukraine and the Baltic countries received their mandates as deputies as a result of the March elections of 1990, they now have the opportunity to become active participants

in political life already at the institutional level. It was thanks to their active activities that Ukraine and the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) declared their independence, which was recognized at the international level in 1991. Since it was the political power of the right spectrum that ruled the state-building processes, then, having received the levers of power, they tried to implement a course to build a democratic and the rule of law and market economy. However, the lack of experience and difficult conditions for the transition from the plan to the market were evident. Therefore, as a result of such management activities, the countries received a certain economic “shock” (especially in the form of high inflation), later the elite itself felt it in the electoral plane, in particular during the next parliamentary elections. Accordingly, the electorate associated failures in the economy with the activities of right-wing politicians in power, who could not cope with the situation in the first period of independence, as a result of which their country experienced a significant crisis. This contributed to the fact that the political emphasis in some countries shifted to the left opposition, which in the crisis criticized the unpopular and risky decisions and actions of the governments, which were formed by the politicians of the right spectrum.

Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The socio-political process in the conditions of the formation of independent Ukraine in the first post-Soviet period became the object of research attention of Professor O. Boyko (Boyko, 2021). Historian V. Holovko (Holovko, 2016). Scientist R. Ofitsynskyi (Ofitsynskyi, 2006) carried out a thorough scientific study of the state-building process in Ukraine based on the materials of Western periodicals. The Lithuanian period of state formation in the first decade of restored independence was reflected in the scientific work of Lithuanian professors M. Tamoshaitys, A. Bumblauskas, A. Eidintas, and A. Kulakauskas (Istoriia, 2018). Latvian historians D. Bleyere, I. Batulis, A. Zunda, A. Stranga, and I. Feldmanis were engaged in researching the problems of restoration and formation of the Republic of Latvia in the latest period of history (Istoriia, 2005). Estonian state formation in a wide range of regulatory and legal frameworks, both domestic and foreign, was reflected in the activities of T. Karyakhyarm and A. Adamson (Karyakhyarm & Adamson, 2008).

The purpose of the research is to study the process of power change as a result of parliamentary and presidential elections in Ukraine and the Baltic countries under the influence of the consequences of unpopular reforms in the social and economic sphere during the first decade of their independence.

The Result of the Research. In the political and legal dimension, Ukraine in the 1990’s represented a post-Soviet republic of a mixed type (presidential-parliamentary variety). In Ukraine, there is a president elected by the people for a term of 5 years and a parliament (the Supreme Council of Ukraine) for a term of 4 years (Konstytutsiia, 1996). The constitutional composition of the legislative body is 450 people’s deputies. The government is formed by the President based on the submission of ministerial candidates by the Prime Minister. The latter is also approved by the President with the consent of the Parliament.

The weakening of the center in Moscow, in connection with the failed coup attempt in August 1991, contributed to the fact that the Verkhovna Rada, with the active activity of national-democratic power in the parliament, as well as the support of Speaker L. Kravchuk, on August 24, 1991, adopted the Act declaration of independence of Ukraine. During the national referendum on December 1, 1991, 90.32% of Ukrainians supported the Declaration of Independence Act (Visnyk, 2012) and it was from this time that Ukraine began to be recognized by other countries of the world. Also on the same day, 61.59% of voters supported the acting Speaker of the Parliament L. Kravchuk as the first President of Ukraine (Visnyk, 2012).

Having acquired the main attributes of the state, Ukraine did not embark on rapid and radical reforms in the social and economic sphere (the so-called “shock therapy”). The authorities of that time could not dare to further disturb the already impoverished people. According to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, inflation (as of 1993) reached a record value in domestic practice – 10,256% (Indeksy, 2019). The country was in a deep crisis, from which it was necessary to get out as soon as possible.

During the first three years of independence, the domestic political community also failed to form a new Constitution, which would contain the foundations of the state system, the main rights and duties of all participants in public life, as well as establish and regulate the activities of the main institutions of power. The voter in the uncertain “rules of the game” did not have a clear understanding of who is responsible for such a crisis state of affairs (the parliament or the president). The Verkhovna Rada, elected in March 1990, with a communist majority, blamed President L. Kravchuk for such a crisis, and he, in turn, blamed the parliament (Ukraina, 2007, p. 951). All this contributed to mistrust not only of the state-makers, especially the representatives of the right-wing political camp, who stood near the origins of independence, but also of the authorities in general. Under such circumstances, in 1994, the parliament and the president were forced to hold early parliamentary and presidential elections.

In 1994, during the first parliamentary elections during the years of Ukraine’s independence, people’s deputies were elected under the majoritarian electoral system. Out of 450 seats in the parliament, only 338 were filled, and later by-elections were held in other single-mandate constituencies (Visnyk, 2012). Representatives of left (in particular, communist) political views won the largest number of representative mandates in the parliament (85, and later another 5 mandates). There was also significant support from the center-left parties: the Peasants’ Party of Ukraine (19 seats), the Socialist Party of Ukraine (14 seats), the Labor Party (5 seats), and the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (2 seats). Right-wing parties received: People’s Movement of Ukraine – 20 seats, Ukrainian Republican Party – 9 seats, Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists – 5 seats, Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party – 2 seats (Visnyk, 2012). Proportionally, the leftists and center-leftists had 41%, and the rightists and right-centers had 12% (See Chart 1).

In connection with the active state-building activities of the right-wing and center-right power, which were in the minority in the parliament, as well as due to failures in the implementation of economic and social policy, they, together with the current President L. Kravchuk, took upon themselves all the electoral negativity (despite the fact that the inflation rate decreased significantly, but it was still high in 1994 – 401% (Indexy, 1994)).

President L. Kravchuk lost the 1994 elections to the former Prime Minister of Ukraine L. Kuchma, receiving support in the second round of 52.14% of the vote (Visnyk, 2012). However, the responsibility for failures in reforming the economy now rests on the shoulders of President L. Kuchma and the government formed by him (especially in the conditions of the 1995-1996 annual Constitutional Treaty agreed between the president and the parliament).

On June 28, 1996, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Constitution. Under this form of government (presidential-parliamentary), the architecture of factions of political parties in the parliament does not play a key role in the formation and functioning of the executive power in Ukraine. According to this model, the Parliament must give its consent to the appointment of the Prime Minister by a majority of votes. At the same time, the President can independently dismiss the Prime Minister, who, together with the government, is responsible to the Head of State (Konstytutsiia, 1996). That is, under such a political

system, the victory of left-wing parties in parliament does not mean the formation of a correspondingly left-wing government (the same applies to right-wing parties).

The first regular parliamentary elections in Ukraine in 1998 were held under a new, mixed (majoritarian-proportional) system. The largest number of seats in the Verkhovna Rada of the third convocation of the parliament are again won by the left: the Communist Party of Ukraine (123 seats), the united block of the Socialist Party of Ukraine with the Peasant Party of Ukraine (34 seats), the Progressive Socialist Party (16 seats) and the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united) (17 mandates). The right-wing People’s Movement of Ukraine party receives only 46 mandates (Visnyk, 2012) (See Chart 1). Despite this, in the conditions of a mixed form of government, the current Prime Minister V. Pustovoitenko remains in his position, because he was appointed by President L. Kuchma. The latter, after the end of the five-year term in 1999, will be re-elected as the President of Ukraine for 5 years.

The next parliamentary elections in Ukraine in 2002 were also held under the majority-proportional (mixed) system. Although these elections removed the Communist Party of Ukraine from first place, which this time received half as many mandates as in the 1998 elections (65 instead of 123), nevertheless, the left and center-left parties together received the majority of votes in the parliament. In particular, left-wing parties won seats in the parliament: the Socialist Party of Ukraine – 22, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (United) – 27. Of the right-wing parties, the center-right Viktor Yushchenko Bloc “Our Ukraine” received the most votes (112 seats) in these elections (Visnyk, 2012) (See Chart 1).

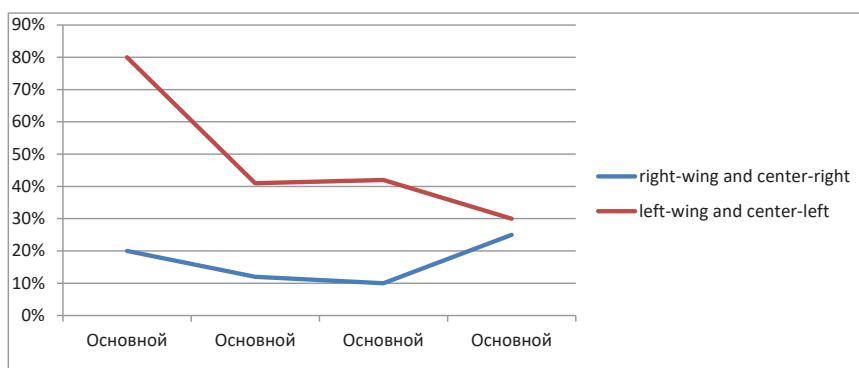


Chart 1. Election results of right-wing and center-right parties, as well as left-wing and center-left parties in Ukraine (1990 – 2006)

So, the Ukrainian practice of forming parliamentary architecture in the 1990s depended on many factors: political and legal foundations, in particular, the constitutional features of the form of state government, the electoral system, institutional (president, parliament, government) and political responsibility for the state of affairs in the country. However, if right-wing politicians were able to achieve the emergence of an independent state of Ukraine even during the existence of the USSR, they did not have the opportunity to restructure the economy and resolve crises, because they never constituted a majority in the parliament or in the government. The electorate, during the parliamentary elections of the first decade of independence, increasingly supported the left power, which they associated as socially oriented and “not involved” in the crisis phenomena in the Ukrainian economy of the

transition period. The main responsibility for such a crisis situation in the economy should have been borne more by the President, who forms the government, than by the Parliament. Upon coming to power, President L. Kuchma received the necessary powers to resolve the crisis situation, and along with them, greater responsibility.

According to the Constitution adopted on October 25, 1992, Lithuania is a presidential-parliamentary republic. The Parliament of Lithuania is the Seimas, which consists of 141 deputies who are elected by citizens for four years (Konstytutsiia, 1992). The Prime Minister, with the support of the Seimas, is appointed and dismissed by the President. The government is formed by the Prime Minister and approved by the President. That is, the Lithuanian and Ukrainian versions of the form of state government of that period were very similar.

As a result of the first free elections, in the last Lithuanian parliament during the Soviet era (1990), representatives of the right-wing state-restoring party Sajūdis won a convincing victory, receiving 96 out of 133 mandates (Istoriia, 2018, p. 370) and forming their government. V. Landsbergis, one of the leaders and activists of this party, becomes the speaker of the parliament. During the first meeting (March 11, 1990), the speaker raised questions about the restoration of the statehood of the Republic of Lithuania and received the absolute support of the deputies (124 out of 133 votes) (Istoriia, 2018, p. 370).

The main opponents of Sajūdis were the left – the Communist Party of Lithuania (independent) (later to be called the Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania – DPPL) led by its leader A. Brazauskas. The party will get the second result with the number of 46 mandates (17 of which will later be supporters of Sajūdis) (See Chart 2). Later, by the surname of these two leaders-competitors of polar ideologies, their supporters will be called among the people, who will be divided into the so-called “Brazauskas” and “Landsbergists” (Istoriia, 2018, p. 380).

As a result of the victory in the elections, the representatives of Sajūdis, led by its speaker in the parliament V. Landsbergis, began to actively introduce new laws, resolutions, acts that should contribute to the transition of the country to the conditions of a market economy, democracy, rule of law, etc. These reforms later lead to the so-called of “shock therapy”, because under the new government, the Soviet-communist system that had existed for fifty years was radically changed and a new (civilized, democratic) one was created. The introduction of radical methods that led to a certain “shock” in the economy (inflation was a record at that time was 382% (Indeks, 1992), which had corresponding negative consequences in the social sphere, and therefore in the electoral mood. Therefore, during the parliamentary In the 1992 elections, Sajūdis significantly lost his support and gave way to the so-called “sovereign communists” and their new party, the Democratic Party of Labor of Lithuania (DPPL) led by the leader A. Brazauskas. The latter won almost 44% in this election race voter support (73 seats out of 141 seats in parliament) (Rinkimų, 1992), which allows them to form a government on their own. Sajūdis, in a bloc with other right-wing parties, receives only 21% during these elections, which entitles them to only 30 seats in the Sejm In general, according to the results of these elections, the left and center-left parties gained more than 50% of support, while the right-wing and center-right parties received 41% (see Chart 2).

It was due to the implementation of unpopular steps to reform the country, only in the first two years of restored independence, that the number of representatives of the right-wing Sajūdis decreased in the next convocation of the parliament (compared to the previous one) from 91 deputies to 30, and the left-wing Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania (former sovereign communists) increased by this time its corps from 29 to 73 mandates. In this regard, Lithuanian historians note: “... a large part of the Lithuanian population for the failures... blamed the then

head of the Supreme Council of Lithuania V. Landsbergis, although the difficulties were simply a consequence of the destruction of the old economy” (Istoriia, 2018, p. 383).

It would be appropriate to note that against the background of voters’ loss of trust in the right-wing power, the first presidential elections took place in 1993, during which the leader of the ruling Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania A. Brazauskas won a convincing victory in the first round (60%) (The Elections, 1993). In the period from 1993 to 1996, the left-centers, led by their leader, President A. Brazauskas, have all the power in Lithuania (both in the parliament and in the government, as well as their president).

Inability to cope with the situation in the economy during the crisis (inflation in 1996 was 23% (Riven, 1996), the center-left government, with all its fullness, loses its positions due to the defeat in the parliamentary elections of 1996. Accordingly, former members of the center-right movement Sąjūdis from V. Landsbergis, under the new name “Union of the Fatherland – Lithuanian Conservatives”, wins the parliament with an indicator of 29.8% (getting 70 out of 141 mandates) (Rinkimų, 1996). The center-left Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania wins only 12 out of 141 seats in the Seimas. In general, the right-wing and center-right parties gained 47% of support in the elections, and the left-wing and center-left – 21% (See Chart 2). The government is formed by the “Union of the Fatherland – Lithuanian Conservatives” in a coalition with the right-wing “Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party” (86 out of 141 seats in the parliament).

During the presidential race (second round on January 5, 1998), A. Brazauskas was replaced by an independent candidate – V. Adamkus, defeating his competitor A. Paulauskas with 49.96% (2-ojo rinkimų, 1998). In 2002, the main opponent of V. Adamkus, R. Paksas, became the President, who received 54.71% of the votes (Results, 2002). As a result of early elections in 2004 (after the impeachment of R. Paskas), V. Adamkus, who won the most votes (51.89%) returned to the post of President of Lithuania (Elections, 2004).

In 2000, the left-centers, led by former president A. Brazauskas, created an inter-party coalition called the “Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas” and received 31% of the vote and occupied the most seats in the parliament among other parties (51 mandates) (Voting, 2000). By uniting with other factions of the left and center-left direction, they form a coalition government. In total, all the left and center-left parties in the parliament win 52% of the seats, while the right-wing and center-right parties only get 21%. (See Chart 2).

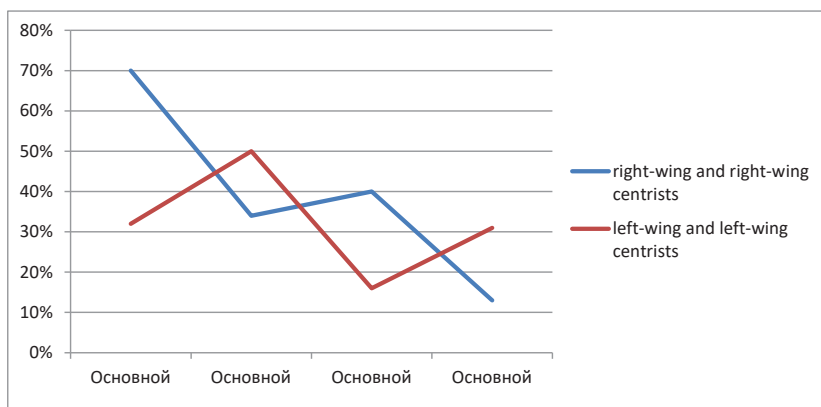


Chart 2. The results of elections and the rule of right-wing and right-wing centrists, as well as left-wing and left-wing centrists in Lithuania (1990 – 2004)

Thus, during this period the political situation in Lithuania was characterized by the polarity of sympathies on the part of the electorate at each subsequent election in connection with the current government's implementation of necessary, but unpopular reforms in transit conditions.

Considering the experience of the Latvian government architecture, it is worth noting that in this country, at the legislative level, a proportional electoral system was introduced with a 4% passing barrier in the period from 1992 to 1995 and a 5% barrier from 1995 to now (Istoriia, 2005, p. 420). To form a government, party factions need to form a coalition with other political power in order to have the majority of votes in the parliament. The Parliament of Latvia is the Sejm, which consists of 100 deputies and has terms of four years each (Constitution, 1993). That is, according to the Constitution adopted on July 6, 1993, Latvia can be characterized as a parliamentary republic.

H. Ulmanis was elected the first President of Latvia in 1993 (1993 presidential). He was in this position for two terms, until 1999. In the same year, the Parliament of Latvia elected V. Vike-Freiberg as the new President, who also held this position for two terms (until 2007) (1993 presidential).

At the first elections to the Diet during the period of restored independence in 1993, only 8 out of 23 parties passed the 4% barrier (Istoriia, 2005, p. 420); in 1995, the barrier, which had already been changed to 5%, was overcome – 9 out of 19 parties; in 1998, 6 out of 21 parties entered the parliament; 2002 – 6 out of 20 (Istoriia, 2005, p. 422).

Since the greatest progress in state reconstruction processes was made at the end of the 80's – beginning 90's of the 20th century. Carried out by the center-right People's Front of Latvia (NFL), then, having achieved its main goal (restoring the country's independence), it gave impetus to the development of a multi-party system (Istoriia, 2005, p. 428).

During the first free parliamentary elections in 1990, the center-right People's Front of Latvia won 68% of the seats in parliament, while its main left-wing rival, the Communist Party of Latvia, won 21% (Nohlen & Stöver, 2010). As noted by Latvian historians, later part of the People's Front turned into a political party, which in the 1993 parliamentary elections was renamed the Christian People's Party, as well as the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia (RNNL), which received significant support in the elections to the Fifth Seimas. of the total number, these parties received more than 20% of the votes in the parliament during the 1993 elections (Parliamentary Chamber, 1993). However, the victory was for the Latvian Way party. It was the center-right Latvian Way party that was one of the most popular political power in Latvia in the 1990s, which was directly related to the formation of the executive power and its leaders headed governments (1993 – 1994; 1994 – 1995; 1998 – 1999; 2000 – 2002). Yes, this party as a result of the elections to the Fifth Seimas in 1993, it received 32.4% of voters' support; before the Sixth Seimas in 1995 – 14.7%; before the 1998 Seimas – 18.1%, and before the Eighth Seimas in 2002, this party did not pass at all, receiving 4.9% of voter support (Latvian). As we can see, the drop in the rating of the most influential center-right party in Latvia in the mid-1990s was significant (from 32.4% in 1993 to 4.8% in 2002) (see Chart 3).

The drop in the ratings of right-wing and center-right power in the first decade of independence can be explained by unpopular, but quite necessary for the country's life, steps in the transition to democracy, a market economy, a new system of taxation, privatization, etc. As a result of the first period of reforms, inflation in Latvia was: 272% in 1991, 1051% in 1992, 209% in 1993, and 119% in 1994. (Istoriia, 2005, p. 452). That is, the government was able to carry out the necessary reforms relatively quickly, in particular – to put the country on the

market rails and in the 1993 election year to “pay off” the galloping inflation to a level lower than the 1991 rate. However, the unsolved nature of a number of socio-economic problems in the 1990s by Latvia’s ruling elite led to alternative ideas for resolving the existing crises, and accordingly to the emergence of political power that defended them, being in the opposition.

So, during this period, populist politicians appeared in whom the people saw a kind of “saviors”. The most significant political power of the populist direction were the People’s Movement for Latvia and the Latvian Unity Party. Having received the support of the electorate in the elections, these political power could not fulfill their promises regarding the successful solution of urgent problems in the economic and other spheres, and therefore were forced to leave the parliamentary level (Istoriia, 2005, p. 428).

A separate group in the Latvian party-political spectrum consisted of left-centers, in particular, social democrats, who advocated the creation of institutions that should regulate the market, and also insisted on preventing the privatization of large state-owned enterprises and demanded the introduction of a progressive tax rate. The parties of this direction, which in 1995 overcame the 5% barrier to the parliament, were as follows: Socialist Party of Latvia (5.6%), Party of People’s Consent (5.6%). In the following elections in 1998, such parties were: Party of People’s Accord (14.2%), Latvian Social Democratic Labor Party (12.9%) (Mednis, 2007). In 2002, the pro-Russian alliance of the Party of People’s Accord and the Socialist Party, which after the merger began to be called “For Human Rights”, won 19% of the seats (see Chart 3). Among the parties of the left direction, the most pro-Moscow was the Socialist Party of Latvia, led by the leader of the former communists A. Rubiks, which insisted on strengthening ties with the Russian Federation and the CIS and against the course towards NATO and the EU, as well as solving the problem of non-citizens of this country (Istoriia, 2005, p. 429).

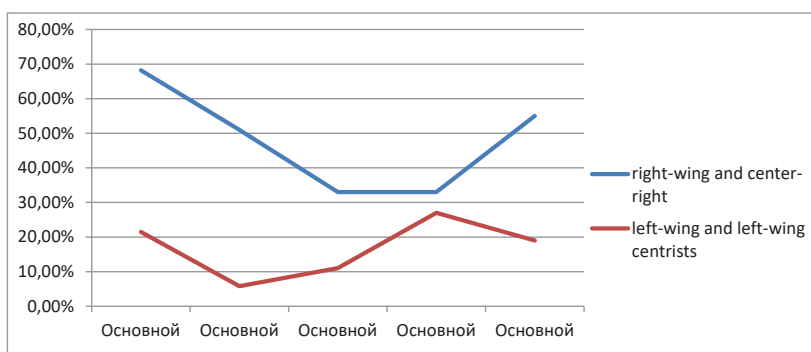


Chart 3. The results of the elections and the rule of the right and center-right parties, as well as the left and center-left parties in Latvia (1990 – 2006)

Thus, the center-right parties that carried out the state-building process in Latvia in the 1990s, although they gradually lost their popularity among voters due to unpopular reforms (in the form of “shock therapy”), they were still in power and moved the country towards the market and democracy. The center-left (in particular, pro-Russian) power of Latvia actively acted in the electoral field, mostly with populist slogans, and gradually gained support for their course among voters dissatisfied with the government’s policies.

According to the Constitution adopted on June 28, 1992, the Estonian model is a parliamentary republic. The president is elected by members of the parliament (Riigikogu),

whose term of office is four years. The constitutional composition of the parliament is 101 deputies. The prime minister is appointed by the president with the support of the parliament, and ministers are appointed by the head of the government. The president is elected by the parliament (Konstytutsiia, 2015).

During the elections to the last Soviet parliament in 1990, the right-wing People's Front won the most votes (40.95%), while the left-wing Communist Party of Estonia – Free Estonia won 25.71% of voter support (Nohlen & Stöver, 2010, p. 574) (See Chart 4).

As a result of the first parliamentary elections under the restored independence of Estonia in 1992, the right-wing party “Motherland” won the majority of votes (22%, which is 29 seats) (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1992) and in a coalition with the Estonian National Independence Party, which allowed them to form a government led by M. Laar. In general, the right and center-right received 44% during the 1992 elections, while the center-left party “Moderates” received only 12% (see Chart 4). The implementation of reforms by the center-right coalition together with its government in the direction of privatization, democratization, liberalization, etc., had certain “side effects” in the socio-economic sphere, which were reflected in the rating of these political power.

In the same year, presidential elections were held in the Estonian Parliament, in which the right-wing activist L. Meri, who held this position twice (until 2001), won. In 1992, he received 26.1% of the vote (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1992), and in 1996 – 52% (Vybory Prezidenta Respubliki, 1996). Despite the fact that the situation in the economy is gradually improving (in particular, if the inflation in 1994 was 47.7%, then in 1995 it was 29% (Infiatsiia, 1995), the voter of the troubles in the economy relied on the current government, not on the positive process in transit conditions.

In the parliamentary elections of 1995, the current government was defeated, and the Coalition Party won with 32.2% of the votes and received 41 out of 101 seats in the parliament (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1995). Having united with the third-ranked Center Party of Estonia (14.2%, which is 16 seats) (See Chart 4), they form a government led by T. Vähi. In six months, the ruling party replaces its coalition ally with the second-ranked faction of the Reform Party of Estonia and keeps the current prime minister in office. The consumer price index (inflation) begins to improve significantly (if it was 29% in 1995, it significantly decreased to 3.1% by 1999 (Inflation, 1999)).

Already in the next parliamentary elections in 1999, the former coalition ally, the Center Party of Estonia, won the most votes with 23.4% (28 seats in the parliament) (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1999), but it failed to find coalition allies to form a government. The government is formed by the right-wing party “Isamaaliit” (16.1% – 18 seats), the Reform Party of Estonia (15.9% – 18 seats) and the Moderate People's Party (15.2% – 17 seats), led by the former prime minister by Minister M. Laar (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1999).

President L. Meri was replaced by A. Ruytel in the 2001 elections, receiving 186 votes of parliament members in the second round on September 21 (Vybory Prezidenta Respubliki, 2001).

In 2003, during the parliamentary elections, the Center Party of Estonia received the majority of votes for the second time in a row (25.4% – 28 seats), but it again remained outside the coalition for the formation of the government. The government is once again formed by the parties that took the second, third and fourth places. These are the right-wing party Res Publica, which received 24.6% of the vote (28 seats), the Reform Party of Estonia 17.7% (19 seats) and the Estonian People's Union – 13% (13 seats) (Vybory v Riigikogu, 2003). (See Chart 4), which united in a parliamentary coalition and formed a government headed by Y. Parts.

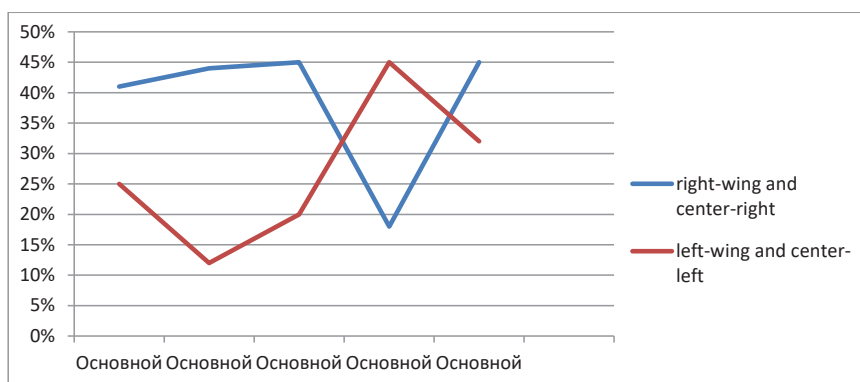


Chart 4. Election results and governance of right-wing and center-right parties, as well as left-wing and center-left parties in Estonia (1990 – 2007)

Thus, in contrast to their Baltic counterparts, the people of Estonia were the most consistent in supporting their center-right politicians, because everyone was convinced of the creation and implementation of unpopular but much-needed reforms for the country. Despite the fact that as a result of the results of the 1999 elections, although the right-wing power did not receive the first place according to the proportional component, they were able to form their coalition with the centrists and, accordingly, a united government.

The Conclusions. Thus, the representatives of the right-wing political power, who proclaimed the restoration of the independence of their states (Ukraine and the Baltic states) in the first years of their power, gradually lost the trust of voters due to the implementation of necessary, but unpopular reforms. Such changes inevitably caused crises in the economy, social sphere, etc., which were natural in nature during the transition from the planned system to the market system, from autocracy to democracy.

Ukrainian historical practice shows that in the first decade of independence, the left and center-left parties held the majority of parliamentary seats. However, taking into account the peculiarities of the presidential-parliamentary form of government in Ukraine, the parliamentary political architecture did not have a decisive influence on the implementation of certain reforms, because the government was pro-presidential. Accordingly, it allowed the parliamentary majority to constantly criticize the president and his government for reforming the economy and, thanks to this, to find constant support from the impoverished electorate in the next elections. Support for the right-wing and center-right parties was less and less during the first decade of independence, because the voter was more in need of solving socio-economic problems than cultural-national ones, and also linked state-building processes with existing crises.

Although the Lithuanian model of government is similar to the Ukrainian one, the president, when forming the government, is more dependent on the coalition of deputy factions in the parliament. The transition to rapid reform of the economy in the form of “shock therapy” had electoral consequences for right-wing politicians during the 1992 elections, but the state-building potential of the left-wing winners had a positive effect on the economy. Having received the trust of the voters (in 1992 in the parliament and in 1993 in the president), they squandered it, which was reflected in the victory of the right in 1996. However, in 2000, the center-left again won the majority in the parliament. That is, such an “electoral pendulum” in terms of political sympathies is characteristic of Lithuania in this

period, which is connected with the polarity of ideas and ways of solving socio-economic problems in the conditions of the transition period.

For the Latvian and Estonian model of the parliamentary republic, in terms of the formation of the executive power, the coalition of deputy factions in the parliament is important. Both in Estonia and Latvia, during the first decade of restored independence, the majority of votes in the parliaments were won by right-wing and right-wing centrists (who left the People's Fronts), who joined a coalition with the centrists and formed governments and elected the president. It was the politicians of this spectrum, even despite the crisis phenomena in the socio-economic sphere in the conditions of the transition to the market, who were able to retain the support of voters and form and exercise power in the first decade of restored independence.

In general, both the Ukrainian and the Baltic practices of the party architecture of the parliament give reasons to believe that voters, already after the exit of the countries from “shock therapy” in the mid-90’s of the 20th century, increasingly began to prefer the parties of the center. Despite this, in contrast to the Ukrainian version, in the parliamentary coalitions of the Baltic countries (especially in Latvia and Estonia), left-centers and right-centers could already coexist together, because each had a common goal – the development of a sovereign, democratic and legal European state with a market economy.

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THE STATE SYSTEM FORMATION HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE MONUMENTS PROTECTION IN UKRAINE

Abstract. *The Purpose* of the research is to analyze the state system formation historiography of the cultural heritage monuments protection in Ukraine. **The Scientific Novelty.** The specifics of the Ukrainian cultural heritage monuments protection was discussed and analysed in the research. An overview of the monument protection legislation and principles of public administration has been provided. The national specifics of identification, research, registration, protection, preservation and use of cultural heritage monuments in Ukraine have been highlighted. **The research methodology** is based on a system of theoretical principles (systematicity, historicism, objectivity, etc.), logical techniques (analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, analogy, hypothesis, etc.) and specific research tools that made it possible to highlight the specifics in the field of cultural heritage protection in Ukraine. **The Conclusion.** Nowadays, there is a fairly effective mechanism for the cultural heritage preservation in the world. An important role, of course, belongs to international monument protection organizations, but the main work on the monuments protection belongs to the national bodies for the cultural heritage protection of specific states, as we can see from the example of Ukraine.

Due to the study of recent publications, it became clear that the Ukrainian legislation formation issues in the field of the cultural heritage protection (the presence of a significant number of legislative acts) and the promotion of international organizations (international law implementation) only partially demonstrate the specifics of the monument protection and regulation implementation in the field of cultural heritage protection. Comprehensive researches of the forms and methods of preserving cultural heritage, the mechanism of their practical implementation by the relevant state, scientific, and public institutions, and the issue of updating the content of property and financial relations regarding state support for the non-profit cultural sector required increased attention.

Despite the elaboration of the cultural heritage protection issues by domestic and foreign scholars in these areas, a set of actions for the cultural heritage monuments protection remains poorly researched. The analysis of current legislation and scientific works, their conclusions and results became the theoretical and methodological basis of the thesis and allowed to find out that in the context of the development of an independent Ukrainian state and the processes of national consciousness awakening and spiritual revival of the Ukrainian people, the attitude to cultural heritage is of particular importance. Nowadays, the development of the field of cultural heritage protection requires constant attention, stimulation and significant qualitative improvement.

Key words: cultural heritage protection, cultural heritage site, monument, state system of monument protection.

ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ СИСТЕМИ ОХОРОНИ ПAM'ЯТОК КУЛЬТУРНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ В УКРАЇНІ

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у здійсненні аналізу історіографії становлення державної системи охорони пам'яток культурної спадщини України. **Наукова новизна.** У статті розглядаються й аналізуються особливості охорони українських пам'яток культурної спадщини. Здійснено огляд пам'яткоохоронного законодавства і принципів державного управління. Виокремлено національні особливості виявлення, дослідження, обліку, охорони, збереження та використання пам'яток культурної спадщини в Україні. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на системі теоретичних принципів (системності, історизму, об'єктивності тощо), логічних прийомів (аналіз і синтез, індукція та дедукція, аналогія, гіпотеза тощо) та конкретних засобів дослідження, що дали змогу висвітлити особливості у сфері охорони культурної спадщини України.

Висновки та пропозиції автора. Сьогодні у світі відпрацьований досить дієвий механізм зі збереження культурної спадщини. Велика роль, безумовно, належить міжнародним пам'яткоохоронним організаціям, проте основна робота щодо охорони пам'яток належить все-таки національним органам охорони культурної спадщини конкретних держав, що ми бачимо на прикладі України.

Вивчення останніх публікацій показало, що питання становлення законодавства України у сфері охорони культурної спадщини (наявність значної кількості законодавчих актів) і популяризації діяльності міжнародних організацій (реалізація міжнародного права) лише частково демонструють особливості здійснення процесів охорони пам'яток та регулювання у сфері охорони культурної спадщини. Потребували посиленої уваги комплексні дослідження форм і методів збереження культурної спадщини, механізму їх практичної реалізації відповідними державними, науковими, громадськими інституціями, питання оновлення змісту майнових і фінансових відносин щодо державної підтримки неприбуткової сфери культурної галузі.

Незважаючи на розробленість проблематики з охорони культурної спадщини вітчизняними і зарубіжними науковцями у зазначених напрямках, малодослідженим залишається комплекс дій з охорони пам'яток культурної спадщини. Аналіз чинного законодавства і наукових праць, їх висновки й здобуті результати стали теоретико-методологічним підґрунтям нашої роботи, допомігши з'ясувати, що в умовах розбудови незалежної Української держави і пов'язаних із нею процесів пробудження національної самосвідомості та духовного відродження українського народу, ставлення до культурної спадщини набуває особливого значення. Проте попри численні напрацювання науковців питання механізмів охорони пам'яток культурної спадщини та регулювання пам'яткоохоронної справи залишаються недостатньо висвітленими.

На сьогодні розвиток сфери охорони культурної спадщини вимагає постійної уваги, стимулювання і значного якісного поліпшення.

Ключові слова: охорона культурної спадщини, об'єкт культурної спадщини, пам'ятка, державна система охорони пам'яток.

The Problem Statement and Analysis of Recent Research. Cultural heritage is our history, culture, memory, consciousness, identity, our past and future; it is our strategic resource and a matter of national security in terms of culture. Cultural heritage, by and large, does not belong to us. Our mission is to pass it from the hands of the previous generation to the hands of the next (future) generation.

The level of culture and consciousness, as well as the criteria of thinking of its citizens measure the attitude of each country to its cultural heritage. In developed countries, monuments are preserved in order to build a state, not destroyed to build new skyscrapers. After all, where there are cultural heritage monuments, historians, archaeologists, and monument conservationists, there is a smell of life.

The purpose of the research is to study the state system formation historiography of the cultural heritage monuments protection in Ukraine.

The Results of the Research. The study of the state system formation process of cultural heritage monuments protection in Ukraine began at the beginning of the 20th century. Its direct participants were the authors of the first publications, who analyzed the state and tasks of monument protection work, along with retrospective excursions, expressed opinions and suggestions for its development, and gave examples of the barbaric attitude to cultural heritage sites by various warring parties during the tragic years of the Civil War. In particular, it is necessary to point out the work, written by M. Bilyashivskiy “Our National Treasures” (1918), in which the author gave an overview of the national cultural heritage preservation in the Ukrainian state. It should be mentioned that there were F. Ernst’s publications “Artistic Treasures of Kyiv, Which Suffered in 1918” (1918) and “The Case of Protection of Art and Antiquities in Kyiv”, materials were in the “Notes of the Ukrainian Scientific Society for the Study and Protection of Antiquities and Art Monuments in Poltava Region” (1919), and M. Rudynskiy’s research on the cultural heritage of Poltava (Rudynskiy, 1919).

During the 1920s and early 1930s, numerous scientific articles, brochures, and collections were published that covered specific issues of the individual regional commissions activities for the protection of monuments, institutions of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and museum institutions in the study and preservation of archaeological, architectural, historical, and artistic monuments. It should be noted that the article by academician M. Hrushevsky “Preservation and Research of Household Material as a Responsible State Task” published in the journal “Ukraine” in 1925 (Hrushevskiy, 1925), and his preface to the collection “Kyiv and its Surroundings in History and Monuments” (1926) were vital among the materials of the generalizing and conceptual. They analyzed the main trends in the protection of Ukraine’s cultural heritage thoroughly, outlined a programme for a comprehensive and integrated approach to its development, which was to ensure “a continuous connection of the real historical process” and “testify to the cultural and historical unity of the Ukrainian land and its people eloquently”.

However, in fact, there were only fundamental researches specifically devoted to the state system formation of monument protection in Ukraine in the 1920s: the works, written by V. Dubrovskiy “Protection of Cultural Monuments in the Ukrainian SSR”, “Historical and Cultural Reserves and Monuments of Ukraine”, his analytical developments devoted to planning historical and archaeological research on the territory of Ukraine, considering the typology of material culture monuments and forms of their protection (Dubrovskiy, 1927).

The publications, written by O. Polkanov are noteworthy among the works of the period of the 20s, which covered the development of the cultural heritage monuments protection in the Crimea (Polkanov, 1925).

In the following decades, a fairly broad historiography of the cultural construction in Ukraine developed. However, most works considered only certain aspects of the cultural heritage protection, usually prioritizing the history of museum development. We should, first of all, note the collections of documents and materials published during the 60s and 80s of the last century among the general works on the history of cultural construction in Ukraine, which cover the development of monument protection (Plan-prospekt, 1992, pp. 6, 132–133).

Despite the fact that they do not cover the overall picture of this process fully and are mostly limited to illustrating only its individual aspects, they contain important factual material that is actively used by the scholars. This opinion is fully supported by a number of monographic studies and scholarly articles that study the Ukrainian culture development at different historical stages. In particular, the cultural heritage monuments protection issues are covered in T. Ostashko’s publications on the activities of the People’s Commissariat of Education of

the Ukrainian SSR in 1919 – 1920 (Ostashko, 1987). S. Z. Zaremba and O. B. Kovalenko first introduced important archival materials on the monument protection measures implementation into scientific circulation in a study on the local history movement development in Chernihiv region in the 20s of the 20th century (Zaremba & Kovalenko, 1983).

Materials on the development of monument protection in Ukraine are also found in a number of publications devoted to the review of cultural construction within the former USSR. In particular, this applies to a series of chronicles of cultural life events (Kul'turnaia zhyzn, 1979), a collective monograph on the development of culture in the USSR during the reconstruction period (1928 – 1941) edited by Academician M. Kim (Sovetskaia kul'tura, 1978).

Deeper and more focused research on the topic is characteristic of the early 70s of the last century. The collection of legislative acts on the cultural heritage monuments prepared by the legal section of the Ukrainian Society for the Historical and Cultural Monuments Protection and published in 1970 is still the only thorough work of its kind and has its scientific value, although most of the documents cited in it have lost their practical force (Zakonodavstvo, 1970). D. Zweibel, dedicated to archaeological research and monument protection (Tsvejbel', 1971), presented interesting factual material, based on the archival funds of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, in the article.

The research of the monument protection formation in Ukraine during the 60s and 90s of the 20th century is inextricably linked to the name of academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine P. Tron'ko. Holding high governmental positions and heading the Ukrainian Society for the Historical and Cultural Monuments Protection for twenty years, he made an outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of preserving the national cultural heritage. In numerous speeches, reports at scientific conferences, and scientific articles, P. Tron'ko referred to the history of the cultural heritage monuments protection in Ukraine repeatedly (Tron'ko, 1986). The materials of the publications of the early 90s formed the basis of the author's book "Local History in the Revival of Spirituality and Culture" (1994). P. Tron'ko and V. Vojnalovych (Tron'ko & Vojnalovych, 1992) discussed the monumental propaganda ideas implementation in Ukraine in the Soviet era in the context of general monument protection measures in detail in a monographic study.

Since the 70s of the last century, V. Akulenko (Akulenko, 1972) worked consistently on the study of the history of the cultural heritage monuments protection in Ukraine. His work is characterized by a historical and legal approach to the problem based on the analysis of the adopted regulations on the monuments protection in Ukraine. This aspect was new and of great importance for the comprehensive coverage of the problem. The author introduced into scientific circulation important facts collected by him in departmental archives, a significant part of which was subsequently lost. However, in general, this approach did not make it possible to restore the true picture of the process of formation of monument protection, since many legislative provisions were changed significantly or not implemented in practice. An objective assessment of historical events was also hampered by the insufficient use of local materials. The author managed to overcome these shortcomings to some extent in a series of scientific studies under the general title "Chronicle of the Protection of Monuments of Soviet Ukraine" published in the journal "Monuments of Ukraine" (Akulenko, 1985). A peculiar result of many years of work aimed at studying the process of formation of monument protection work in Ukraine was V. Akulenko's monograph "Protection of Cultural Monuments in Ukraine. 1917 – 1990" (1991). It presented a systematic review of the author's work and raised a number of theoretical issues of monument studies.

The preparation of the multi-volume Code of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Ukraine was accompanied by publications aimed at a comprehensive analysis of the history of monument protection in certain regions of Ukraine. In particular, S. Kot's article (Kot, 1986) was devoted to the monument protection development in Chernihiv, Poltava, and Vinnytsia regions. The history of monument protection in the Crimea was characterized in the study by T. Hryhorieva thoroughly (Hryhor'ieva, 1985). N. Borysiuk analyzed it on the basis of Zhytomyr region materials (Borysiuk, 1991). These publications have greatly expanded the understanding of the specific circumstances of the state policy implementation in the field of the cultural heritage monuments protection on the ground, and introduced a significant array of new archival materials into scientific circulation. For the first time, when considering the problem, a structural analysis of the implementation at different historical stages of the main components of monument protection work (identification, recording, study, preservation, restoration, reconstruction, use, etc.) was carried out, and the activities of local authorities, monument protection bodies, and the public in preserving the national cultural heritage were shown.

A significant contribution to the research of the formation of state bodies for the monuments protection and the participation of the general public in the preservation of cultural heritage was made by the scientific collection "Protection, Use and Promotion of Historical and Cultural Monuments in the Ukrainian SSR", published in six parts, in 1989 (Okhorona, 1989). Based on a wide range of sources, its authors V. Vojnalovych, T. Hryhorieva, Y. Danyliuk, S. Kot, and P. Tron'ko made an attempt to highlight the monument protection formation on the basis of new methodological and conceptual principles, introduced new data on the history of monument protection, which allowed to clarify the main trends of its development during 1917 – 1989 significantly. This work was one of the first attempts to systematize the history of monument protection in Ukraine.

Among the latest works that fill this gap, it is necessary to note the thorough monographic research by O. Nestulia on the construction of the monument protection system under the Central Rada, the Hetmanate, and Directory (1917 – 1920) (Nestulia, 1993). The author, for the first time used new archival materials, showed convincingly that the tasks of preserving cultural heritage were an integral part of the state-building process during the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and began to be solved in Ukraine on its own legal, scientific, and organizational basis before the Soviet power establishment. In 1995, O. Nestulia's monograph "The Fate of the Church Heritage in Ukraine. 1917 – 1941" (1995), which examined the complex processes that took place around church antiquities during the revolutionary events and the Civil War, during the interwar 20th century. The materials of the scientific collection the "Repressed Local History (the 20s – 30s)", dedicated to the memory of many monumentologists, who became the Stalinist repression victims (Represovane kraieznavstvo, 1991).

The issues of the history of Ukrainian monument studies as a component of the protection and preservation of cultural heritage are raised in the publications by

S. Zarembo (Zarembo, 1992). The result of the author's many years of research was the publication of his monograph "The Ukrainian Monument Studies: History, Theory, Modernity" (1995), which highlighted the process of formation and the Ukrainian monument studies development, its specific organizational forms, directions and methods of practice, and its role in the implementation of monument protection measures.

The authors of numerous abstracts and reports at national and regional historical and local history conferences addressed various aspects of the history of monument protection.

Many valuable materials from a scientific point of view were published in the periodicals, especially in the newspapers “Andriyivskiy Uzviz”, “Starozhytnosti”, and the magazines “Pamyatky Ukrainy” and “Kyivska Staryna”.

Thus, the history of the cultural heritage monuments protection became an important component of research on the history of the Ukrainian culture. It is emerging as a separate area of research, which will allow us to highlight objectively important pages of the Ukrainian people’s past, make the best traditions in preserving its cultural heritage available to the general public, and warn against repeating the tragic mistakes that led to irreparable losses of the national treasures.

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were marked by increased public attention to the national traditions, history, and culture. Knowledge of the past was increasingly closely linked to current issues of public concern. The society began to realize the cultural heritage not only as noteworthy “curious” things, but also as a necessary link connecting the past with the present, an important means of patriotic education of national consciousness, and the basis for studying national history and culture. Monuments of antiquity and art find themselves in the centre of the struggle of socio-political ideas, becoming an important element of political and social life. At this time, the movement aimed at their research and preservation began to gain real strength.

Monuments of antiquity and art were then understood to include archaeological antiquities, architectural and monumental works and structures, antiques, archival documents, manuscripts and old prints, folk life items, samples of oral art, and works of ancient literature. The question of the criteria for their appreciation, by which they were to be defined as monuments, was lively discussed. The main issue was the degree of remoteness from the modern era. A minimum age of 150 years was generally recognized as the boundary separating monuments from other objects. At the same time, there were voices in favour of preserving even less ancient monuments, if they were marked by outstanding artistic qualities, and it was suggested that they should be found and protected without waiting for them to begin to deteriorate and threaten their existence.

Due to the absence of state legislation and a system of state bodies for the protection of cultural heritage monuments, the public, based on private initiative and patronage, carried out the study and preservation of the cultural heritage. Numerous scientific societies, commissions, and clubs that brought together enthusiasts of monument protection played the leading role.

In the mid-1970s, a system of cultural heritage monuments protection was formed in Ukraine. It was based on the principles of departmental division of monuments between the Ministry of Culture (history, archaeology, monumental art) and the State Construction Committee (architecture and urban planning). The overall responsibility for their preservation was vested in the Council of Ministers and the relevant regional, city, and district councils of workers. However, by this time, despite some positive results in the protection of monuments, general shortcomings in the organization of monument protection work became apparent.

The most serious negative consequences were caused by the lack of real mechanisms to ensure that local councils were interested in preserving cultural heritage. This not only hindered their initiative, but also led to direct violations of current legislation. Given that the vast majority of monuments were to be maintained at the expense of local budgets, it was objectively beneficial for the authorities to register as few objects of historical or cultural significance as possible on their territory.

The situation was complicated by the division of direct management of monument protection between separate agencies. Uncoordinated actions, dispersion of personnel and funds, and low administrative and legal status of the monument protection bodies were characteristic. Crimes against the cultural heritage sites went unpunished. It was unnatural to entrust the protection of architectural objects to the State Construction Committee of Ukraine, which solved the problem of designing and building cities and villages simultaneously. The immediate consequence of this was the inability of the monument protection inspectors and the relevant department of this agency to resist pressure from the leadership and protect the historical environment from encroachments by architectural “mancurts”. The need to create a single body for the monuments protection became apparent.

Practical experience has also highlighted significant gaps in funding and logistical support for protection measures. Budgetary allocations were made only for objects that were not in leasehold use. At the same time, they did not meet the real needs in terms of their volume, and their unlimited nature in the context of centralized distribution of material resources did not allow them to be used effectively, leading to long construction projects. The production base of the restoration work also did not meet its objectives. Payment for restoration work in accordance with the approved tariffs was much lower than for ordinary construction work, which led to an outflow of skilled personnel. On the other hand, most tenants did not have the funds to pay for repair, restoration and reconstruction works or did not want to spend them for this purpose, exploiting the monuments until they were destroyed.

A number of monument protection organizations and institutions are engaged in the study of the registration of cultural heritage sites in Ukraine. Among them are the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture (hereinafter referred to as Ukr. abbr. UTOPIK), the Centre for Monument Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and UTOPIK, the Centre for Historical and Cultural Heritage Research of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Rylsky Institute of Art History, Folklore and Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Ukrainian State Institute of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry for Culture of Ukraine, the Kyiv Scientific and Methodological Centre for Protection, Restoration and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and the Kyiv Research Centre for Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage.

All scholars make an invaluable contribution to preservation of the cultural heritage of our country and, in particular, registration of monuments as the basis of monument protection. These organizations and institutions study the registration of cultural heritage objects from a scientific point of view and develop recommendations on its methodology.

On August 28, 1965, the government of the Ukrainian SSR approved a resolution in which there was the proposal of an initiative group of scholars and cultural figures who called on all citizens to join forces in preserving and promoting cultural heritage sites. By its decision, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR approved the creation of the Ukrainian Voluntary Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in order to streamline and strengthen state policy in the monument protection sphere and to involve population in cultural heritage protection (Zaremba, 1998).

On December 21, 1966, the first constituent congress of UTOPIK was held in Kyiv, which adopted a resolution on the establishment of a voluntary public organization and elected its governing bodies. The Statute of the UTOPIK was approved by the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on June 12, 1967 (Zaremba, 1998).

The statutory tasks of UTOPIK included the following activities: attracting the general public to actively participate in the protection of historical and cultural heritage inherited by

mankind, promoting the ideas of preserving cultural heritage, promoting monument protection legislation, popularizing historical and cultural monuments and disseminating scientific knowledge about them, making proposals to state bodies for the protection and preservation of monuments, their rational use; conducting joint activities with scientific, cultural, educational, economic organizations in the field of monument protection, establishing public control over protection, use, repair, and restoration of monuments, regardless of their subordination, etc.

The purpose of the UTOPIC was to facilitate the implementation of measures by party and state executive authorities in the field of cultural heritage sites protection, raising educational and cultural level of population (Kharkovenko, 2017).

In implementing their statutory tasks, members of UTOPIC influenced management decision-making through participation of representatives of the presidium of the UTOPIC board in meetings of the Executive Committees of regional, district and City Councils, membership in collegial bodies under the regional executive committee; as well as participation in joint decisions with the Council for Cultural Construction under the Department of Culture, the technical council under the regional department of construction and architecture on joint issues of protection of cultural heritage sites.

The majority of city and district organizations of the Society were actively involved in the inspection of monuments. The chief focus was on the issues of registration and scientific research of cultural monuments, the state of their preservation, and popularization.

Owing to fruitful work of enthusiasts of regional, district, and city UTOPIC organizations, regional departments of culture prepared and sent accounting documentation on monuments of union and republican significance within the timeframe set by the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR and in full.

Almost immediately after the creation and during the initial stage of activity of district and regional voluntary organizations of UTOPIC, their activities acquired a state character. All the work of culture departments of local executive committees and various cultural institutions was closely linked to the work of region, district and city UTOPIC societies. All consolidated reports of regional departments of culture, as well as separate reports of city and district departments of culture, show the integration of the activities of local branches of UTOPIC with the state executive branch of power. There were also direct policy plans of such state institutions to involve collective and individual members of the Society in the implementation of the tasks of the same local authorities; planning the receipt of funds from UTOPIC organizations of various levels, etc.

An important institution in the field of cultural heritage protection is the Centre for Monument Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture. This is a research institution, whose activities are aimed at deepening the theoretical and methodological level of monument studies and monument protection activities in Ukraine.

The Centre for Monument Studies was established on May 23, 1991, by joint resolution No. 151 of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture. It is an independent budgetary non-profit research institution with the rights of a legal entity. It is a part of the Department of History, Philosophy and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which provides scientific and methodological guidance for the Centre's research.

The Centre for Monument Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and UTOPIC conducts expeditions to study cultural heritage, mainly archaeological, scientific and technical monuments. The Centre's significant practical achievements include the preparation of lists of monuments of local and national significance with their inclusion in the

Register, the preparation of dossiers on World Cultural Heritage sites, and other monument protection documentation.

The employees of the Centre for Monument Studies are members of the Expert Commission for consideration of the issues of inclusion of cultural heritage sites in the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine and the Scientific and Methodological Council for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine.

The main task of the Centre for Research on Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine is to develop the scientific foundations of monument studies, theoretical and methodological foundations of the “Code of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Ukraine”, which records all existing (registered and newly discovered) immovable monuments.

I would like to dwell in more detail on the study of this issue at the Ukrainian State Institute of Cultural Heritage. Today, the staff of this institute faces many problems and challenges in the field of cultural heritage protection: the realities and prospects of the procedure for accounting for cultural heritage objects, problems of forming the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine, certification of monuments and objects of cultural heritage, analysis of forms of accounting documentation, development of the software “Monument Protection of Ukraine” and the concept of a decision support system in the field of protection and preservation of monuments, and many others (Kharkovenko, 2017).

The employees of this institute made a significant contribution to the development and shaping of the field of cultural heritage protection in Ukraine. Thus, in accordance with the current standards, the terms of reference were developed – the main document defining the requirements and procedure for creating an information system for supporting decision-making in the field of protection and preservation of cultural heritage monuments and the conceptual scheme for the formation, maintenance and use of the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine, a prototype of the WEB resource was created, which was used to test the preliminary conceptual decisions on the structure of the database of the electronic register of cultural heritage monuments, user interface, forms of interactive data entry, forms of viewing the register, search forms of the database, forms of analytical references.

It can be argued that the state has entrusted the Ukrainian State Institute of Cultural Heritage with a great responsibility and that the protection and preservation of Ukraine’s cultural heritage depends on its effective functioning.

The employees of this institute are truly dedicated professionals and experts in the field of monument protection. They are engaged in a great work, preserving the history in every monument of cultural heritage. The protection of each individual monument and the cultural heritage of Ukraine as a whole depends on their hard work.

The experience of these employees, their scientific achievements and methodological recommendations can and should be used in organizing and conducting training seminars for employees of regional structures of cultural heritage protection bodies on the preparation of accounting documentation for cultural heritage sites proposed for inclusion in the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine.

Solving problematic issues of monument protection requires a systematic and comprehensive approach. Only if the staff in the field of cultural heritage protection is professional and competent at all levels will we be able to achieve goals.

Another institution in the field of monument protection is the Kyiv Scientific and Methodological Centre for the Protection, Restoration and Use of Historical, Cultural and Protected Areas, established in 1997 by the Kyiv City State Administration as a state organization. According to the decision of the Kyiv City Council, in 2009, it was reorganized into an institution under the administration and, at the same time, is a subdivision of the Main

Department for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Kyiv City State Administration. The Centre's task is to solve practical problems of protection of the complex of immovable objects of cultural heritage in Kyiv. In 1998, the State Historical and Architectural Reserve "Ancient Kyiv" became part of the Kyiv Scientific and Methodological Centre for the Protection, Restoration and Use of Historical, Cultural Monuments and Protected Areas.

Nowadays, the world developed a fairly effective mechanism for preserving cultural heritage. International monument protection organizations certainly play an important role, but the main work on monument protection belongs to the national bodies for the protection of the cultural heritage of specific states, as we can see from the example of Ukraine.

The study of recent publications depicted that of the Ukrainian legislation formation issues in the field of the cultural heritage protection (the presence of a significant number of legislative acts) and the promotion of international organizations (implementation of international law) only partially demonstrate the specifics of the implementation of monument protection and regulation in the field of cultural heritage protection. Comprehensive studies of the forms and methods of preserving cultural heritage, the mechanism of their practical implementation by the relevant state, scientific, and public institutions, and the issue of updating the content of property and financial relations regarding state support for the non-profit cultural sector required increased attention.

Despite the elaboration of the cultural heritage protection issues by domestic and foreign scholars in these areas, a set of actions for the cultural heritage monuments protection remains poorly researched.

The Conclusion. The analysis of the current legislation and scientific works, their conclusions and results became the theoretical and methodological basis of our article and allowed us to find out that in the context of the development of an independent Ukrainian state and the processes of awakening of the national consciousness and spiritual revival of the Ukrainian people, the attitude to cultural heritage is of particular importance. However, despite the numerous developments of scholars, the issues of mechanisms for the protection of cultural heritage monuments and the regulation of monument protection remain insufficiently covered. Today, the development of cultural heritage protection requires constant attention, incentives, and significant qualitative improvement.

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**POLICY OF TURKEY ON "THE KURDISH ISSUE" SETTLEMENT
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COPENHAGEN CRITERIA ENFORCEMENT
(THE END OF THE 20th – THE BEGINNING OF THE 21st CENTURY)**

Abstract. *In the article there has been analyzed the main stages of the European integration process in Turkey, the evolution of Turkey in the issue of compliance with the Copenhagen criteria, as well as the main measures taken by the Turkish government regarding the Copenhagen criteria implementation in order to obtain a full membership in the EU from the end of the 1990s to the 2000s. The purpose of the research is to analyze the attempts made by the leadership of Turkey in order to settle "the Kurdish issue" in the context of the Copenhagen criteria implementation, which became an effective alternative to the traditional force scenario to its solution. Economic and legal criteria were key in this context. Since the 1990s and until nowadays, the Turkish government has implemented a number of economic,*

political and social projects aimed at solving “the Kurdish issue” by integrating the residents of South-Eastern Anatolia into the Turkish society successfully, as well as overcoming uneven social economic development of the Turkish regions. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, an interdisciplinary principle, a valuable approach and the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis and generalization) methods.

As a result of the scientific analysis carried out with involvement of numerous original sources, the authors came to the following **conclusion**: taking into account the experience of reforms in the 2000s – 2010s, it became obvious that in the case of continuation of Turkey’s European integration aspirations, “the Kurdish issue” could be solved only in a long term by increasing the level of well-being and education among the population of South-Eastern Anatolia, creating a developed network of health care institutions, modern infrastructure of the region, ensuring a real access of population to the work of local authorities, forming a law enforcement system that would function on the basis of the principles of a social justice and equality of all before the law.

Key words: Turkey, European Union (EU), European Economic Community (EEC), European integration, Copenhagen criteria, “the Kurdish issue”, South-eastern Anatolia, Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK), South-eastern Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi, GAP).

ПОЛІТИКА ТУРЕЧЧИНИ ЩОДО ВРЕГУЛЮВАННЯ “КУРДСЬКОГО ПИТАННЯ” У КОНТЕКСТІ ВИКОНАННЯ КОПЕНГАГЕНСЬКИХ КРИТЕРІЇВ (КІНЕЦЬ ХХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХІ ст.)

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано основні етапи євроінтеграційного процесу в Туреччині, еволюцію Туреччини у питанні відповідності Копенгагенським критеріям, а також основні заходи турецького уряду щодо виконання Копенгагенських критеріїв для здобуття повноправного членства в ЄС з кінця 1990-х – у 2000-х рр. **Метою наших пошуків** є дослідити спроби врегулювання керівництвом Туреччини “курдського питання” у контексті виконання Копенгагенських критеріїв, які стали дієвою альтернативою традиційному силовому сценарію його розв’язання. Ключовими в цьому контексті виступають економічні та правові критерії. З 1990-х рр. і дотепер турецьким урядом втілюється у життя низка економічних, політичних і соціальних проєктів, що мають на меті розв’язання “курдського питання” шляхом успішної інтеграції жителів Південно-Східної Анатолії до турецького соціуму, а також подолання нерівномірного соціально-економічного розвитку регіонів країни. **Методологічною основою** дослідження є принципи історизму, науковості, міждисциплінарності, ціннісний підхід та використання загальнонаукових (аналізу, синтезу й узагальнення) методів.

У результаті проведення наукового аналізу, здійсненого із залученням численних оригінальних джерел автори дійшли таких **висновків**: з урахуванням досвіду проведення реформ 2000 – 2010-х рр. стає очевидно, що в разі продовження євроінтеграційних устремлень Туреччини курдське питання можна розв’язати лише у довгостроковій перспективі шляхом підвищення рівня добробуту та освіти серед населення Південно-Східної Анатолії, створення розвиненої мережі закладів охорони здоров’я, сучасної інфраструктури регіону, забезпечення реального доступу населення до роботи органів місцевої влади, формування правоохоронної системи, яка б функціонувала на основі принципів соціальної справедливості та рівності всіх перед законом.

Ключові слова: Туреччина, Європейський союз (ЄС), Європейське економічне співтовариство (ЄЕС), євроінтеграція, Копенгагенські критерії, “курдське питання”, Південно-Східна Анатолія, Робітнича партія Курдистану (РПК), Проєкт Південно-Східної Анатолії (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi, GAP).

The Problem Statement. Due to activation of Turkey’s European integration aspirations, the “Kurdish issue” actualized naturally, which was closely related to the political, legal, socio-economic and cultural situation of the Kurdish population in the country. In the 1990s the force scenario for solving this issue proved to be ineffective, caused significant public condemnation of the world community and turned out to be unacceptable in the context of the Copenhagen criteria implementation for EU membership.

Nowadays despite obvious success of the reforms and a certain liberalization of the government's policy regarding a civilized settlement of the "Kurdish issue" based on democratic principles, Turkey has not been accepted into the European Union yet. Hence, in spite of Turkey's desire to join the EU, which the country expressed since the above-mentioned organization emerged; the unresolved "Kurdish issue" in its final form carries on hampering the European integration process.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The issue of Turkey's integration into the European Union, as well as the reforms carried out by the Turkish government along this path, was the subject of a scientific interest among political scholars, historians, economists, sociologists and cultural scholars for a long time. The analysis of the entire array of recent publications on this issue gave reason to single out the following groups among them: 1) the Western European and North American group (Faucompret E., Konings J., 2010; Rumford C., 1999); 2) the Turkish group (Terdemir O; Toktas, Aras, 2010; Yildiz, 2005; Yildiz, 2012; Yilmaz, Soyaltin, 2014); 3) the Russian group (Gadzhiev, 2007; Gadzhiev, 2009; Kudriashova, 2004; Kudriashova, 2006; Kudriashova, 2010; Kunakov, 1999; Mamedova, 2017); 4) the Arabic historiography of the issue (Al'-Azavi Khaider, 2014).

The above-mentioned articles were singled out by the authors from a very large array of foreign publications as those that reflect the research problem the most objectively.

There should be mentioned publications of domestic scholars on this issue (Volchok, 2007; Yermakova, 2018; Kovalenko, 2013; Mkhytarian, 2005; Chubrykova, 2013).

At the same time, it should be noted that there is less focus on scientific study of modern Turkey problems in this country, including the experience of implementing the European integration project.

In scientific works analysis and tonality on Turkey's European integration aspirations testify to a dichotomous division into "optimists" and "skeptics" regarding the possibility of Turkey's real accession to the EU. The same polarity is inherent in the analysis of measures taken by the Turkish authorities regarding the Copenhagen criteria implementation and the "Kurdish issue" settlement.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the attempts made by the leadership of Turkey in order to settle the "Kurdish issue" in the context of the Copenhagen criteria implementation, which became an effective alternative to a traditional force scenario for its solution. Economic and legal criteria were key in this context. Since the 1990s and until nowadays, the Turkish government implemented diverse economic, political and social projects aimed at solving the "Kurdish issue" by integrating the residents of South-Eastern Anatolia into the Turkish society successfully, as well as overcoming uneven social economic development of the country's regions.

The Results of the Research. An active course of Europeanization and Westernization of Turkey began after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. In contrast to the Ottoman Empire, the approach of the Republic of Turkey leadership to the "Kurdish issue" settlement for a long time was based not on the principles of Islam, but on secularism and nationalism.

A new impetus of the European aspiration of the Republic of Turkey was received after World War II, due to the support by the United States largely. In February of 1952, after the accession of Turkey to NATO, the country began to be considered as a counterweight to the USSR on the southern flank of the North Atlantic Alliance. Hence, it is quite logical that in

addition to a close military cooperation, the issue of a further intensive integration of Turkey into the European economic and cultural space appeared on the agenda. For the first time, the Republic of Turkey applied for membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) on July 31, 1959, although the military coup of the following year was a drawback concerning taking practical steps to realize Turkey's European integration aspirations. In this regard, the applications for Associate Membership were submitted again in 1961 and 1962. During the negotiations, the parties discussed the terms of the Association Agreement comprehensively, which was signed in September of 1963. The Agreement defined the goals of the association, the form of interaction between the participants and the main stages of Turkey's integration into the EU.

Turkey applied for a full membership in the EU in 1987. In June of 1993 the EU Summit in Copenhagen became a new milestone in the relations between the EU and the Republic of Turkey, as a number of EU membership criteria adopted at the meeting were put forward to official Ankara. In addition to the point on a developed market economy, there were also political criteria that required candidate countries to achieve stable democracy, to observe human rights, to respect the rule of law, and protect the national minorities rights.

In fact, the Treaty on the European Union stipulates only two criteria for membership in the Union directly. Hence, the state applying for membership must be European (a geographic criterion) and respect and adhere to the values on which the EU is based (a political criterion). However, according to Art. 49 of the Treaty, the European Council may extend or add new terms of membership. Hence, the additional membership criteria were formulated at the meetings of the European Council in the 1990s in order to select the most "worthy" candidates for joining the Union, compliance with which should indicate the state's ability to fulfill the duties of EU member state. First of all, it was about the so-called "Copenhagen membership criteria", which were adopted by the European Council in Copenhagen in June of 1993 for candidate states from Central and Eastern Europe:

- stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect and protection of the minorities (a political criterion);
- presence of a functioning market economy, as well as the ability to withstand a competitive pressure and market forces within the EU (an economic criterion);
- ability to commit to membership, including commitment to objectives of a political, economic and monetary union (a legal criterion).

In addition, EU membership requires that candidate states achieve stability of institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect and protection of the minorities, existence of a functioning market economy, as well as ability to cope with competitive pressures of market economy within the Union (Legal questions of enlargement of the European Union).

In this context, it should be emphasized that the "Kurdish issue", known in the European community, became a serious obstacle on the way of Turkey's accession to the EU.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the European Parliament repeatedly criticized the Turkish government for ignoring the "Kurdish issue", and in some cases even introduced sanctions in response to the bloodshed committed during attempts to resolve this conflict by force. After all, most often the EU representatives appeal to the "Kurdish issue" in cases when the insufficient level of a democratic development in Turkey is discussed (Tekdemir, 2019, pp. 876–900).

The population of South-East Anatolia welcomed Turkey's European integration aspirations mostly. K. Yildiz's point of view is that for this region the pro-European reforms

would bring social peace due to the political settlement of the "Kurdish issue". At the same time, ignoring this vital aspect could lead to the fact that many of the expected benefits of the EU membership for Turkey would be lost (Yildiz, 2005, p. 28).

According to Yu. Kudriashova, in the short term the EU's demands for the "Kurdish issue" settlement were reduced to "removing all legal obstacles that prohibit the Turkish citizens from using their native language on television and radio". The problem is that there was no concept of the "minority" in relation to any ethnic group in the Turkish constitution. However, under the international community influence and awareness of the need to recognize reality, society and government institutions understood the need for reforms in this important area gradually (Kudriashova, 2010, p. 116). In this regard, through compilation of relevant legal norms of the EU countries, the minimum limits of granting relevant rights to the national minorities in Turkey were ensured.

Turkey made significant progress in the direction of the Copenhagen criteria implementation in 2001, when the Turkish deputies by an overwhelming majority of votes introduced 34 amendments to the Constitution, including a significant limitation of the death penalty (this type of punishment remains valid only in cases of treason and participation in terrorism); the right to radio broadcasting in the languages of the national minorities is guaranteed; restrictions on the activities of parties and trade unions were eliminated; the equality of men and women is enshrined in civil law; the laws of the military dictatorship could be challenged in court. In addition, a resolution of the Turkish Parliament allowed a native language as a language of instruction at schools, as well as radio and television broadcasting in a native language, in particular: Kurdish, Armenian, Greek and Hebrew, in places where the minority ethnic communities live compactly.

The population of Southeastern Anatolia achieved additional freedoms gradually: in 2002, the right to use the Kurdish language when communicating in public places, legalization of their own printed publications, the lifting of the ban on TV and radio broadcasts in the Kurdish language, permission to study the Kurdish language, but in private schools only. In 2004, private Kurdish language courses were conducted in Istanbul and the cities of Southeast Anatolia. In January of 2009, the first state-run Kurdish TV channel began broadcasting. The Turkish government expects that it will be able to attract a significant percentage of the audience of private Kurdish TV channels financed, in particular, by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which promote the creation of an independent Kurdish state. It should be noted a fairly high level of freedom of the local Kurdish television, which broadcasts, in particular, rallies in the south-east of the country, participants of which demand independence openly (Kudriashova, 2010, pp. 127–128).

Along with expanding the rights of the Turkish Kurds in the field of education and culture, the changes affected electoral process and access of the Kurdish population to participate in a domestic political life of Turkey. Hence, in 2007 25 of 27 Parliamentarians, who entered the Grand National Assembly without party lists were the ethnic Kurds, who were previously barred from being elected to the Turkish Parliament (Yilmaz, Soyaltin, 2014, pp. 11–29).

In this context, it should be noted that owing to vigorous reforms of the ruling Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP), the majority of the Turkish Kurds are quite loyal to the country's official authorities.

Hence, in the 2000s, the Turkish government, in the context of the Copenhagen criteria implementation, as well as with the aim of finding tools for the "Kurdish issue" peaceful settlement, formed the foundations of a legal framework that would provide guarantees for

the development of Kurdish culture, as well as access of the Kurdish population to participate in the political life of Turkey.

As a result, in the early 2010s, in Turkey there was decline in escalation of the Kurdish terrorism. This is due not only to the democratic transformations of the 2000s, but also to the coming to power of moderate Islamists, who enjoy the support of a significant percentage of the Kurdish electorate. In the early 2010s, the government adopted a compensation programme for those, who suffered as a result of the actions of special services during the campaign to defeat the PKK (Yildiz, 2012, pp. 151–174).

In the “Kurdish issue” there is a chief focus in the context of the socio-economic component implementation of the Copenhagen criteria.

First of all, it should be noted that in the 1990s – 2000s, the budgets of the provinces inhabited by the Kurds, in particular Southeastern Anatolia, were the most deficient among all provincial budgets in Turkey. The above-mentioned region has been the most economically backward until recently. The Turkish government shifted responsibility for a depressed state of the economy in the Kurdish areas to the PKK for a long time, which, based on the official point of view, had a destructive effect on the region’s economy functioning. Hence, the main goal of South-east Anatolia administration was the formation of a solvent middle class.

An unstable political situation and a related lack of investment resources in the Kurdish areas hindered their industrial development for a long time. During the period of the 1960s – 1990s, the infrastructure in South-east Anatolia was poorly developed, which did not allow creating enough jobs. The industrial backwardness of the Kurdish regions of Turkey encouraged reproduction of traditional structures of the Kurdish society, which in turn hindered ethnic assimilation. The main economic problems in the provinces inhabited by the Kurds were a lack of investment, inadequate governance by the central government, and high unemployment in the last third of the 20th century. The average unemployment rate in the Kurdish-inhabited provinces reached almost 20%, and more than half of the employed population was engaged in seasonal work. In the Kurdish provinces irrigation of agricultural lands was often carried out without consideration of local population interests, primarily among its vulnerable strata, as a result of which it was deprived of profitable agriculture. It is also worth noting that under the conditions of a general electricity balance of Turkey, existing volumes of generated electricity were redistributed, first of all, in favour of the industrialized west of Turkey. A difficult economic situation, lack of an adequate number of jobs, consequences of armed conflicts that did not subsided for decades were the main reasons for the migration of the population from the Kurdish provinces. Deprived of their means of livelihood, the Kurds headed for big cities and even foreign countries. The Kurdish migrants, accustomed, as a rule, to a traditional economy and not adapted to life in cities, faced the threat of marginalization and lumpenization.

In the context of solving the problem of eliminating these crisis phenomena, one of the most effective non-force tools for solving the “Kurdish issue” in the context of fulfilling the economic component of the Copenhagen criteria was the Southeastern Anatolia Project implementation (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi, GAP), which is a multi-sectoral integrated regional a development project based on the concept of sustainable development of the southeastern region of Turkey. In the 1990s – 2010s, through the implementation of the GAP, it was possible to reduce disparities significantly in the socio-economic development of the regions of Turkey by increasing the income and living standards of South-eastern Anatolia residents (Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı).

It should be noted that GAP is based on the philosophy of a sustainable development of a human potential, which is aimed at creating conditions for a comfortable existence and development of future generations according to the Copenhagen criteria implementation. The components of this strategy are balanced economic development, environmental protection, job creation and infrastructure development.

The socio-economic effect of GAP at the expense of large-scale hydropower works of irrigation of hundreds of thousands of hectares of formerly desert, but nowadays fertile lands, manifested itself in the fact that: 1) the project made it possible to overcome the economic disparity between different regions of Turkey and achieve a social balance; 2) in South-Eastern Anatolia the investment climate improved significantly, in particular, ensuring the influx of investments from member countries and EU institutions; 3) the project ensured the creation of more than 3 million new jobs and improved the level of material well-being of the population of South-east Anatolia – in the past one of the most economically poor and politically unstable regions of the country; 4) the project, due to the economic and political stabilization of the region, contributed to establishing a dialogue between the Turkish government and the Kurdish population; 5) GAP strengthened Turkey's potential to become the "granary of the Middle East" and, in the future, the "granary of the EU".

The Turkish government carried out a number of reforms during the 2000s – 2010s in the context of the legal component of the Copenhagen criteria, in particular in the field of the national minorities' rights protection. Thus, in 2001, there were developed amendments to the Constitution of Turkey, as well as the so-called nine "harmonization packages", one of which for the first time established the existence of the Kurds as an ethnic minority at the legislative level. As a result, there were allowed television and radio broadcasts in the Kurdish language, as well as the Kurdish language as a language of instruction at private schools (Memedova, 2017, p. 205). The reform of basic secondary education ensured a significant reduction in the illiteracy rate among residents of South-eastern Anatolia over 15 years of age from 12,4 to 4,7% during the period of 2008 – 2019. However, the problem of education among women is still not fully resolved. Health care reform made health care more accessible to much of the Kurdish community, and the infant mortality rate fell from 42% (2000) to 12,9% (2019) (European Commission Turkey 2013 Progress Report). The reform of the law enforcement system led to the police powers limitation when arresting criminals, the procedure simplification for investigating cases related to corruption, reduction of the number of military members of the National Security Council, introduction of numerous changes to the penal code and anti-terrorist legislation. The European community especially welcomed the abolition of the death penalty in Turkey, in October of 2005. There were also introduced mitigating amendments to the Civil Code and the Law "On the Press", the equality of men and women was officially declared, the state of emergency was cancelled in the south-eastern regions of the country, the supremacy of international law was declared, measures were taken to prevent the torture of prisoners (Memedova, 2017, p. 205).

The Turkish government faced with a low level of private investment issue, allocated significant budget funds for the economic development of South-east Anatolia during the period of 2006 – 2013. At the same time, there was focus on the development of transport network in the provinces with a significant share of the Kurdish population. The Turkish government declared such regions as open economic zones, hence, pursued the goal of attracting more foreign capital to the regions.

In the 2000s a characteristic feature of the Turkish government's policy was attempts to form an opinion in the country about the need for democratic coexistence of different

ethnic groups with their nationalist views, as well as a more tolerant attitude towards different political views and aspirations. Along with the lifting of the state of emergency in all South-Eastern provinces since 2004, the country held seminars and training programmes for the officials of state and judicial institutions, internal security agencies on issues of democratization and ensuring human rights both throughout the country and specifically in the South-East the region.

It should be noted that since 1998, the European Commission has been publishing annual reports on Turkey's development, noting the country's progress on the way to the Copenhagen criteria implementation. Taking everything into account, it should be noted that Turkey has been implementing large-scale internal reforms aimed at bringing its socio-economic indicators, legislation and everyday practice into compliance with EU criteria and norms since the 1990s. In the South-Eastern provinces significant socio-economic and political transformations contribute to the formation of a civil society foundations, overcoming the Kurdish separatism and Islamic radicalism in their various manifestations.

The European Commission decided on Turkey's compliance with the Copenhagen political criteria back in the fall of 2004. The Head of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, said the following: "The European Commission believes that Turkey meets the political criteria sufficiently and recommends the start of negotiations on its admission to the European Union" (Address given by Romano Prodi, 2004). On December 17, 2004, at the meeting in Brussels, EU heads of state and government decided to start negotiations on Turkey's accession to the EU, which were to start on October 3, 2005, and also recommended the European Commission to prepare "Framework for Negotiations with Turkey" (European Commission, 2004).

K. Yildiz came to a positive conclusion after analysing the measures taken by the Turkish government to settle the Kurdish issue during the period of 2004 – 2005 and stated the following: "whatever the motivation of the reform process in Turkey, including the minimum package of reforms implementation dictated by the EU, Turkey in a very short time has implemented a series of noteworthy reforms: certain, though not exhaustive, improvements have been made in the field of human rights; the law enforcement system has been reformed, and the ban on broadcasting and teaching in the Kurdish language, at least formally, has been lifted" (Yildiz, 2005, p. 33).

The report of the Independent Commission "Turkey in Europe" (2009) also gave a generally positive assessment of measures to resolve the "Kurdish issue" in the context of the Copenhagen criteria. The independent commission noted the easing of restrictions on the Kurdish culture expression, the opening of several private Kurdish language centres in Turkey, the possibility of placing inscriptions in the Kurdish language in public places freely, etc. The commission stated the following: "The Kurdish language bumper stickers, music, publications, holidays, Kurdish radio and television – all this first became legal, then tolerated, and then universally accepted. The government started the implementation of the World Bank's poverty reduction programme successfully. These positive developments are not always noticed or appreciated in Europe" (Turkey in Europe, 2009, pp. 22–23).

In the early 2010s, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) initiated the "Çözüm süreci" ("The Resolution Process"), which was an extension of the dialogue with the Kurdish public representatives. In a TV interview R. Erdoğan even stated that the government was ready for a dialogue with the imprisoned PKK leader A. Öcalan at the end of 2012. In 2014, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey adopted the Law on Combating Terrorism and

Strengthening Social Integration ("Terörün Sona Erdirilmesi ve Toplumsal Bütünleşmenin Güçlendirilmesine Dair Kanun"). The law defined a number of steps in the political, legal, socio-economic, psychological, cultural and security spheres with the aim of easing the socio-political tension in South-Eastern Anatolia and countering the terrorist activities of the PKK (Terörün Sona Erdirilmesi, 2014).

One of the most urgent issues that EU representatives focused on in the context of Turkey's compliance with the requirements of the Copenhagen criteria was participation of the Kurdish population representatives in the political life of Turkey. The establishment of the pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party in 2012, (Halkların Demokratik Partisi, HDP), which received the support of 13,12% of voters in the June of 2015 elections, that for the first time in the history of Turkey led to the entry of its representatives to the coalition government, was also evidence of positive developments in the early 2010s regarding the Kurdish issue resolution. Therefore, the People's Democratic Party received 80 seats in Parliament, and according to the results of the extraordinary elections held in November of the same year, the party won 59 seats out of 550 (Kurdish political representation, 2021).

According to O. Chubrykova, the EU analysis presented in the 2009 – 2013 annual Report on progress towards the EU standards were balanced sufficiently. Hence, numerous steps taken by the Turkish government were noted, in particular, the adoption of the fourth package of laws on the reform of judicial sphere, beginning of the process aimed at solving the "Kurdish issue" and the terrorism issue in the country, as well as the beginning of the ombudsman institute functioning and implementation of the national body on human rights issues. The initiative to implement the so-called "democratization package" announced at the end of September of 2013 was approved. At the same time, there was recorded a critical attitude towards the events around Taksim Square. The Report contained a call for speeding up the implementation of reforms designed to improve the situation with the provision of basic freedoms and promote more active involvement of all groups of society in a political life. In addition, the Report recognized Turkey as an efficient market economy, a crucial part of the EU's competitiveness, and at the same time emphasized its vulnerabilities, in particular, a significant deficit in payments balance. Progress in adapting legislation in the areas of free movement of goods, financial services, energy, and regional policy was emphasized (Chubrykova, 2013, p. 46).

Turkey is not a full member of the European Union for the time being. Relations between Turkey and the EU are the subject of wide discussion in international expert and scientific circles. Mostly the experts consider the current state of relations between Turkey and the EU, focusing on forecasts regarding the probability of Turkey's accession to the European Union. The progress of negotiation process and implementation of reforms, as well as cultural, religious and political reasons, which are the pitfalls for Turkey's advancement to the EU are explained in detail.

Analyzing the current circumstances, factors and obstacles on the way to joining the EU for Turkey, we should single out the following directions:

- the Republic of Cyprus recognition issue;
- instability of democratic institutions in terms of guaranteeing and protecting human rights and freedoms;
- a complex of religious issues (among the EU countries, there are significant fears about the possible strengthening of the influence of Islamist ideology after the adoption of Turkey);

- the issue of the foundations of traditional Turkish culture compliance with the principles of a new European identity;
- the issue of a territorial delimitation with Greece in the Aegean Sea;
- the 2016 coup attempt and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's reaction to it.

It should be noted that Turkey has not joined the fundamental agreements and programmes operating in the EU yet, namely the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter of Regional languages or minority languages among the controversial aspects of the “Kurdish issue” settlement in the context of the Copenhagen criteria implementation. However, it should be noted that since the 2000s, the Turkish government carried out some reforms in this direction. Thus, at the beginning of October of 2001, amendments were made to Article 34 of the Constitution, which granted the right to radio broadcasting in the languages of national minorities, by the majority vote of Parliament members. Although the corresponding provision was adopted with a caveat: “The right to use any language may be limited to protect the national security and public order” (Kudriashova, 2004, p. 127).

It should be noted that the Turkish government made attempts to delay the solution of the “Kurdish issue” at first. An eloquent evidence of this is the fact that in 1995, the EU directly linked the issue of Turkey's European integration with the Turkish government's adoption of measures for the political settlement of the “Kurdish issue”, but the Turkish authorities officially recognized the fact of the existence of such an issue in the country in 2005 only.

Haider Adil Kadim Al-Azavi noted rightly that the relations of the Republic of Turkey with the European Union are an important component of Ankara's regional policy in Europe. However, along this path, Turkey's aspirations to ensure sustainable economic development and political stability collide with the demands of Brussels and fears of ordinary Europeans. Turkey remains “alien” for a large part of Europeans – due to subjective and objective factors. Turkey needs to overcome the barrier of negative stereotypes and fears that originate almost from the time of the capture of Constantinople by Ottoman troops in 1453. After all, Western European and Turkic (or in a broader sense, Islamic) culture are significantly different from a civilizational point of view (Al-Azavi Khaider Adil Kadim, 2014).

The Conclusion. Thus, attempts by the leadership of Turkey to settle the “Kurdish issue” in the context of the Copenhagen criteria implementation are an effective alternative to the scenario of its solution by force. From the 1990s until present days, the Turkish government implemented diverse economic, political and social projects aimed at solving the “Kurdish issue” by integrating the residents of South-Eastern Anatolia into Turkish society successfully, as well as overcoming uneven socio-economic development of the country's regions. A crucial step on the way to a social and legal development of the South-eastern region was the loosening of restrictions on the activities of parties and trade unions, as well as establishment of equality between men and women in civil legal relations. The new Civil Code, taking into account the recommendations of the EU, expands the boundaries of freedom of thought, speech, press and peaceful assembly; strengthens measures to prevent torture, defines effective means to prevent violations of human rights by state authorities.

Taking into account the experience of the reforms of the 2000s – 2010s, it becomes obvious that in the context of Turkey's European integration aspirations, the “Kurdish issue” could be solved only in the long term by increasing the level of well-being and education among the population of Southeast Anatolia, creating a developed network of security institutions health, modern infrastructure of the region, provision of a real access of population to local

authorities work, formation of a law enforcement system that would function on the basis of principles of a social justice and equality of all before the law.

A significant positive experience of implementing these tasks, analyzed above, gives reason to express a positive statement that despite all their complexity, in the final case they will be successfully solved.

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**POLISH AND UKRAINIAN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT REFORMS
(1998 – 2020): HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is a comparative analysis of the Polish and Ukrainian reforms of local self-government and singling out the most significant European practices useful for Ukraine. The research methodology is based on the principles of systematicity, dialectics, reliability, a concrete and historical approach, logic. General scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, comparative, structural and functional, generalization, special methods of interview and content analysis have been used. The scientific novelty consists in the analysis of development peculiarities of local self-government bodies of the Republic of Poland in comparison with the Ukrainian realities, and the most relevant*

European practices for modern Ukraine have been suggested, which must be taken into account when establishing self-governing institutions under the conditions of power decentralization. **The Conclusion.** The structure and conceptual approaches in the organization of local self-government of the Republic of Poland have been studied, and information on self-government various branches operating in this country has been collected by means of interview and observation methods; it has been clarified how self-government branches became the most important provider of public services for their citizens, an important partner of international investments. It has been confirmed that the Polish commune truly became a school of democratic governance and contributed to development of civil society structures. The foundations of a close cooperation between the sołtys administration of Grobniki village, Głubczyce gmina and Nekhvoroshchanska community of Poltava region of Ukraine have been laid.

The achievements and problems accompanying the reboot of local government in Ukraine during decentralization have been outlined. Chief focus is on the possibility of introducing certain elements of the Polish experience into a domestic practice of self-governing institutions in order to increase efficiency of their functioning. In particular, it is about ensuring a full autonomous control by self-governing bodies over the sources of their own revenues and having the right to make decisions regarding their distribution, application of equalization principle of local budgets, creation of joint firms, associations with entities that carry out their activities within the framework of self-governing territories, involvement of population in local affairs management, election of officials at all levels of local self-government and, first of all, in the Ukrainian starosty districts, that are part of territorial communities, establishment of mutually beneficial partnership cooperation with international and domestic investors.

The European choice of Ukraine, which has gone through certain historical stages of democratization and formation of a civil society, contributes to realization of such tasks. It is the European choice that provides various opportunities for improving activities of local self-government bodies, their interaction with power structures at all levels of management and population, establishing constructive cooperation and dialogue with all interested institutions. That is why, the Polish model of a local government organization, which is built on the principles of subsidiarity, deconcentration, consensus, combining efforts of the state and self-governing units, effective legislative and legal regulation, deserves analysis and study. After all, a positive balance of transformations and changes that took place in this country really deserves not only a chief focus, but also implementation expediency in the Ukrainian practice, which gives reason to look at a further development and improvement of national self-government with optimism.

Key words: Ukraine, the Republic of Poland, sołtys administration, gmina, county, voivodship, decentralization, local self-government, subsidiarity, the Polish model, European integration.

ПОЛЬСЬКА Й УКРАЇНСЬКА РЕФОРМИ МІСЦЕВОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ (1998 – 2020): ІСТОРИКО-ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є порівняльний аналіз польської й української реформ місцевого самоврядування та виокремлення найвагоміших, корисних для України, європейських практик. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах системності, діалектики, достовірності, конкретно-історичного підходу, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові методи аналізу і синтезу, порівняльний, структурно-функціональний, узагальнення, а також спеціальні – метод інтерв'ю і контент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна полягає в аналізі** особливостей розвитку органів місцевого самоврядування Республіки Польща у порівнянні з українськими реаліями та запропоновано найактуальніші для сучасної України європейські практики, які треба неодмінно врахувати, вибудовуючи самоврядні інституції в умовах децентралізації влади. **Висновки.** Досліджено структуру й концептуальні підходи в організації місцевого самоврядування Республіки Польща і методами інтерв'ю та спостереження зібрано інформацію про функціонування різних ланок самоврядування в цій країні; з'ясовано, як вони стали найважливішим постачальником публічних послуг для своїх громадян, важливим партнером міжнародних інвестицій. Підтверджено, що польська гміна по-справжньому стала школою демократичного управління та сприяла розвитку структур громадянського суспільства. Закладено підвалини тісної співпраці між соłтиством с. Гробнікі, гміною м. Глубчице і Нехворощанською громадою Полтавської області України.

Окреслено здобутки і проблеми, що супроводжували перезавантаження місцевої влади в Україні у ході децентралізації. Акцентується увага на можливості впровадження окремих елементів польського досвіду вітчизняну практику самоврядних інституцій з метою підвищення ефективності їхнього функціонування. Зокрема, йдеться про забезпечення повного автономного контролю з боку органів самоврядування над джерелами власних надходжень та володіння правом ухвалювати рішення щодо їхнього розподілу, застосування принципу вирівнювання місцевих бюджетів, створення спільних фірм, об'єднань із суб'єктами, що здійснюють свою діяльність у рамках самоврядних територій, залучення населення до управління місцевими справами, виборність посадових осіб на всіх рівнях місцевого самоврядування і насамперед в українських старостинських округах, що входять до територіальних громад, налагодження взаємовигідного партнерського співробітництва з міжнародними і вітчизняними інвесторами.

Реалізації таких завдань сприяє європейський вибір нашої країни, яка пройшла певні історичні етапи демократизації і формування громадянського суспільства. Саме європейський вибір надає широкі можливості для поліпшення діяльності органів місцевого самоврядування, їхньої взаємодії із владними структурами на всіх рівнях управління і населенням, налагодження конструктивного співробітництва та діалогу із усіма зацікавленими інституціями. Саме тому заслуговує уваги польська модель організації місцевої влади, вибудована на засадах субсидіарності, деконцентрації, консенсусу, об'єднанні зусиль держави і самоврядних одиниць, ефективному законодавчо-правовому регулюванні. Адже позитивний баланс перетворень і змін, що створився у цій країні дійсно заслуговує не тільки особливої уваги, але й доцільності впровадження в українську практику, що дає підстави з оптимізмом дивитися на подальший розвиток та вдосконалення вітчизняного самоврядування.

***Ключові слова:** Україна, Республіка Польща, солтство, гміна, повіт, воеводство, децентралізація, місцеве самоврядування, субсидіарність, польська модель, європейська інтеграція.*

The Problem Statement. Decentralization of power in Ukraine with an emphasis on a greater subsidiarity and the idea of “a state for citizens” have become the most visible of all reforms, which directs the domestic management system to European standards and values. At a local level a key innovation of changes was the creation of a basic link of an administrative and territorial system – a territorial community, which received important political and legal levers for solving local issues, opportunity to improve the standard of living of residents in each village, settlement, district, region, strengthened its position in the general system of the country’s management. In their reports scholars of the Club of Rome, domestic and other foreign researchers drew attention to the need for institutional changes in Ukraine based on decentralization and local electability (Horbatenko, 2012).

The Analysis of Research and Publications. The issues of a local self-government system functioning in Poland and Ukraine are the subject of a thorough research by the Polish and Ukrainian scholars. In particular, these issues are reflected in the works of such Polish researchers as M. Vuichik and M. Hrabets (Vuichik & Hrabets, 2000), Ja. Hontiazh (Hontsiash, 2001), L. Koliarska-Bobynska (Koliarska-Bobynska, 2000). The authors essentially analyzed the main directions of the Polish model of a local self-government formation.

In their research, the Ukrainian scholars analyzed the principles of organization and functioning of local self-government institutions in the countries of the world in the context of their implementation in Ukraine. In particular, there should be mentioned the publications of I. Lopushynskiyi, (Lopushynskiyi, 2019), V. Malynovskiyi (Malynovskiyi, 2016), A. Matviyenko (Matviyenko, 2015), L. Olenkovska (Olenkovska, 2015). In particular, the scholars analyze the processes of a local self-government formation in the context of decentralization policy. In the articles of L. Doskich (Doskich, 2022), I. Monolatiy and S. Derevianko (Monolatiy & Derevianko, 2022) a comparative analysis of certain aspects of local self-government development in Poland and Ukraine was done.

The issues of a local self-government system development in the context of general processes of the political system democratization in Ukraine are analyzed in the publications of S. Kropp and O. Osland (Kropp & Osland, 2022), J. Holm-Hansen and S. Kropp (Holm-Hansen & Kropp, 2022), P. Fedorchenko-Kutuyev, I. Pyholenko, and A. Khomiak (Fedorchenko-Kutuyev, Pyholenko & Khomiak, 2023).

The Results of the Research. From the very beginning of Ukraine's independence declaration, the task of forming an effective and efficient system of local government arose quite objectively. Its solution was significantly influenced by a regional diversity, which "was a predominant feature of the Ukrainian state and national construction, which had serious consequences for national unity and political stability. Ukraine was called "the state of regions" because of differences among its territorial structures" (Kropp & Osland, 2022, p. 3). In order to coordinate interregional relations, the issue of applying a federal territorial system was even considered for some time. But it was quite logical to conclude that "federalization can lead to dismemberment of Ukraine or at least to undue influence by neighbouring states" (Holm-Hansen & Kropp, 2022, p. 34). Therefore, the policy in this area was aimed at granting the largest possible powers to local self-government bodies, but within the framework of a unitary state.

At the current stage of our country development, we strongly believe that one of the successful Ukrainian reforms can be considered the power decentralization reform, which actually began in Ukraine in 2015 and significantly changed the relations between the centre and the regions, of course, except for depriving heads of starosty districts to be elected, who are appointed by mayors of cities and towns (TH), since these districts replenish urban territorial communities. Depriving them of their eligibility destroyed local initiatives, heads are not responsible for the standard of living in their starosty districts and do not affect improvement of the standard of living significantly. They cease to be initiators of changes, because they are no longer accountable to their residents.

Despite this significant shortcoming of the Ukrainian reform, it was based on *the conceptual* principles of the European Charter of Local Self-Government, in particular, the principle of subsidiarity, the essence of which is that decisions should be made at the level as close as possible to a community, and the principle of a territorial equality, which ensures justice for citizens, regardless of their location residence (European Charter of Local Self-Government). It was these principles and the idea of "a state for citizens" that became the leitmotif of a domestic local government reboot, which directed management system towards European standards and values.

In Ukraine local self-government reforms were primarily "aimed at weakening regional influence by transferring more powers to a local level of government". First of all, they "were focused on stimulating a voluntary merger of small and rural local communities into stronger "united territorial communities" (OTH). In order to establish itself as a basic unit of territorial self-government, the OTH has direct budgetary relations with a central government, bypassing all administrative levels of a region (oblast) and district". "In addition, the reforms are aimed at subordinating administrative apparatus to elected bodies at the local and regional levels" (Holm-Hansen & Kropp, 2022, p. 36).

It should be noted that the phenomenon of local self-government is that it is one of the social institutions that is at the closest level to people, and which, with a proper organization, is able to adequately satisfy the needs and interests of various sections of local population.

In Ukraine reforming the entire structure of local government also involves democratization of the state power organization and political system in general. Such a task is actualized in the light

of the post-war transformation of Ukraine. They are, in particular, related to the strengthening of “the state capacity with a simultaneous development of democratic institutions and practices” (Fedorchenko-Kutuyev, Pyholenko & Khomiak, 2023, p. 157) and development of “a strong and effective state capable of initiating a project of systematic modernization of the Ukrainian society” (Fedorchenko-Kutuyev, Pyholenko & Khomiak, 2023, p. 159). An important aspect of such a policy is to ensure “participatory democracy, strong democracy, practices of direct democracy. Moreover, starting not from top to bottom – from the national level and further down, but on the contrary starting from the bottom, for example from local referenda. In this context, it is appropriate to mention the decentralization reform, which is an example of transition to such democratic local practices” (Fedorchenko-Kutuyev, Pyholenko & Khomiak, 2023, p. 159). Implementation of direct democracy and participatory democracy mechanisms is an essential prerequisite for building a truly democratic system of a local self-government.

Realization of such a goal is aimed at solving another important task of the political development of Ukraine, which is related to its regional differences. For a long time, the Ukrainian society was dominated by local identities. Instead, the national identity principles were not formed. Moreover, such a state carried with it rather threatening trends “In recent decades, in Ukraine, local identities rather have not found a place in the national narrative, causing suspicion as an option for finding opportunities to push various kinds of separatist sentiments into a public space” (Dovhopolova, 2022, p. 30). Therefore, defining the national identity principles is an important task. “Further civilizational development of Ukraine requires not only protection of national independence and state sovereignty and restoration of state territorial integrity, but also realization of national interests and achievement of a political stability and national unity on the basis of a positive collective identity of Ukraine’s citizens” (Averianova & Voropaieva, 2020, p. 46). Under the conditions of granting and guaranteeing broad self-governing rights to territories and territorial communities by the state, citizens feel a stronger sense of their belonging to a single national community.

At the same time, new challenges of wartime objectively motivate the need to create a self-government model for a more constructive interaction of local self-government units with all levels of government in the state. It is this factor that motivates the need to study management at the local level in the countries of the European Union in order to adapt its individual elements to domestic practice. In particular, organization and study of a local administration in the Republic of Poland, which has proven its effectiveness in practice and can be useful for modern Ukraine in many ways, deserves attention.

It should be noted that at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, significant events took place in the Republic of Poland, which covered all levels of an economic and social life. First of all, the citizens of Poland felt a real political freedom and opportunity for the development of a political activity. This was manifested owing to the elections to the Sejm and the Senate on July 4, 1989. **For the first time** in practice, this country was able to form a new government and start implementing the programme of transformation to a market economy. In the economy, the process of “shock therapy” took place, which was accompanied by a strict regulation of all types of economic activity and introduction into practice of strict rules of discipline regarding the use of public funds in the system of public finances. The Polish economy managed to stabilize and, since 1992, the economy has been on the path of a steady growth. At the same time, the issues of providing targeted social assistance, diversification of forms of a social care and assistance, health care and pension system were put on the agenda (Hontsiash, 2001, pp. 7–14, 12).

Such a difficult situation motivated the Polish government officials to the need to reform public administration in general, so that powerful state institutions become more democratic, more public and closer to the needs of the population. In addition, new economic, political and social structures objectively demanded a different from previous system of state administration, new sources of legitimation and new approaches to management. In general, this required a change in the entire bureaucratic political structure. In this process not the least role was played by a public opinion, which stimulated rather radical changes in the state apparatus and increased prestige and image of executive authorities. It is significant that all transformations and modernizations in this country took place in accordance with the key guidelines of the European Charter of Local Self-Government (Yevropeiska khartiia mistsevoho samovriaduvannia).

In fact, the current administrative and territorial division of Poland has not changed since 1999 after the administrative reform, when a three-level system of territorial division was established: gmina (commune) – county – voivodeship.

In Poland the first step on the way to democracy was creation of an independent basic level of territorial organization of the country – gmina – the lowest link in the country's self-government system. Giving it a real power was the main strategic result of the public administration reform in Poland. Let's pay tribute to the Polish state, which not only supported this idea at the legislative level, but also demonstrated the ability to self-restraint (Shapoval, 2018, pp. 57–59). As evidenced by more than 30 years of practice, this level of management became a fairly successful provider of public services to the population and the main partner in solving all current affairs of local residents. In fact, gmina became a kind of school of democratic governance, an effective institution of a civil society, which was endowed with sufficient power attributes to provide population with all the necessary needs and satisfy their vital interests. By the way, according to the UPLAN network and the publication "European Dialogue" in 2023, 2,477 gminas were functioning in Poland: 1,498 rural, 677 urban-rural, 302 urban, with a total number of 979 cities (Orhanizatsiia mistsevoho samovriaduvannia respubliki Polshcha).

It should be noted that gmina, as the smallest (basic) unit, can be rural, urban rural (may include 1 city and several villages) or urban, but regardless of status, it unites at least 5,000 residents. The auxiliary unit of gminas in rural areas is sołtys administrations (sołtys is a head of a village).

On October 1, 2022, Poltava State Agrarian University started implementing the project of the European Union – the Erasmus+ Programme of Jean Monet "Participation of Citizens and Social Dialogue as Key Factors in Development of Sustainable Territorial Communities: EU Best Practices for Ukraine" by representatives of the Department of Humanitarian and Social Disciplines, Professors A. Nekriach and T. Sharavara. Using the interview method, it was possible to study in detail the principles of the work of sołtys administrations and compare them with functioning of starosta districts in Ukraine. In particular, it was possible to work with Mr. Pavel Buček, the sołtys of Grobniki village (Grobniki – the Polish the name originates from the 15th century, the settlement was founded by the Maltese Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, Hlubčice Commune, Opole Voivodeship), and it contributed to the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation between this sołtys administration and Nekhvoroshchanska Community of Poltava Region (Nekhvoroshchanska terytorialna hromada, 2023). There was the meeting with the mayor of the town of Głubczyce, Mr. Adam Krupa, who also shared his experience in solving local self-government issues and noted that citizens had access to him and the town hall throughout the working day without any obstacles, even despite the state

of the coronavirus pandemic. Unlike the town halls of our Ukrainian cities, where access to a mayor and city council is not widely available until now. Although as of today it is possible to complain about the need to maintain a certain level of security in connection with the martial law, the situation is fundamentally the same.

Therefore, Mr. Pavel Buček noted that decisions were made in Polish villages by village assemblies, and the representative of the executive power is a sołtys, a head of a village community. This position is elective, unlike in Ukraine, because our leaders of starosty districts are appointed, and this in no way contributes to their activity in the interests of solving problems at the local level. A sołtys is assisted by the council, which is also elected by villagers. There are no elected bodies at the level of starosty districts in Ukraine. Comparing the level of organization of a local life in Ukraine and Poland, we came to the conclusion that the majority of problems are absolutely similar at the local level. Sołtys also lacks funds for maintenance of understaffed schools, kindergartens, repair of local roads, arrangement of recreation areas and observance of barrier-free access for citizens with special needs, etc. However, they actively attract EU grant funds to solve these issues and receive a significant support and assistance by the sołtys council (an analogue of the former Ukrainian village council), whose members work tirelessly to obtain grant investments. And this assistance, in turn, gives not only a qualitatively higher standard of living of a rural population, but also a higher level of capitalization of lands on which villages are located, leads to an increase in the value of real estate, makes the territory attractive for economic investments.

It should be noted that, in addition to the Constitution, the work of gmina is also affected by the Law “On Commune Self-Government”, adopted in *March* of 1990 (Zakon Polshchi “Pro hminne samovriaduvannia”). The key principle is subsidiarity, according to which all functions and objectives of local importance are assigned to the sphere of authority of gmina and its bodies. Gmina performs public tasks on its own behalf and under its own responsibility (Zakon Polshchi “Pro hminne samovriaduvannia”, *stattia* 2). We also note that “satisfaction of the common needs of the public is assigned to gmina’s own tasks” (Zakon Polshchi “Pro hminne samovriaduvannia”, *stattia* 7). The fulfillment of tasks by gmina is based on the principle of independence, which is provided by the revenues that it can dispose of to cover its expenses. According to the legislation provisions on financing of gmina, revenues are divided into mandatory and non-mandatory. The analysis of local budgets of individual gminas and structure of incomes proves that independence is one of their features, especially considering that in Poland the main principle of local self-government bodies organization is separation of local self-government from the state – independent individual self-government budgets function alongside the state budget. Based on this fact, it is possible to formulate such conclusions that financial resources greatly influence the implementation of tasks and provision of high-quality services. Thus, the more residents, the potentially richer gmina is, the more real estate in the hands of individuals and legal entities – the greater gmina’s income, the more profitable companies are located on its territory, the greater gmina’s potential income, the more active small trade and services for the population, the better income for the benefit of gmina. Therefore, the heads of gminas encourage legal entities and individuals to invest in gmina in every possible way. Therefore, investment attractiveness is given a key importance and it is no accident that gminas invest in road infrastructure, water pipes, sewage networks, telecommunication networks, sewage treatment, etc. In the context of the above mentioned, it is noteworthy that the level of investment in infrastructure is the basis for determining the best and most attractive gminas in Poland.

It is important to emphasize that every citizen of gmina becomes its member, regardless of whether he takes an active part in development of gminas, and as a result, a situation arises when an individual cannot refuse to be a member of a self-governing community, and on the other hand, a community is not entitled exclude it from its composition. The analysis of gmina powers gives grounds for asserting that they cover the totality of all public affairs of local importance, which, according to the legislation, are not assigned to the competence of other bodies. According to the Law on Municipal Self-Government, powers are divided into own and delegated. Let's outline some of them, which are attributed to their own powers. In particular, this is maintenance of order in a relevant territory, functioning of local economy, environmental protection, functioning of municipal roads, communal services, trade, organization of public order, health protection, social assistance to residents, housing construction, organization of work of preschool and secondary education institutions, institutions culture, public order, establishment of guarantees of social, medical and legal security.

As for the delegated powers, they are transferred to gminas from government administration competence with a simultaneous delegation of financial funds in the amount necessary to fulfill the tasks assigned to gminas. The bodies entrusted with powers include: a gmina council and a board, as an executive body. The latter performs its functions with the help of a gmina institution. A head is a viyt, if gmina is rural, or a burgomaster, if it is an urban gmina, who is a head of a gmina institution employees and heads of organizational units. It should be noted that a head of the executive body of an auxiliary unit (sołtys administration) can participate in the work of gmina without the right to participate in voting. Control implementation over gmina activities is performed by the Prime Minister and the Voivode, and budget issues are handled by the regional accounting chamber. By the way, if the control concerns gmina's own powers, then the scope of supervision is limited to checking whether the decision of gmina bodies is consistent with the current legislation (a criterion of legality), as for delegated powers, the fundamental criterion is expediency, thoroughness and economy. In case of significant violations of the law, the decisions of the gmina council body may be declared invalid. In case of repeated recorded violations, the Sejm, *in accordance with Article 96 of the Law on Gmina, upon the submission of the Prime Minister, may decide to dissolve gmina council* (Zakon Polshchi "Pro hminne samovriaduvannia").

The board of gmina is also subject to specific sanctions for improper performance of its functions. Thus, *in accordance with Article 97, Law on Gmina*, at the voivode's suggestion to the Prime Minister, this body can be dissolved and a board of commissioners founded established (Zakon Polshchi "Pro hminne samovriaduvannia").

As for performing powers, gmina organizes them in different ways. The main principle is that these services should be provided by individual entities that specialize in one or another field. Gminas have the right to establish target unions to jointly solve problems of providing public services, retaining control over firms. At the gmina commune level, there is also a system of providing subsidies for the utilities for the category of population that needs them the most.

With the aim of a more effective activity of gmina, providing residents with high-quality and affordable services, the council of gmina promotes and supports the development of small and medium-sized businesses. In this situation, gmina acts as an employer, a customer, a client and an investor, thereby creating a favourable business climate on the territory of gmina and dividing these tools into revenue and expenditure. The creation of a whole range of institutions with the help of which this activity is carried out is worth mentioning: local and regional development agencies, business support centres, business incubators, credit funds.

There should be singled out the forms through which residents participate in the activities of gmina and how open is the activity of a gmina representative body. By electing their representatives, citizens can directly influence the policy formation by the gmina council, as well as participate in the work of gmina commission (this right is granted to them by Article of the Law “On Gmina Self-Government”). Regarding participation of ordinary citizens in a self-governing process, during the study of this issue on the territory of the Opole Voivodeship, it can be stated that inhabitants of gmina have broad rights of access to public information, government documents, and minutes of collegial bodies meetings. This is defined in the Law “On Access to Public Information” (Art.) and the Law “On Gmina Self-Government” (Articles 21; 23; 28a; 88; 90.). Referenda are one of the important forms of citizen participation. In particular, in Paragraph 2. Art. 12 of the Law “On Gmina Self-Government” runs that a referendum can be held on any issue that is important for gmina (Zakon Polshchi “Pro hminne samovriaduvannia”).

A referendum is considered to have taken place if at least 30% of gmina’s residents, who have the right to vote, participated in it. The procedure for conducting referenda and the list of issues that should be submitted to a local referendum are defined by the Law “On Local Referendum” of 2000 (Zakon “Pro mistsevi referendumy”).

In our opinion, analysis of issues submitted to local referenda and their number in gminas gives grounds for asserting that this form of direct people’s power is quite effective and deeply rooted in Poland.

Consequently, in Poland gmina became the most important provider of public services for its citizens and concentrated in its hands the majority of local affairs that concern both citizens and subjects of an economic activity. It was at this level of governance that citizens felt that they were able to really influence the course of events, improve situation in their town or village, and also received the right to control local authorities and directly participate in the management of local affairs. This ability to influence the course of events, to control local authorities, in turn, improved efficiency of using public funds, their economy, rationality and expediency. Gmina fully complies with all-European standards, global development trends in the field of public administration, which generally contributes to the cooperation of this country in the European and international community.

At the end of the 1990s, there began the creation of new self-governing unit – powiat in Poland. The normative base determined that no more than 10 gminas could be united in this self-governing unit. In fact, nowadays there are 314 rural powiats and 66 urban powiats in Poland (individual cities are powiats). Only a city with a population of at least 100,000 people, as well as a city that has lost its status as a centre of a voivodeship since December 31, 1998, can be considered a powiat. (Orhanizatsiia mistsevoho samovriaduvannia respubliky Polshcha)

An administrative and territorial unit, a powiat, is the second level in the hierarchy of self-government bodies. A powiat was introduced by the Law “On Powiat Self-Government” in 1998 (Zakon Polshchi “Pro povitove samovriaduvannia”). This level acts independently and is a higher level of self-government (voivodeship) and central state administration bodies. Endowed with a legal personality, a powiat performs public tasks on its own behalf and under its own responsibility. According to the principle of subsidiarity, a powiat performs those tasks and satisfies those needs that exceed capabilities of gmina. However, the tasks of a powiat are local and are carried out to ensure a proper standard of living of people. According to the Polish scholars, as a result of the reform, 308 powiats and 65 cities having powiat status were created. Powiats unite at least 5 gminas, on average – 8 gminas. In terms

of population, the largest is Warsaw powiat (with a population of over 1.5 million people), and the smallest is Sejneński powiat (Podlaskie Voivodeship) with a population of just over 20,000. In general, more than 120,000 people are employed in powiat services across the country, of which the largest number are law enforcement agencies and fire services (Vuichik & Hrabets, 2000).

The main criteria that were used as a basis for the creation of powiats are as follows: how close geographically are districts that formed a powiat, how related are their economic and economic activities, available resources, which have a historical commonality; the number of population, development of transport network and presence of a city with a capable infrastructure capable of fulfilling the mission of an administrative and territorial centre of a powiat. At the same time, the approach to efficiency remained key – a powiat should be convenient enough from the point of view of providing services and not too small so that powiat services are capable of performing tasks. Similar to gminas, powiats have their own and delegated tasks. Own powers are performed at the expense of own funds, and delegated or entrusted powers must be financed by the body that delegated or entrusted a powiat with performance of certain tasks. As for the latter, two types are distinguished: state services and supervisory and administrative services. The main bodies performing the tasks are the council, the board and the unified district administration, the powers of which are determined by a relevant legislation. An important area of activity of the council and the board is development and approval of a powiat development strategy. Similar development strategies are currently being developed by territorial communities in Ukraine, however, given the legal weakness of starosty districts, local population is not able to influence the discussion or changes to such strategies fully. In Poland, the public is involved in this process. The head of a powiat council, commissions of a powiat council direct their efforts to a proper provision of services to the population, which are defined in the law “On Powiat Self-Government”. The executive bodies of a powiat are the board, which includes starosty, their deputies, and other members. The quantitative composition of the board is determined by the charter.

It is worth mentioning the institution of starosta, functions and powers, because in accordance with the reform of decentralization of power in Ukraine, this institution was also introduced, but a starosta in Ukraine is a person with a purely nominal influence on the situation. In the Polish powiat starosta is the head of the board and the head of the unified powiat administration. He is elected by a secret ballot (in Ukraine, he is appointed, often based on loyalty to a mayor of a particular city, town) by an absolute majority of votes, and he organizes the work of the board, and he is the head of the district administration – starostvo; he appoints and dismisses heads of organizational departments of a powiat county administration. He is also the head of a number of district services, inspections, and he is also responsible for the performance of his duties and all subordinate institutions. It should be noted that the responsibility of starosta is a political responsibility. In addition, at its own discretion each powiat has the right to initiate or create new structures for better performance of tasks. As for the powiat starostvo, it functions on the basis of regulations, which are approved by the council at the request of the board. The conducted analysis proved that the activity of starosta does not differ particularly in different powiats. A starosta, members of the board, as well as a treasurer and secretary are responsible for a separate direction of starostvo’s work and functioning (Zakon Polshchi “Pro povitove samovriaduvannia”, statti 32; 33; 34; 37). As for the unified powiat administration, it performs several functions: organizational, financial, personal responsibility. About 20 different organizational institutions operate

in an average powiat, including educational, health care, social assistance, institutions, etc. Thus, the largest number of educational institutions operating at the powiat level are comprehensive lyceums, vocational and technical colleges (schools). It should be noted that the majority of educational institutions function at the gmina level. As it was mentioned above, the formation of a powiat self-government, its development and strengthening are closely related to a powiat development strategy. For this purpose, powiat councils have commissions on issues of a powiat promotion and attracting investors. Web pages and information portals that provide information for investors are used for this. By the way, each powiat in its own way formulates the advantages of investment attractiveness, including the availability of sources of energy, gas, water, telecommunications network, infrastructure, environment (environment), resources, production sphere, availability of recreational and park areas, tourist attraction, etc.

An important link of a powiat activity is its financial component, for which the board is solely responsible. Transparency and openness in the use of budget funds is another positive aspect of a powiat board work. The budget and its revenue and expenditure parts, as well as investment programmes, are posted on websites and are available to all interested parties. The structure of budget consists of own revenues and transfers from the state budget, which are divided into general subvention and targeted subsidies. In addition, for financing special programmes (projects), a powiat can receive financing from special funds. All finances are used to carry out delegated and assigned tasks. Annual ratings of powiats are based on the coefficient of development potential and provide an opportunity to determine the most successful powiats and in which area the most comfortable conditions for residents are provided. Although, for the sake of justice, it should be noted that each powiat and its institutions strive to ensure a high standard of living for every citizen of this country.

In 1998, according to the government reform, there took place reorganization of voivodships. Their number decreased from 49 to 16 voivodeships (Statystychnyi dovidnyk, 2001). Actually, this self-governing structure became key at the regional level (Zakon Polshchi "Pro samovriadvannia voievodstv"). As a result, a fairly effective system of self-government was formed in Poland, in which authorities received direct democratic mandates, clearly defined powers and competences at each level of management. Voivodeships that operate within a dual structure of state administration – government and self-government. A voivodeship is a unit of a territorial division of the state, which was created to carry out public administration and at the same time it is a regional self-governing community (Zakon Polshchi "Pro samovriadvannia voievodstv", stattia 1). The organization of a voivodeship is determined by the Statute, and the legislative basis for its activity is the Law "On Self-Government of Voivodeships". In voivodeship the government administration is represented by a voivode, who is appointed by the Prime Minister. A voivode has a number of powers: control and supervision, as well as he ensures cooperation of all units of government administration and self-government bodies, he performs and coordinates tasks in the field of defense and security, he promotes development of science, national culture and micro-infrastructure. He heads department, internal organization of which is determined by law. Another component is the elected government of a voivodeship, headed by a voivodeship marshal, who is responsible for the entire range of services related to enforcement of legislation and public safety, in return closely cooperating with powiat administrations and not violating their independence. It should be noted that the sphere of activity of voivodeship administration does not violate independence of a powiat and gmina. Voivodeship administration bodies are

not bodies of supervision or control over a powiat and gmina and are not bodies of the highest level in state administration (Zakon Polshchi “Pro samovriaduvannia voievodstv”, stattia 4). Voivodship administration, on the basis of powers granted to it, adopts local legal acts on the territory of a voivodship. There should be mentioned the fact that in accordance with Article 86 of the Law “On Gmina Self-Government”, the Prime Minister and the Voivode are supervisory bodies for gmina activities, which are carried out on the basis of the criteria defined in the legislation, which are the criteria of expediency, thoroughness and economy, and budgetary issues – such supervision is carried out by the regional accounting chamber (Zakon Polshchi “Pro hminne samovriaduvannia”, stattia 85).

Local self-government bodies of a voivodeship are responsible for a regional policy and perform tasks in the field of education, health care, culture, environmental protection, combating unemployment and activating a local labour market. All these powers do not belong to the direct competence of government administration bodies. They carry out tasks of voivodeship importance, defined by law, in particular, in such areas as education, health care, social assistance, family development, modernization of rural areas, environmental protection, public roads and transport, culture and tourism, public safety, combating unemployment and the others. The structure of local self-government bodies includes: the sejm as a law-making body, a board elected by the sejm and headed by a marshal appointed by the sejm. The voivodship sejm approves directions of a regional policy, development programmes, improvement plans and voivodship budget. The voivodship sejm also takes measures that ensure the functioning and development of a region and satisfaction of the needs of its population (Hontsiazh, 2001, pp. 131–134).

Deputies of the sejm elect a chairman by a secret ballot, vice-chairmen of the sejm. A voivodeship board is an executive body of a voivodeship. A voivodeship board includes a marshal, as its chairman, vice-chairman and other members. A marshal of a voivodeship organizes work of a voivodeship board and administration, manages affairs of a voivodeship, and also represents a voivodeship outside its borders. As a head of administration of self-governing bodies, marshals are guided in their actions by the principles of legality and loyalty to a local community of residents of a local self-government unit. A marshal signs the so-called contract between the central government and local self-government bodies. An important element of any voivodship is its budget, which includes own revenues, general subventions, and targeted grants from the state budget. As for an expenditure part of the budget, difference in expenditure structures of counties and voivodships is that local self-government bodies of voivodship are able to invest in various projects and programmes, although their expenses as a whole make up a small share of total expenses of a voivodeship.

The policy of providing subsidies, which is carried out by local self-government bodies, deserves special attention. The main act that regulates the system of local self-government is the statute, which is adopted by the sejms. As for supervisory functions over the activities of a voivodship, they are performed by the Prime Minister and the voivode, and in financial matters – by regional accounting chambers (Zakon Polshchi “Pro samovriaduvannia voievodstv”, statti 78–79). In cases where a quick correction is not foreseen and an inefficient use of public tasks by the administrative bodies of voivodship continues, the Prime Minister can terminate activities of administrative bodies of a voivodship and establish a commissar board for a period of up to two years (Zakon Polshchi “Pro samovriaduvannia voievodstv”, stattia 85). Instead, residents, and this is important to note, are not deprived of the right to defend their violated rights in court.

Therefore, at the voivodeship level, there is a combination of local and national interests, and the process of decentralization continues and improves in this country. As for the system of public administration itself, despite some unresolved issues and weaknesses, in general, it can be said that it laid the foundation for a positive balance of transformations in this country.

The study of local self-government organization experience in the Republic of Poland proved that their activities are generally based on the following approaches:

- local authorities have the full right to exercise their powers independently under their own responsibility;
- delegated state tasks are performed by those authorities that are the closest to people;
- local bodies have a full autonomous control over the sources of their own revenues and have the right to make decisions on their distribution, in accordance with self-governing functions, which allows not to duplicate the powers and functions of different levels of management, not to interfere in their competence, but to implement public tasks independently;
- for a successful implementation of public tasks, the principle of equalization of local budgets is applied, cooperation is established with all subjects that carry out their activities on the territory of self-governing units through the creation of joint firms, associations, etc.;
- a self-government unit is interested to a large extent in having an attractive investment climate, its own development plan, a strategy for seeing its prospects;
- there is observed an active participation of citizens in management of local affairs, which is implemented through local referenda, surveys of residents, discussion of issues before their preliminary consideration;
- election of officials creates favourable conditions for development and strengthening of local democracy;
- citizens have free access to sources of information;
- control over activities of self-governing bodies is carried out in the format of certain decisions compliance with current legislation. Regarding expediency, economy, rationality, the use of certain forms of implementation of public tasks, in this case a community is independent and self-sufficient. Taking into consideration that key in the work of self-government bodies is provision of various administrative and communal services, control function for their quality and timeliness belongs to self-government bodies, which is carried out by monitoring services;
- cooperation between various self-governing units, implementation of international programmes, grant projects is successful and effective in this country.

The Conclusion. In Ukraine decentralization that started at the beginning of the 1990s established a democratic management model, objective and impartial control over the implementation of decisions at each level of management, targeted and appropriate use of public finances. For 30 years, all self-governing institutions have proven the right to life and the fact that the self-government phenomenon is capable of a truly turning an average citizen into a master of his own destiny.

It is also important, according to the authors, that many useful things from Poland's experience could be borrowed and adapted to our domestic practice. In particular, the experience of this country has shown that:

- the institution of a local self-government is a product of the centuries-old experience of every people, including Polish and Ukrainian, whose main form of life is *gmina*, in one form or another, and which must be protected and developed;

– the institution of local self-government needs a constant improvement and increase in efficiency and direct participation of population in this process, and a preliminary discussion of draft decisions with population should become a common practice for local self-government bodies, and therefore the election of heads of starosty districts in Ukraine must be revived;

– administrative and territorial reform should be accompanied by not quantitative, but qualitative changes at all levels of management;

– openness, transparency and awareness are also elements of successful Polish practice, which does not require large financial costs, but benefits of which are obvious, as it increases trust and legitimacy of decisions made by local self-government bodies;

– personnel hunger, which is observed real in local self-government bodies of Ukraine nowadays, must be overcome through cooperation with higher education institutions;

– observance of the code of integrity by officials, as the Polish experience proves, also does not require large costs, apart from a political will;

– balancing budgets, introducing innovative approaches, rating the best community – these are real elements that should be applied in domestic practice more actively. A vivid example of success is Nekhvoroshchanska united community, the experience of which can be used by other Ukrainian communities (Нехворощанська територіальна громада);

– considering that the course of district councils reform turned out to be the weakest link, it is necessary either to adopt a separate law on them or to transform their current powers so that they are not an extra link in the system of a local self-government;

– it is worth talking about a new self-governing institution that was introduced during the reform – the institution of starosta. In the Republic of Poland, this institution performs quite important functions related to organization of a local life without duplicating or interfering with powers of other bodies. On the other hand, in the Ukrainian realities, this institution is accepted ambiguously. In our opinion, this is due to a mental component and is connected with the historical past of our country, when the position of starosta was accepted in a negative way by the population. Therefore, it is no accident that in some communities, instead of starosta, deputy heads of territorial communities are introduced, which is actually not prohibited by the Ukrainian legislation. Under such conditions, the very approach to these positions should be changed and instead of being appointed administratively, they should be elected by a community during local elections. This will make it possible to get to know a person applying for this position better, his professional level, outlook and ability to organize work of a self-governing unit for the benefit of a community;

– partnership interaction of state authorities and local self-government bodies is one of the ways not only to understanding, but also to great responsibility towards one's own people. This should become the highest value. Because it gives a sense of belonging and makes local communities the place where people want to live and work both today and in the future;

– regarding the role and mission of the state in these processes, it is reduced to interference only in cases when it is most necessary. The study of local self-government practice in this country proved that local authorities are delegated by the central government sufficient powers, functions and resources, which are necessary to ensure the life of the population at an appropriate level. In Ukraine, we can partly observe a struggle for influence between local self-government bodies and executive authorities – regional military (state) administrations.

Despite the large-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, which made significant adjustments to the system of Ukrainian governance (for example, the emergence of military administrations at the level of regions with broad powers), the reform of decentralization of power contributed to the

creation of full-fledged self-governing institutions that proved to be able to work even under such conditions, to interact with citizens, to minimize the consequences of the war for the civilian population, taking measures to preserve the real governance of territories and communities.

The experience gained during the years of reform proves correctness and expediency of the state vector aimed at supporting local self-government, as it opens wide opportunities for self-governing institutions, bringing them closer in content to European values and standards.

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CENTRAL FIGURES AND EVENTS OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL YOUTUBE CHANNELS FROM 2014 TO 2022

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to identify historical heroes and events that are top among the Ukrainians from 2014 to 2022, based on the processing of historical videos posted on the leading Ukrainian historical YouTube channels. The methodology of the research is based on a complex approach, which implies the use of special computer methods that have not been used in this way before. The methods related to complex network analysis (CNA) have been used, with the help of which a relational database containing information about the most popular characters, events and topics in the Ukrainian historical YouTube videos was depicted in the form of a graph, and the most significant characters and motifs were found out by measuring centrality (as graph vertices). The Louvain Community Detection and Clauset-Newman-Moore algorithms have been used to extract links between topics and the context of their creation (date). The scientific novelty consists in the fact of finding out the renowned historical heroes among the users of Ukrainian historical YouTube channels owing to the use of innovative computer*

methods. **The Conclusion.** Nowadays, YouTube, it is not just a platform for posting relevant video content. It is a social network that serves as a platform for learning, communication, exchange of ideas, and distribution of important information. Diverse interesting and important films and videos appeared on the Ukrainian YouTube channels with historical themes in 2014 – 2022, regarding the coverage of the Ukrainian view of its own history, which was carefully hidden or rewritten by colonial regimes for decades. As a result of the research, owing to the cutting-edge computer methods application, the authors found out that the top period of Ukrainian history for domestic producers of video products posted on the Ukrainian segment of YouTube is the period of the 17th century. Accordingly, the top historical hero is Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. However, for the Ukrainian users of these YouTube channels, the top historical hero is Ivan Mazepa, a symbol of the struggle for the Ukrainian and European statehood. The conducted research showed that the interest of the Ukrainians in the history of their own country has increased recently. This tendency is could be observed with the outbreak of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian War, which affected people's reception of their own past significantly. And this is, in fact, the beginning of the conscious nation formation, who seeks to get rid of its "backwardness" and the imperial past, and aims at gaining self-respect and respect of the European community of peoples. It is the foundation for getting rid of the Ukrainians' reception of themselves as the inferior. It is one of the important steps towards building a truly independent state, an equal partner in the international arena.

Keywords: historical heroes, events, content analysis, Ukrainian YouTube channels.

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНІ ПОСТАТІ ТА ПОДІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІСТОРІЇ У СВІТЛІ КОНТЕНТ-АНАЛІЗУ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІСТОРИЧНИХ YOUTUBE-КАНАЛІВ з 2014 до 2022 року

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі опрацювання історичних роликів, розміщених на провідних українських історичних YouTube-каналах, визначити історичних героїв та події, які є топовими серед українців упродовж 2014 – 2022 рр. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на комплексному підході, в основу якого покладено використання спеціальних комп'ютерних методів, які до цього саме так не застосовувалися. Використовувалися методи, пов'язані з комплексним мережевим аналізом (CNA), за допомогою якого реляційна база даних, що містить інформацію про найпопулярніших героїв, події та теми в українських історичних відео YouTube, була зображена у вигляді графіка, а найбільш значущі персонажі та мотиви були з'ясовані за допомогою вимірювання центральності (як вершини графа). Алгоритми Louvain Community Detection і Clauset-Newman-Moore були використані для виділення зв'язків між темами та контекстом їх створення (датую). **Наукова новизна** полягає у з'ясуванні популярних історичних героїв серед користувачів українських історичних YouTube каналів шляхом застосування новаторської комп'ютерної методики. **Висновки.** Сьогодні YouTube – це не просто платформа для розміщення відповідного відеоконтенту, а соціальна мережа, яка виступає майданчиком для навчання, спілкування, обміну ідеями, поширення важливої інформації. Упродовж 2014 – 2022 рр. на українських YouTube-каналах історичної тематики з'явилася низка цікавих та важливих фільмів і роликів, присвячених висвітленню українського погляду на власну історію, яка упродовж десятків років старанно приховувалася або ж переписувалася колоніальними режимами. У результаті проведеного дослідження, шляхом застосування новаторської комп'ютерної методики, авторами було з'ясовано, що топовим періодом української історії для вітчизняних виробників відеопродукції, що розміщується в українському сегменті YouTube, є період XVII ст. Відповідно топовим історичним героєм – Богдан Хмельницький. Однак для українських користувачів цих YouTube-каналів топовим історичним героєм є Іван Мазепа, символ боротьби за українську, європейську державність. Проведене дослідження демонструє, що упродовж останніх років зріс інтерес українців до історії власної країни. Означена тенденція особливо спостерігається з початком повномасштабної російсько-української війни, яка суттєво вплинула на уявлення людей про власне минуле. А це фактично є початком формування свідомої нації, яка прагне позбутися "заширеності" та імперського минулого, ставить за мету здобути самоповагу і пошану європейської спільноти народів. Це є фундаментом для позбавлення сприйняття українцями себе меншовартісними. Одним із важливих кроків до побудови дійсно незалежної держави, рівного партнера на міжнародній арені.

Ключові слова: історичні герої, події, контент-аналіз, українські YouTube-канали.

The Problem Statement. Nowadays, YouTube is one of the most influential and convenient platforms not only in Ukraine and Europe, but also in the world in general. YouTube is a network, which provides access to videos at any time and from anywhere in the world, promotes the creation of communities that express their views on a particular issue, thereby increasing interest in it. In our case, it is about historical topics. From 2014 to 2022, a number of historical films and videos were created on the Ukrainian YouTube channel, both about leading historical figures and events in the history of Ukraine, the influence of which we observe even today. Under the conditions of a limited and full-scale war, in which Ukraine found itself, it is more relevant than ever to understand which historical video content is top among the Ukrainians and what explains it. To what extent the rhetoric changed in the reception and production of such video material among the Ukrainians during the specified period.

Hence, **the purpose of the research** is to identify historical heroes and events that are top among the Ukrainians from 2014 to 2022, based on the processing of historical videos posted on the leading Ukrainian historical YouTube channels.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications. The issue of the pantheon of the Ukrainian historical heroes were raised by the Ukrainian researchers many times. However, in general, their works were written on the basis of processing traditional sources of information. For example, in 2017, a scientific article written by S. Baturina was published, in which the author highlighted the attitude towards prominent Ukrainian historical heroes: Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Ivan Mazepa, and Danylo Halytskyi in Russian and Polish school textbooks (Baturina, 2017). However, modern historians are trying to attract data obtained from networks popular among the Ukrainians (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) increasingly actively nowadays. Such a tendency is especially observed in the studied issue of historical consciousness and historical memory of the Ukrainians.

Thus, there were numerous publications that emerged over the past 5 years, among which we can single out scientific articles, written by Ukrainian researchers R. Khardel, V. Vyzdryk (Khardel & Vyzdryk, 2019), A. Kasian, Ya. Platmir and D. Khomenko (Kasian, Platmir & Khomenko, 2020), K. Dzihora (Dzihora, 2022), in which the authors, based on the use of special software, analyzed the presence of certain video materials on the Ukrainian YouTube channels, as well as studied the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of communities that were dedicated to historical memory or related to the history of Ukraine, in modern social networks, including YouTube.

However, the topic offered by us is not analyzed nowadays. A similar study on trends. google sources was published by V. Telvak and V. Werner (Telvak & Werner, 2023), which concerned the coverage of interest in historical figures on the World Wide Web as a marker of historical consciousness in modern Ukraine. A joint monographic study edited by E. Rutten, Ju. Fedor and V. Zvereva (Rutten, Fedor & Zvereva, 2013) regarding viewing video content of media Facebook, Twitter. The research is based on qualitative methods.

The Results of the Research. It should be noted that a comprehensive approach was used in order to carry out the above-mentioned research, which was based on new computer methods that enabled the authors to identify connections between various aspects of historical videos on the Ukrainian YouTube channels, which are one of the most common sources for the Ukrainians to obtain information about their own history nowadays (fig. 1) (Kyivskyi mizhnarodnyi instytut sotsiologii, 2023, p. 10).

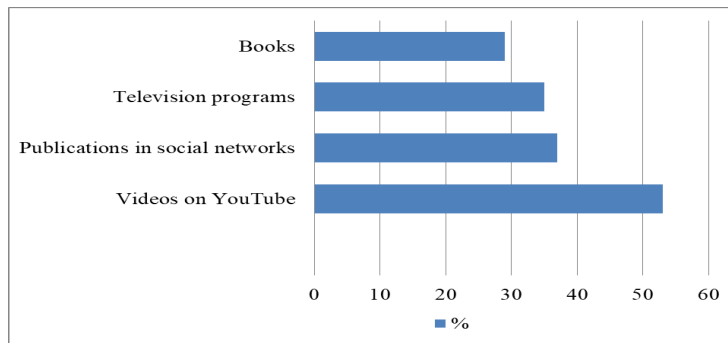


Fig. 1. Resources for the Ukrainians to Obtain Information about the History of Ukraine

The research was conducted in several stages. First of all, the selection of the most popular Ukrainian historical YouTube channels was carried out. One of the main criteria for this selection was the number of subscribers on the channel, which had to be at least 20,000. It was the very presence of signatories testified to the prevalence, interest, influence of historical video content on the audience, as well as the presence of a certain feedback. As a result, 14 Ukrainian historical YouTube channels were selected (fig. 2).

№	Channel name	Number of channel subscribers
1	TV channel 1+1	3,3 million
2	5 channel	1,61 million
3	named after T.H. Shevchenko	821 thousand
4	History without myths	645 thousand
5	WAS: Popular History	271 thousand
6	Iryna Farion	261 thousand
7	History for adults	212 thousand
8	Kozak.ua:	128 thousand
9	In search of truth	78,6 thousand
10	BUZINA.ORG	64,1 thousand
11	Real History	47,6 thousand
12	The last hetman	27,8 thousand
13	Oleksandr Alfiorov	27,5 thousand
14	History Verum	20,5 thousand

Fig. 2. Table of the Most Popular Ukrainian Historical YouTube Channels (data for April of 2023)

The next step was to create a list of the most influential and important historical figures in the lives of modern Ukrainians. A survey of outstanding Ukrainians of all time was taken and conducted by the sociological group “Reitynh” within the framework of the “Narodnyi TOP” project in October of 2022. There were involved 1,000 respondents aged 18 and over in this survey. All regions were represented, except for the temporarily occupied territories of the Crimea and Donbas, as well as territories where there was no Ukrainian mobile connection

at the time of the survey. The error of representativeness of the study with a confidence probability of 0,95: no more than 3,1% (Sotsiolohichna hrupa “Reitynh”, October 2022).

According to this survey, a popular TOP was formed – 100 such personalities, among whom we picked out historical figures of the 10th – 20th centuries, who played a significant role in the history of Ukraine and received the most votes among the selected audience (fig. 3).

№	A historical hero	Number of votes in %
1	Taras Shevchenko	63,9
2	Lesya Ukrainka	19,6
3	Bohdan Khmelnytskyi	17,3
4	Stepan Bandera	12,8
5	Mykhailo Hrushevskyi	11,6
6	Ivan Franko	10,1
7	Ivan Mazepa	8,8
8	Prince Volodymyr the Great	2,6
9	Yaroslav Mudryi	2,5
10	Ivan Sirko	2,4
11	Petro Sahaidachnyi	1,8
12	Roman Shukhevych	1,7
13	Pavlo Skoropadskyi	0,9
14	Nestor Makhno	0,6
15	Danylo Halytskyi	0,5
16	Symon Petliura	0,5
17	Petro Doroshenko	0,3
18	Leonid Brezhnev	0,3
19	Anna Kyivska	0,3
20	Volodymyr Vynnychenko	0,3
21	Ivan Bohun	0,3
22	Princess Olga	0,2
23	Evhen Konovalts	0,1
24	Ivan Vyhovskyi	0,1

Fig. 3. Table of the Most Influential Historical Heroes in Ukraine (data for October of 2022)

Taking into account the above-mentioned, 7 famous Ukrainian cultural and public figures were included in the first ten prominent figures, who were undeniably rated as positive: Taras Shevchenko, Lesia Ukrayinka, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Stepan Bandera, Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, Ivan Franko and Ivan Mazepa. Stepan Bandera and Ivan Mazepa were the most controversial figures among the above-mentioned over the past 20 years (fig. 4).

Their names were used by the Soviet propaganda to denote the nationalist movement in Ukraine for a long time. Accordingly, there were the so-called “Mazepyntsi”, “Banderivtsi” with a rather negative image in the Soviet times and in modern Russia. Due to the declaration of Ukraine’s independence, there was a change in attitude towards Ivan Mazepa, which had improved especially during the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, when more and more historical truth became available. The turning point in the attitude towards Stepan Bandera

took place between 2012 and 2014, when 31% of the respondents already considered him to be a positive figure in the Ukrainian history. The second giant leap actually took place in 2022, 74% of respondents considered Stepan Bandera a positive hero (Dukhnich, 2022).

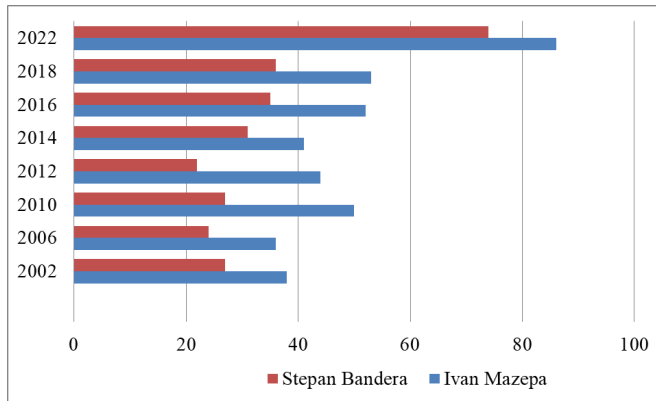


Fig. 4. Dynamics of the Positive Attitude of the Ukrainians to Ivan Mazepa and Stepan Bandera (2002 – 2022)

In addition, we also involved famous Soviet leaders of their time, the attitude towards whom was mostly negative during the previous decade, and especially sharply worsened in 2022. However, according to the tenth national survey conducted by the sociological group “Reitynh” in Ukraine regarding the ideological markers of the war (April 27, 2022), 13% of respondents had a positive attitude towards Volodymyr Lenin and 7% – towards Yosyp Stalin (except for western Ukraine) (Sotsiolohichna hrupa “Reitynh”, April 2022). The methodology of this survey was identical to the methodology of the October 2022 survey (fig. 5).

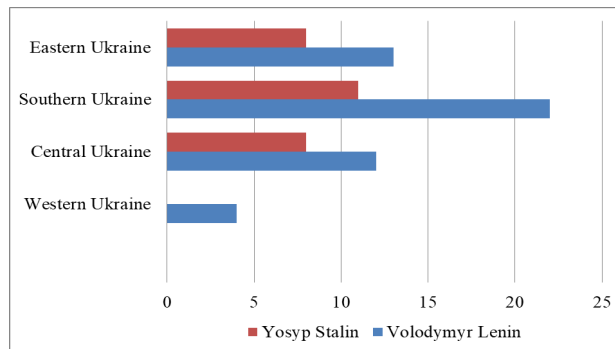


Fig. 5. Dynamics of the Positive Attitude of the Ukrainians to Volodymyr Lenin and Yosyp Stalin (April of 2022)

A sociological study conducted in January of 2023 by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) regarding the study of the opinions and views of the Ukrainian residents on various issues related to the reception of history, historical figures and events demonstrated that there are the Ukrainians, who continue to have a positive attitude towards such Soviet

figures as Leonid Brezhnev, Mykyta Khrushchov, Volodymyr Lenin and Yosyp Stalin (Kyivskiy mizhnarodnyi instytut sotsiologhii, 2023, p. 13) (fig. 6).

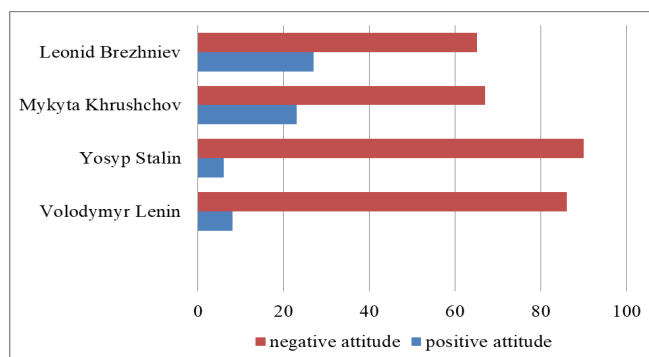


Fig. 6. Dynamics of the Attitude of the Ukrainians to the Soviet Political Figures (January of 2023)

There is the most positive attitude towards former Secretary General of the USSR Leonid Brezhnev. For many Ukrainians, especially those over 45 years old, the above-mentioned personality is associated with peaceful and stable times.

A database was created, based on this list of leading historical figures, by watching historical films and videos dedicated to these historical figures on the Ukrainian historical YouTube channels listed above. The number of viewed video material reached more than 100. The main criteria of this database were: historical heroes, historical events, metaphors.

It should be noted that when watching movies, the list of historical heroes increased significantly, because those historical figures, who were connected with the historical heroes singled out by us were also taken into account. For example, Petro I and Catherine II were among them, who had their supporters among the Ukrainians as it was depicted by sociological surveys during the 2002 – 2023 (fig. 7). It is interesting that, in fact, until the autumn of 2022, Catherine II did not appear in any of the above-mentioned sociological surveys. We do not know what is the reason for this. It possible to assume that the imposed historical myths of the so-called “Ruskyi mir” worked about this personality, who was perceived by numerous Ukrainians as an integral part of the history of Ukraine, the continuation of the statecraft of Petro I, therefore, her figure did not cause any doubts about her historical role.

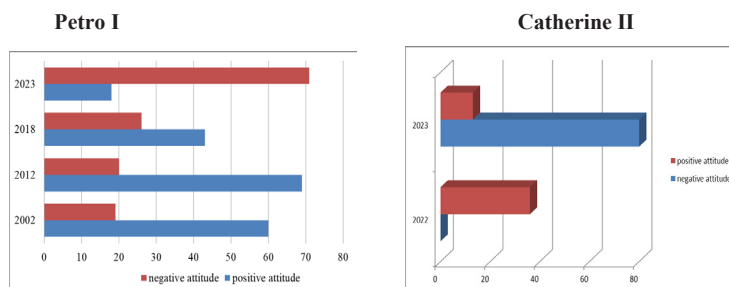


Fig. 7. Dynamics of the Ukrainians’ attitude to Petro I and Catherine II (2002 – 2023)

In the future, appropriate categories (historical heroes, historical events, metaphors) were defined from this database, on the basis of which a graph was formed as a topological module. It should be noted that exactly such graphs were used in various content analyzes on such portals as Twitter and Facebook to elucidate connections among objects, people, and events. The above-mentioned methodology is the basis of modern methods of data systematization and finding relationships between data. And it is used in the creation of graphic databases and knowledge graph. A similar technique is also used in the analysis of the content of the Internet known as the “semantic web”.

The following operations were performed in order to create the graph. There were selected such categories as the emergence of historical heroes and the appearance of historical events in selected films on the Ukrainian historical YouTube channels and the year of release of this film from the database. The categories were connected based on the appearance in the same year of different heroes and events. These connections were shown in a graph, where the year of the video and the historical characters are the top, and the number of connections between them in the movies is age (fig. 8).

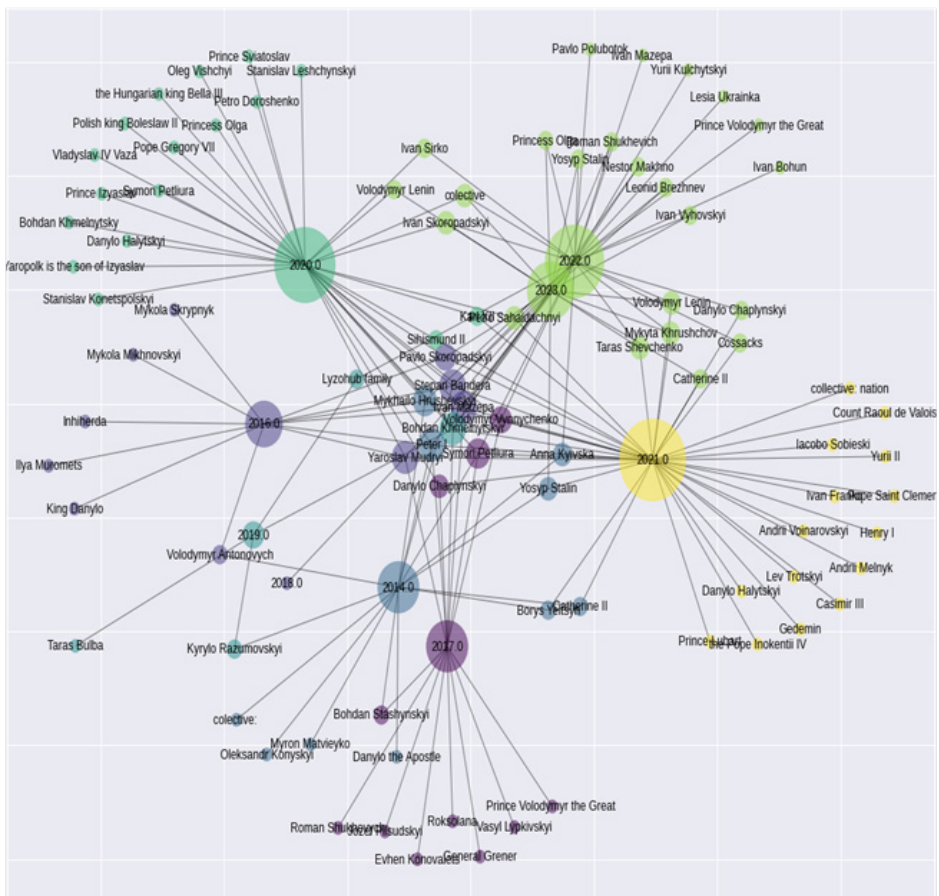


Fig. 8. Topological Graph Regarding the Appearance of Historical Heroes and Historical Events in Selected Films on the Ukrainian Historical YouTube Channels

The following parameter was applied in order to analyze this graph: *Betweenness centrality*. It is a measure of centrality in a graph based on shortest paths. For every pair of vertices in a connected graph, there exists at least one shortest path between the vertices such that either the number of edges that the path passes through (for unweighted graphs) or the sum of the weights of the edges (for weighted graphs) is minimized. The betweenness centrality for each vertex is the number of these shortest paths that pass through the vertex.

In our case, it indicates the importance of relevant historical heroes and events for the entire number of studied Ukrainian historical YouTube channels.

Diverse colours were used in the graph in order to highlight groups of vertices that were more strongly connected to each other than other vertices outside the group. The division into groups was carried out by a computer using two algorithms Louvain Community Detection Algorithm i Greedy modularity maximization. Louvain Community Detection Algorithm – it is an algorithm that works in 2 steps. In the first step, it assigns each vertex its own community, and then tries to find the maximum positive modularity increment for each vertex by moving each vertex to all neighboring communities. If no positive increment is achieved, the vertex remains in its original community. Greedy modularity maximization – an algorithm that starts with each node joining its own community and rejoining the pair of communities leading to the largest modularity until further modularity increases are impossible (maximum).

Taking everything into account, we can see that the years 2016, 2020, 2021, 2022 and 2023 became decisive in the video content emergence, which was dedicated to or related to the leading historical heroes of Ukraine on the Ukrainian historical YouTube channels. At the same time, the decisive year is 2022, the period of the full-scale invasion of Russia on the territory of Ukraine, which became the fundamental catalyst for the coverage of nationally oriented Ukrainian history, without “The Soviet myths and fictions” and the actual interest of an adult audience in its history. The history of Ukraine is represented by leading historical figures of all times: from Kyivan Rus to the beginning of the 1980s.

In order to find out the existence of connections between the categories “historical heroes” and “events”, we created another graph, where the vertices were historical heroes and events, and the edges were their presence in the same film.

The *Betweenness centrality* parameter was also used in order to analyze this graph. In our case, it indicates the importance of relevant historical heroes and events for the entire number of studied Ukrainian historical YouTube channels

According to this graph, the top historical period for the Ukrainian producers on the Ukrainian historical YouTube channels was the period of the 17th century or the so-called the Cossack era (is repeated the most in films), where the period of the national liberation struggles led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi is the most popular. Accordingly, an important historical figure is Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who is a symbol of indomitability, strength of spirit, and the struggle for the independence of Ukraine for the Ukrainians.

The top event of this period in the films reviewed by us is the Pereyaslav Treaty (agreement) with Muscovy, signed in 1654 by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, which actually changed the course of the history of Ukraine’s development. As it is known, B. Khmelnytskyi’s reorientation to Muscovy led to the transition of Ukraine from Western civilizational development to Eastern civilizational development. The decision made by Hetman affected not only the future of Ukraine, but also Poland radically. Ukraine lost its independence and was divided into parts, just like the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which suffered territorial losses in favor of Moscow, and later also lost its independence.

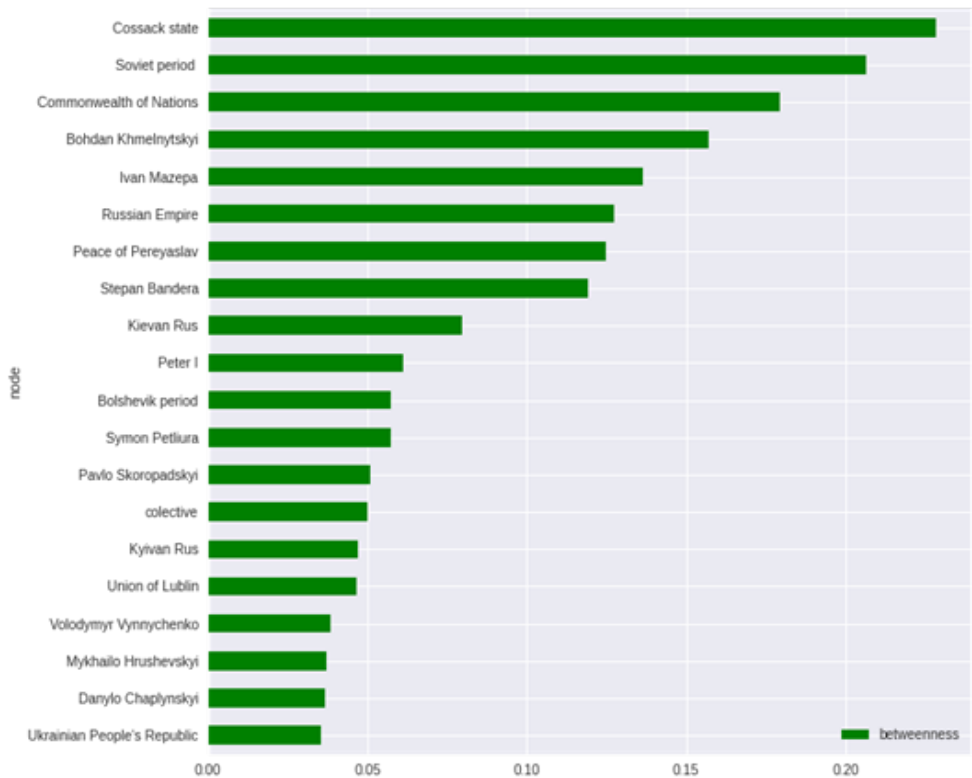


Fig. 9. Hierarchy of Vertices by Parameter Betweenness Centrality between the Categories “Historical Heroes” and “Events”

Note: historical heroes and historical events, **betweenness** – a quantitative indicator of the presence of connections between the categories of historical heroes and historical events. The highest betweenness index means that this vertex acts as a bridge between all other vertices.

In our opinion, the popularity of this particular period among the Ukrainian manufacturers is explained by the state policy, which is aimed at fighting Russian chauvinism. Acquaintance with the history of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people for state independence during its historical path is of particular importance.

There are also important historical figures for the Ukrainian YouTube producers apart from B. Khmelnytskyi as Ivan Mazepa, Stepan Bandera and Symon Petliura. However, Ivan Mazepa is more popular among the Ukrainian users of these YouTube channels, who acts as a symbol of the struggle for the European Ukraine, the Hetman, who set out on the path of liberation from the “all-encompassing embrace of Muscovy”. Over the past 8 years, approximately 9,6 million users of the relevant Ukrainian historical YouTube channels watched films and videos about this outstanding figure, of which 158,403 people marked (like-ing) these films, 11,679 representatives left positive feedback about Ivan Mazepa, marking him as a significant role in the history of Ukraine. And, directly, they noted the importance of such videos for the formation of the Ukrainians’ consciousness.

There are the next prominent figures as Stepan Bandera, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Symon Petliura.

We came to this conclusion after conducting a thorough analysis of all films and videos about these historical figures on the Ukrainian historical YouTube channels we picked out. A quantitative method was used for the above-mentioned analysis. The calculation criteria were: the number of views by the YouTube channel users of films about a historical figure, the number of likes and comments on the film, clip. As a result, the total number of views, likes and comments of all films about the above-mentioned historical heroes was displayed (fig. 11).

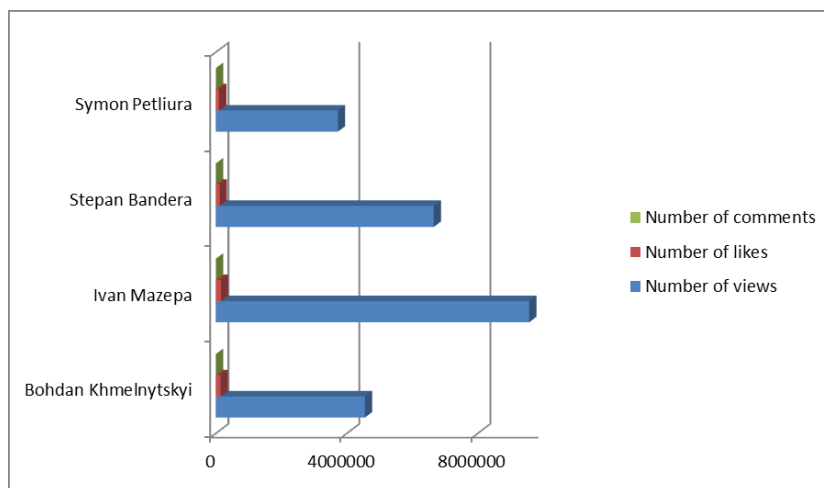


Fig. 10. The Most Popular Historical Figures among Users of the Ukrainian Historical YouTube Channels

One more graph was created in order to form a complete picture of the research and its objectivity, which showed the presence of connections between historical events and metaphors in films on the Ukrainian historical YouTube channels (fig. 12). In this case, the term “metaphor”, introduced by cognitive linguistics, (Kövecses, 2015, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), was used not as a poetic metaphor (description and addition of new meanings), but as a conceptual metaphor that makes it possible to understand complex phenomena (and such are historical phenomena and processes) in relatively simple categories, related to human experience. For instance, the metaphor “genotype of the nation” indicated the constancy of certain ethnic traits in biological and medical terms, constructing an understanding of the nation as an immanent and inalienable good (like physical attributes).

In order to analyze this graph, the Degree centrality parameter was applied (fig. 13). Degree is a simple centrality measure that counts how many neighbours a node has. If the network is directed, we have two versions of the measure: in-degree is the number of incoming links, or the number of predecessor nodes; out-degree is the number of outgoing links, or the number of successor nodes. Typically, we are interested in in-degree, since in-links are given by other nodes in the network, while out-links are determined by the node itself. Different vertex colours indicate groups/communities extracted using the Louvain algorithm.

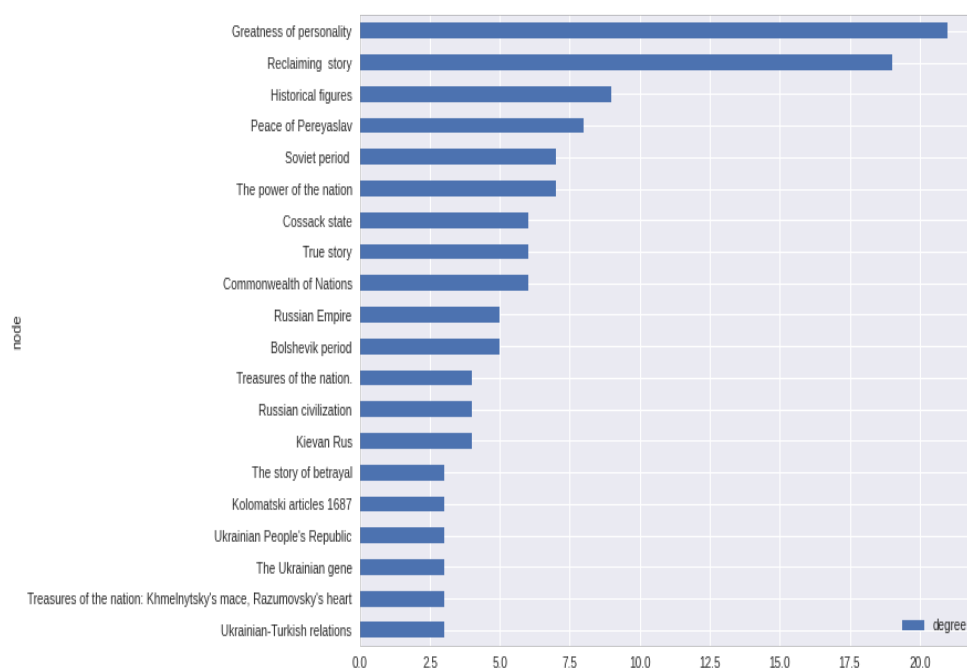


Fig. 12. Hierarchy of the Influence of Vertices According to the Degree Centrality Parameter in Relation to the Number of Connections between Historical Events and Metaphors

which was to bind Ukraine and the Ukrainians forever to themselves. The above-mentioned authorities emphasized the fact that Ukraine was a country created by Bolshevik Russia artificially, without its own history, identity and memory. The same narrative is spreading these days regarding Poland and the Baltic states.

The Conclusion. In the case of YouTube, it is not just a platform for posting relevant video content. This is a social network that serves as a platform for learning, communication, exchange of ideas, and distribution of important information. In 2014 – 2022, a number of interesting and important films and videos appeared on the Ukrainian YouTube channels of historical topics, regarding the coverage of the Ukrainian view of its own history, which for decades was carefully hidden or rewritten by the colonial regimes.

As a result of the research, based on the application of the cutting-edge computer methods, the authors found out that the top period of the Ukrainian history for domestic producers of video products posted on the Ukrainian segment of YouTube is the period of the 17th century. Accordingly, the top historical hero is Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. However, for the Ukrainian users of these YouTube channels, the top historical hero is Ivan Mazepa, a symbol of the struggle for the Ukrainian and European statehood.

The conducted research depicted that in recent years the interest of the Ukrainians in the history of their own country increased. The above-mentioned tendency is especially observed with the outbreak of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian War, which affected people's reception of their own past significantly. And this, in fact, is the beginning of the conscious nation

formation, which seeks to get rid of “backwardness” and the imperial past, sets the goal of gaining self-respect and the respect of the European community of peoples. This is the foundation for getting rid of the Ukrainians’ reception of themselves as the inferior. This is one of the important steps towards building a truly independent state, an equal partner in the international arena.

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UKRAINE'S SOFT POWER HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ISSUE

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to analyze historiography of Ukraine's soft power issue, directions, features, problems and prospects. **The methodology of the research** is based on a combination of theoretical provisions of the American scholar J. Nye's concept and historical approach. In the research there has been used a broad understanding of historiography as a collection of scientific works on a certain issue. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that a historiographical analysis on Ukraine's soft power issue, directions, features, problems and prospects has been done for the first time. **The Conclusion.** There are three main directions of Ukraine's soft power research: 1) general issues (components, problems, possibilities, etc.); 2) the soft power issue of Ukraine in some states; 3) the image aspect of the issue. Nowadays the soft power issue of Ukraine is the most studied one in seven countries: Poland, Romania, Moldova, Georgia, Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. The research in this area is based on a fairly well-developed methodology, which cannot be said about other two aspects (with the exception of economic image power). The very neglect of the theoretical and methodological foundations caused the shortcomings in the studies of the Ukrainian soft power issue: 1) substitution of the research subject, in particular identification of soft power with cooperation; 2) the use of the term soft power in the title without its further use in the study; 3) lack of a unified approach to the soft power tools; 4) the use of arbitrary term "the soft power strategy of Ukraine", which is not recorded in any regulatory document; 5) identification of soft power with economic sanctions against the aggressor country, which are demonstration of hard power. The above-mentioned shortcomings are related to the indeterminacy of the research subject, its unclear framework. In addition, there is the lack of normative and legal support for the soft power policy of Ukraine, its state strategy, as well as the long-term lack of special institutions for its effective promotion, which complicates the research significantly. A prospective direction of further research is to study Ukraine's soft power, in addition to the above-mentioned seven states, in other countries, relying on the theoretical and methodological achievements of the world science on this issue.

Key words: soft power; Ukraine, historiography, foreign policy, international relations.

“М’ЯКА СИЛА” УКРАЇНИ: ІСТОРИОГРАФІЯ ПИТАННЯ

Анотація. *Мета роботи* – історіографічний аналіз питання “м’якої сили” України, з’ясування напрямів, особливостей, проблем та перспектив дослідження цієї теми. **Методологія** роботи базується на поєднанні теоретичних положень концепції американського вченого Дж. Ная та історичного підходу. В дослідженні застосовано широке розуміння історіографії як сукупності наукових праць, присвячених певній проблемі. **Наукова новизна:** вперше здійснено широкий історіографічний аналіз питання української “м’якої сили”, з’ясовано напрями, особливості, проблеми та перспективи дослідження цієї теми. **Висновки.** Можна виділити три головні напрями досліджень “м’якої сили” України: 1) загальні питання (складові компоненти, проблеми, можливості тощо); 2) українська *soft power* в окремих державах; 3) іміджевий аспект теми. Сьогодні “м’яка сила” України найбільш вивчена в семи країнах: Польщі, Румунії, Молдові, Грузії, Росії, Білорусі та Казахстані. Дослідження цього спрямування спираються на досить ґрунтовно розроблену методологію, чого не можна сказати про два інші аспекти (за винятком сили економічного іміджу). Нехтування теоретико-методологічними основами призвело до певних недоліків у дослідженнях української “м’якої сили”, які проявляються у: 1) підміні предмета дослідження, зокрема ототоженні “м’якої сили” зі співробітництвом; 2) застосуванні у назві роботи терміна “м’яка сила” без подальшого його використання в самому дослідженні; 3) відсутності єдиного підходу щодо інструментарію *soft power*; 4) доволіному оперуванню терміном “стратегія “м’якої сили” України”, який не зафіксований у жодному нормативному документі; 5) ототоженні “м’якої сили” з економічними санкціями проти країни-агресора, які є проявом “жорсткої сили”. Зазначені недоліки так чи інакше пов’язані з невизначеністю предмета дослідження, його нечіткими рамками. Крім того, суттєво ускладнює роботу брак нормативно-правового забезпечення політики “м’якої сили” України, її державної стратегії, а також тривала відсутність спеціальних інституцій для її ефективного просування. Перспективним напрямом подальших досліджень є вивчення “м’якої сили” України, у, крім згаданих семи державах, також в інших країнах, спираючись на теоретико-методологічні напрацювання світової науки із зазначеної проблематики.

Ключові слова: “м’яка сила”, Україна, історіографія, зовнішня політика, міжнародні відносини.

The Problem Statement. Nowadays, the concept of the *soft power*, brought in by the American scholar Joseph Nye, gained popularity. Different scholars of various fields, political and public figures of certain countries turn to the above-mentioned concept. J. Nye defined *soft power* as a state ability to achieve what it wants not through coercion, but through persuasion based on attractiveness of culture, values, and foreign policy (Nye, 2017). Despite the fact that there are many studies on this issue, the process of forming its theoretical foundations and methods of studying specific cases of the concept implementation in international practice continues until these days. It should be mentioned that researches on the concept of *soft power* issue adapting to the realities of certain national states, in particular Ukraine, deserve special focus. There are about three dozen publications on this issue nowadays, a comprehensive analysis of which will allow us to find out the level, as well as the problems and prospects of its analysis.

The Analysis of Recent Research. The only publication on this issue was the article, published by N. Nikulishyn, part of which was on domestic historiography of the *soft power* and public diplomacy of Ukraine (Nikulishyn, 2014, pp. 35–36). The author came to the conclusion that the content of *soft power* issue, the ways of its implementation in modern Ukraine had a significant, but not a priority, place among researches conducted by domestic scholars. According to N. Nikulishyn, there was a drastic need to do research on promising sources of the Ukrainian *soft power* and to carry out a comparative effectiveness analysis

of using its various resources (Nikulishyn, 2014, p. 36). As Ukraine's *soft power* processes of formation and research received further development after the publication of the above-mentioned article in 2014, its scientific results require a significant addition.

The purpose of the research is to analyze historiography of Ukraine's *soft power* issue, directions, features, problems and prospects for the study of this topic. The research is based on a broad understanding of historiography as a set of scientific papers on a certain issue. The theoretical basis of the study is the concept *soft power*, brought in by J. Nye, which became a classic basis. It is through its prism that the concept *soft power* and its resources and means (tools) have been covered.

The Results of the Research. All publications on Ukraine's *soft power*, which emerged in the early 2010s, can be conventionally divided into three large groups: 1) the articles, which covered general issues (the Ukrainian *soft power* components, its problems, opportunities, etc.); 2) the studies on Ukraine's *soft power* in several states; 3) publications analyzing the image aspect of the Ukrainian *soft power*. Another group of studies focuses on the public diplomacy of Ukraine, which, in the classic concept of J. Nye, became as one of the paramount tools of *soft power* (Nye, 2008; Nye, 2019). Although this issue requires a separate study, that is why, in this publication it is covered briefly.

In general, a separate part of the papers consists of publications, in which there are analyzed the Ukrainian *soft power* components and directions, as well as the problems, opportunities and prospects of its application.

According to the analysts of the Institute of World Politics, a political component plays the main role in Ukraine's *soft power* potential implementation. In particular, for the Western world, through which the country is accepted in the international arena, the Ukrainian state is primarily interested in whether it is able to play a leading regional role in democratization issue (Hetmanchuk, Pyliavets & Solodkyi, 2012, p. 4). The Institute conducted interviews with the European policymakers and analyzed how attractiveness of Ukraine in the European Union could be affected by certain scenarios of the 2012 Parliamentary Elections, which were of key importance for the country's *soft power* in the EU (Hetmanchuk, Pyliavets & Solodkyi, 2012, p. 8). According to the authors of the research, the country's reputation and foreign policy future depend on whether the Ukrainian government can prove its democracy as the most attractive component of *soft power* for the Western world (Hetmanchuk, Pyliavets & Solodkyi, 2012, p. 9).

V. Horbatenko analyzed the formation of the *soft power* policy in Ukraine and identified the main directions of its practical application: 1) participation in the settlement of various crisis situations and conflicts (both local and international); 2) provision of humanitarian aid to poor countries; 3) participation in global events, such as "Euro-2012" (Horbatenko, 2014, p. 29).

B. Michael, K. Hartwell and B. Nureyev believed that the growth of *soft power* of Ukraine in the international arena took place after independence in 1991. The country balanced well between Russia and the European Union, and its geographical position, population size and large emigrant community allowed to raise its international level. Achievements such as the peaceful secession from the USSR, together with a successful outcome of negotiations regarding relinquishment of nuclear status, further strengthened Ukraine's position in the world. Among other things, it helped Ukraine (along with Poland) become the first of the former Soviet republics to host the European Football Championship. Although none of the state leaders managed to transform this positive external reputation into tangible internal success. Ukraine was gripped by political instability, manifested by two revolutions.

Corruption, lack of structural reforms and dependence on heavy industry inherited from the Union, caused stagnation in the country's economy. In addition, the above-mentioned authors consider the same factors that increased its *soft power* to be the cause of the country's internal problems, in particular, the above-mentioned balancing act between the EU and Russia, which was "breaking" Ukraine into parts (Majkl, Hartvell & Nureev, 2013).

The scholar, N. Maretska conducted a rather superficial analysis and came to conclusion that it was impossible for Ukraine to use *soft power* due to a number of reasons: 1) the absence of a common national idea in the country that would contribute to consolidation of residents of all regions; 2) lack of universal attractive values; 3) lack of strategy for implementation of *soft power* and branding of the country; 4) a low level of economy and quality of life; 5) lack of own public organizations that would contribute to the formation of a positive image of the country (non-governmental organizations operating in Ukraine are mostly financed by Western structures and, accordingly, are aimed at forming an attractive image of the West). On this matter, the author of this clearly politically engaged publication noted that Ukraine was not a subject, but an object of *soft power* aimed at by this "technology" of Western countries (Mareckaya, 2016, pp. 115–116).

J. Nye considered the discrepancy in political values of the Ukrainian neighbours, their reception of certain ideas as one of the Ukrainian *soft power* formation issues. For instance, a democratic development of the country could be attractive in Poland (and in general in the West), but at the same time, it could worry the Kremlin and irritate Belarus. "If your neighbours have a different vision of politics", noted the author of the *soft power* concept, "it's quite difficult to choose a path that will interest everyone and be equally attractive to everyone" (Dzhozef Nai, 2011).

According to I. Sas, the basis of the Ukrainian *soft power* is the social capital, a human intellectual potential of the country, a necessary prerequisite for the development of which should be modernization of a cultural and educational sphere through implementation of a long-term strategy of socio-economic development and a technological structure of the national economy. According to the scholar, it is necessary to expand self-regulation and self-organization of education and culture, apply the principles of openness and transparency, establish a system of state and public support for innovations, promote economic activity in the field of culture, a public private partnership during implementation of educational and artistic projects, etc. (Sas, 2022, p. 404).

M. Protsiuk noted that the political leadership, civil society and the scientific community of Ukraine face the task of further diversifying the ways, methods and means of using the entire arsenal of *soft power* tools, in particular public and cultural diplomacy, as fully as possible. According to the scholar, their success will depend on synergy of public and private sectors, authorities and the public, governmental and non-governmental organizations (Protsiuk, 2016, p. 26). It should be noted that the thesis about an important role of a civil society in *soft power* implementation is one of the basis in J. Nye's concept (Nye, 2021).

P. Hai-Nyzhnyk and L. Chupriy noted that since the soft potential of Ukraine is much greater than its "hard" capabilities, the country needs to develop its *soft power* first. The scholars associated the increase of the latter with the development of democratic values and popularization of the national culture (Hai-Nyzhnyk & Chuprii, 2013, p. 267). A component of Ukraine's *soft power* could be the Ukrainian studies, which will spread among the Ukrainian diaspora abroad, as well as in Ukraine among foreign students. The Ukrainian studies, according to P. Hai-Nyzhnyk, should acquire a wider (deeper) strategic significance of

state importance, in particular as a Ukrainian *soft power* not only of a scientific or educational nature, but also of a council, diplomatic and political nature (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2014, p. 235).

D. Korotkov had a somewhat alternative opinion regarding the prospects of the Ukrainian *soft power*. The scholar truly believed that the basis of Ukraine's *soft power* was a civil society, which manifested itself during the "Orange Revolution" of 2004 and the "Revolution of Dignity" of 2014. However, according to the scholar, after the events of 2014, there was an urgent need for modern Ukraine to limit (informationally and financially) the use of *soft power* and give priority to hard power through the military power formation, which "has always served as the main indicator of the strength and prestige of the state" (Korotkov, 2018, p. 135).

Among the studies devoted to Ukraine's *soft power* in individual states, we should mention the publication of the Institute of World Politics – an analytical centre that implemented a comprehensive project to study the regional power of Ukraine (Hetmanchuk, Yenin, Zarembo, Pyliavets, Ozymok, Solodkyi & Shynkaruk, 2011). With the help of a specially developed methodology, which was personally approved by J. Nye, the scholars of the Institute assessed the potential of *soft power* of Ukraine in six states: Poland, Romania, Moldova, Georgia, Belarus and Russia. The study of the Ukrainian *soft power*, conducted by the expert team, consisted of three main components: 1) the study of the Ukrainian *soft power* according to more than 30 quantitative and qualitative indicators, which covered the political and economic levels, as well as the level of public diplomacy (it is not about means of influence, but those aspects of relations with Ukraine that are positively accepted in the studied country); 2) media monitoring – analysis of messages in the mass media (selected five to eight publications from each country) that covered the events of domestic or foreign policy of Ukraine in 2010 – 2011; 3) an expert survey of almost a hundred leading analysts, journalists and statesmen of six countries of the region, on the basis of which the Institute determined the TOP-5 associations with Ukraine for each of the states, as well as the index of the Ukrainian *soft power* on a ten-point scale (Hetmanchuk, Yenin, Zarembo, Pyliavets, Ozymok, Solodkyi & Shynkaruk, 2011, pp. 4–5). The result of the conducted research was an analytical analysis of the Ukrainian *soft power* potential in six states, as well as recommendations for its strengthening (relative to all countries and each state separately) (Hetmanchuk, Yenin, Zarembo, Pyliavets, Ozymok, Solodkyi & Shynkaruk, 2011, pp. 104–111). The basic recommendation of the authors was to strengthen competitiveness of economic and political development model of Ukraine as a democratic and economically developed country, which should become an attractive example for imitation in neighbouring states. We could bicker over the last thesis, since, based on the above-mentioned research logic, democratic Ukraine was unlikely to be attractive among certain parts of the population of Russia and Belarus.

Almost 10 years later, the results of a similar study conducted by analysts of the "New Europe" Centre were presented (Miedvedieva, 2020). The study on *soft power* of Ukraine in five post-Soviet countries (Georgia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia) was based on the use of the following methods: 1) a quantitative method (calculation of the average index of *soft power* by conducting a questionnaire among 55 experts using 13 indicators, which were developed on the basis of four sources (component categories) of the *soft power* formation: political values, foreign policy, popularity of Ukrainian products, popularity of Ukrainian culture); 2) in-depth interviews with 38 experts according to *soft power* indicators (experts compared Ukraine's *soft power* before and after the 2019 Presidential elections); 3) discursive analysis of media content – study of the number and context of messages in the media covering the Ukrainian events (monitoring of 5 – 8 media

resources from each state) (Miedviedieva, 2020, p. 6). As a result of the conducted research, it was concluded that V. Zelenskyi's Presidency, in general, increased the attractiveness of Ukraine in the above-mentioned countries due to the involvement of certain elements of the President's *soft power*: non-systematic elements (Georgia), anti-corruption rhetoric (Moldova), youth (Kazakhstan) and the others (Miedviedieva, 2020, p. 88). According to the results of the study Ukraine made serious gains in the context of *soft power*: a political system openness, an active civil society, free media, liberalized conditions for doing business, tourist attraction, etc., in the reception of Georgia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia citizens. At the same time, Ukraine does not use this potential fully in order to strengthen its influence in the region (Miedviedieva, 2020, p. 90). The main recommendation of the analytical note is identical to the one that was formulated based on the results of the 2011 study: a democratic and reformed Ukraine will become *soft power* for the citizens of the region. As H. Miedviedieva pointed out, *soft power* of Ukraine is not about PR for cosmetic updates, but it is about informing about the country's fundamental reconstruction" (Miedviedieva, 2020, p. 91). The recommendations were also formulated in the field of security (conducting a dialogue with the countries of the region regarding countering Russian aggression by creation of various platforms), external communication (forming a kind of friends club of Ukraine in other countries, which would include leaders of a public opinion), business (IT sector, tourism, medical services) and art industry (cinema, music, cooking, etc.) (Miedviedieva, 2020, pp. 91–93).

Ya. Turchyn analyzed main components of Ukraine's *soft power* in the Republic of Poland. These were, in particular, political and economic attractiveness of the country, the Ukrainian community's influence, the Ukrainian culture popularity and the media role in creating the Ukrainian brand (Turchyn, 2012, pp. 120–124). The scholar made the following conclusion that there was a drastic need to strengthen democratic reforms in Ukraine as the main tool for its *soft power* implementation. According to Ya. Turchyn, further promotion of the Ukrainian *soft power* in Poland, its achievements in the economic and cultural spheres could be levelled by unsuccessful political reforms in Ukraine (Turchyn, 2012, p. 124).

V. Horbatenko called the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, in particular cross-border cooperation, a kind of training ground for the formation of Ukraine's *soft power* policy. The scholar considers joint scientific and educational projects, exchange of students, expansion of interfaith relations, involvement of the Ukrainian diaspora of Poland in a public and political life, etc., as promising directions for the policy implementation (Horbatenko, 2014, p. 30).

The publications, which highlight the aspects of *soft power* in the context of Ukraine's international image occupy a special place. Their authors, as a rule, focus on such issues as the use of certain resources and tools of image strategy, evaluation of vital events through the prism of *soft power*, problems and prospects of forming a positive brand of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian researcher O. Chuhaiev brought in the concept of *soft economic power* as the power of a country's economic image and brand, which was based on a subjective reception of the country's economic system by its own and foreign citizens, fairness of its economic system, etc. (Chuhaiev, 2017, pp. 64, 70). The scholar made a conclusion that Ukraine had an average level of *soft power* components in terms of inflation, the financial sphere and economic growth, and a very low *soft power* according to the criteria of the state budget, salaries and economic cooperation after conducting a webometric analysis of *soft power* economic factors (economic image) (Chuhaiev, 2017, p. 253). In addition, O. Chuhaiev singled out positive and negative economic factors of Ukraine's image. Hence,

science and education, agricultural opportunities, natural resources, cultural and sports industry, transport potential became positive economic factors, and economic instability, a low level of development, social insecurity, overbureaucratization, corruption, etc., belonged to negative economic factors (Chuhaiev, 2017, p. 253).

The scholars often mentioned Euro-2012 among the events, which influenced the international image of Ukraine significantly. According to O. Semchenko, the Championship was success in promoting a positive (in contrast to those events that show Ukraine as “a martyr state”) brand of Ukraine as a powerful European state capable of holding such global events (Semchenko, 2012a, pp. 270–271). In general, a positive sports image of the state, according to the scholar, is an attractive factor for foreign tourists, investors and organizers of major sports competitions (Semchenko, 2012b). R. Potapenko pointed out a crucial role of the Ukrainian athletes’ achievements (S. Bubka, A. Shevchenko, Klytschko brothers), as well as the country representatives’ success at the international Eurovision contest, in forming a positive image of Ukraine (Potapenko, 2021, p. 226). The author calls the creation of the Ministry for Information Policy in 2014 an important institutional achievement, which contributed to popularization of Ukraine in the world (Potapenko, 2021, p. 227). K. Savon drew attention to the role in promoting the image of Ukraine of international non-governmental organizations and foundations, such as the World Congress of the Ukrainians, the “Open Ukraine” Foundation and the World Federation of Ukrainian Women’s Organizations (Savon, 2020, p. 114). According to D. Korotkov, the “Orange Revolution” of 2004 and the “Revolution of Dignity” of 2014 were the landmark events of modern Ukraine, owing to which the country’s positive image was formed abroad, in particular in European states (Korotkov, 2018, p. 135). Although according to I. Slisarenko, the “orange brand” of Ukraine as a democratic state suffered, if not collapse, then huge moral damages mainly due to the marginal state of foreign policy informational component at the end of 2005 (Slisarenko, 2008).

Some foreign scholars noted the growth of an international image of Ukraine and its *soft power* after February 24, 2022. According to J. Nye, the author of the *soft power* concept, owing to his unofficial dress code and constant communication with Western media and parliaments, V. Zelenskyi managed to present Ukraine as an attractive and heroic country. The result of this was not only sympathy of the West, but also a significant increase in the supply of military equipment necessary for Ukraine (Nye, 2022). D. Ellwood drew attention to the growth of Ukraine’s position in Brand Finance’s international rating of *soft power* after the invasion of Russia: familiarity increased by as much as 44%, influence – by 24%, and reputation – by 12%. World media focused on the conflict, which had also a positive effect on the reception of Ukraine in the majority of global *soft power* index elements, even those not related to military efforts. D. Ellwood used the term “cultural revolution” in this regard, which, mainly due to the worldwide spread of the Ukrainian music, produced positive results with an extraordinary speed. “This is a *soft power* game at its most literal, in which, as Joseph S. Nye mentioned from the very beginning, the nation’s culture is critical to its appeal”. At the same time, the scholar emphasized that the moral authority of the Ukrainian government’s foreign policy nowadays depends entirely on its activities on and off the battlefield (Ellwood, 2022).

The majority of scholars associate improvement of the international image of Ukraine with the processes of democratization and construction of a civil society that meets the European standards (Bikir, 2019, p. 39; Havrylenko, 2013, p. 529; Potapenko, 2021, p. 224). According to O. Semchenko, Ukraine should concentrate on its own social and economic issues,

promoting its real success in those areas where there are resources for positive reception by Western public opinion. In addition, according to the scholar, a purposeful state policy should be implemented in the country in order to support positive and neutralize negative stereotypes, image formation in the international space, effective branding and reputation management (Semchenko, 2012a, p. 271).

The following issues and shortcomings, which are characteristic of the Ukrainian *soft power* studies should be singled out:

1) substitution of the research subject or its unclear framework, which is manifested, in particular, in identification of *soft power* with cooperation (Turchyn, 2012, pp. 124–125; Horbatenko, 2014, p. 30; Nikulishyn, 2015, pp. 61–64);

2) the use of the term *soft power* in the title without its subsequent use in the study (Musiienko, 2013);

3) the lack of a unified approach to *soft power* tools: in one study, the revolutions of 2004 and 2014 are called its tools (Korotkov, 2018, p. 135), in the second one – *soft power* itself acts as a tool for forming a positive image of the country (Semchenko, 2014; Bikir, 2019, p. 39), and in the third one – the sports image potential, which is the *soft power* of Ukraine (Semchenko, 2012b);

4) identification of *soft power* with economic sanctions against the aggressor country (Horbatenko, 2014, p. 30), which are a manifestation of either “hard” or “smart” power;

5) arbitrary use of the term *soft power strategy of Ukraine*” which is not recorded in any regulatory document of the state or any of its institutions (Turchyn, 2012, p. 120; Korotkov, 2018, p. 135).

The Conclusion. Thus, the study of *soft power* of Ukraine has been ongoing since the beginning of the 2010s and is carried out mainly by domestic scholars. There are three main directions of Ukraine’s *soft power* research: 1) general issues (components, problems, possibilities, etc.); 2) the Ukrainian *soft power* issue in several states; 3) the image aspect of the issue. Nowadays the *soft power* of Ukraine is the most studied issue in seven countries: Poland, Romania, Moldova, Georgia, Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. The research in this area is based on a fairly well-developed methodology, which cannot be said about other two aspects (with the exception of the power of an economic image). The very neglect of the theoretical and methodological foundations caused the above-mentioned shortcomings in the studies of the Ukrainian *soft power*. The above-mentioned shortcomings are related to indeterminacy of research subject, its unclear framework. In addition, almost complete lack of a normative and legal support for the *soft power* policy of Ukraine, and its state strategy, as well as the the long-term lack of special institutions for its effective promotion, complicate the research significantly. A promising direction of further research is to study Ukraine’s *soft power*, in addition to the above-mentioned seven states, in other countries, relying on the theoretical and methodological achievements of the world science on this issue.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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**UKRAINIAN HISTORIANS ON “HISTORIOGRAPHIC FRONT”
OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR (review on the book: TURNING POINT:
Russia's War against Ukraine in the Time Layers and Spaces of the Past. Dialogues
with Historians. Editor-in-Chief Valeriy Smoliy; editor: Hennadiy Boriak, Oleksiy
Yas, Svitlana Blaschuk. Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Institute
of History of Ukraine, 2023. Book 3. 844 pp.; ill.)**

**УКРАЇНСЬКІ ІСТОРИКИ НА “ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНОМУ ФРОНТІ” РОСІЙСЬКО-
УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ (рецензія на книгу: ПЕРЕЛЮМ: Війна Росії проти України
у часових пластах і просторах минувшини. Діалоги з істориками. Відпов. ред.
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Since the outbreak of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian War, the Ukrainian historians have intensified the study of the Ukrainian-Russian relations, and at the same time, what is

especially important, they have begun an active opposition to the Russian propaganda, which operates on distorted historical narratives, and have also taken up criticism of the scientific and pseudo-scientific concepts of the Russian historians (The Russian-Ukrainian war, 2022).

During the first weeks of open Russian aggression against Ukraine, Academician Valeriy Smoliy, the director of the Institute of the History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, took an active position, and presented the article “The Historian and the War”, in which, in particular, he emphasized the following: “Every Ukrainian historian, regardless of a physical location, should do his job – support the Armed Forces of Ukraine in every possible way, conduct professional research, communicate with foreign colleagues, spread objective and correct information about Ukraine and its past in the mass media and the world wide web, compete with Moscow's ideologues and falsifications. This is the only way to defeat an insidious and ruthless enemy!” (Smoliy, 2022). Therefore, V. Smoliy outlined a wide panorama of objectives in the field of scientific historical research, which must be realized by the Ukrainian historians, primarily by employees of scientific institutions of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

In 2022, on the initiative of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, two volumes of the collection of articles “TURNING POINT: Russia's War against Ukraine in the Time Layers and Spaces of the Past. Dialogues with Historians” (PERELOM, 2022a; 2022b). In 2023, the third volume was published, which covers a wide range of issues of the Ukrainian past from medieval times to modern times. Like the previous books, it is written in a popular science (to a certain extent journalistic) format and is aimed at bringing the scientific achievements of the Ukrainian scholars to a wide range of readers in an “accessible language”.

In Chapter I “From Russia to Ukraine-Hetmanship, or the Russian-Ukrainian Confrontation in the Space of Traditional and Modern Competition” there were articles written by historians on various aspects of the history of Ukraine in the 10th – 18th centuries. Among them, we should note Tetiana Balabushevych's essay on the Slavic, Western and Moscow understanding of the name “Rus” (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 19–21), Olena Rusyna's reasoning about the impact of disintegration of Kyivan Rus on the political development of the Eastern Slavs (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 22–26) and a number of articles by Ya. Vermenych about the formation of the Ukrainian-Russian border (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 27–39, 123–126). Other articles focus on various facts and events of the Ukrainian history in the context of mainly military coexistence of ancient Ukrainians/Cossacks and Muscovites.

Chapter 2 focuses on the “imperial era of the Ukrainian history”, which covered the “long” 19th century. Among the few articles in this chapter, there are interesting essays by Oleksandr Reyent about the Russian Black Hundred movement in Ukraine (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 228–276), in which there are answers to questions about the tasks of the Black Hundreds in the Ukrainian provinces and the psychological impact of this movement, which was actively supported by the imperial authorities, on the local population. On the other hand, in this chapter, there are published articles that cause surprise with their unjustified theses. Olha Honchar's article is meant about the Cyrylo-Methodiyev Brotherhood, which supposedly “hammered the first nail into the coffin of the Russian Empire” (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 153–156). Such statements do not stand up to criticism. Volodymyr Melnychenko's article about a long-known description of Russia by the French Marquis Astolph de Coustin in 1839 does not make a very pleasant impression either (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 143–152). In general, it is full of quotes and retellings of de Custin's thoughts, but the author assumes

(albeit not originally) that Taras Shevchenko was familiar with the French nobleman's book owing to O. Bodianskyi.

Chapter 3 is the smallest in terms of volume, which contains seven essays on the history of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. The majority of them were written by the historian Ruslan Pyrih, who focused on various aspects of the history of the Ukrainian State under the rule of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 309–328), in particular, regarding the inclusion of representatives of the Russian party of cadets in the Hetman's government.

Chapter 4 “The Soviet History as the Past of the Evil Empire: Receptions, Reflections, Reconstructions” is not much larger. In this chapter, Oleh Razyhrayev presented an interesting study, showing how the Russian Bolsheviks used “hybrid” methods to fight against the Polish authorities on the territory of Volyn in the first half of the 1920s (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 339–342). Vasyl Ilnytskyi, a historian from Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, outlined the forms and methods of the struggle of the Soviet security agencies against the Ukrainian educational movement in the 1940s (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 343–348). A famous historian Tamara Vronska tried to answer the question: is it possible to identify the perpetrators of deportations in Western Ukraine (1944 – 1953)? Having analyzed the sources and published works of the Ukrainian scholars, in her opinion, it is only possible to summarize information about the Soviet apparatus of violence and to identify the perpetrators of deportations at various stages of their implementation (p. 359). Oleh Bazhan outlined the influence of the policy of Russification on the social and political situation in Ukraine in the 1950s – 1980s (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 373–378). In our opinion, Mykhailo Kirsenko's articles about the common features of the resistance of the Ukrainians and other enslaved peoples of the USSR (the author did not provide a detailed analysis of these common features) and about the specific role of Ukraine and Russia in the collapse of the Soviet Union are too abstract (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 379–383).

In Chapter 5 there are presented the scholars' reasoning about ethno-cultural differences, historical demarcations between the Ukrainians and the Russians. Tetiana Balabushevych published a series of short intellectual essays (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 387–402), which comprehends the motives of the changes of the Ukrainian-Russian border, the use of different ethnonyms and self-names of the Ukrainians and the Russians, the difference in the historical fate of the Ukrainian and Russian Cossacks, and also compares the Ukrainian and Russian nationalism. However, in our opinion, the author failed at presenting common and distinctive features of the Ukrainian and Russian nationalisms. T. Balabushevych only limited herself to the phrase: the Ukrainian nationalism had always a protective orientation against external danger, while the Russian nationalism, on the contrary, pursued the goal of a territorial expansion, exploitation and discriminatory assimilation with the absorption of people of other faiths and foreigners (PERELOM, 2023, p. 402). A historian Yaroslava Vermenych expressed a number of valid considerations about the dangers of the Ukrainian-Russian border. The researcher, in particular, emphasizes that Ukraine is a frontier civilization, through whose soul and body the split came along with statehood and adoption of Christianity. Its civilizational marginality can be characterized by the “looseness” of a behavioral stereotype, the presence of “a prodigal son” syndrome, rootlessness, a kind of nostalgia for foreign cultural images, and a tendency to imitate everything. In the border regions a territorial identity functioned as a measure of loyalty to a greater extent than in the central ones, and the loss of a sense of social security manifested itself in distorted self-identifications (PERELOM, 2023, p. 403). Olha Honchar briefly outlined the history of the myth of the “three brotherly nations” and

expressed the opinion that with the outbreak of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian War, this myth died finally (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 421–423). Unfortunately, we are not entirely sure of this, because myths live as long as their bearers live. The same section also contains an article by Oleksiy Yas on the importance of ethnopsychological studies for understanding the content of the Ukrainian-Russian relations. The researcher emphasized that the current war with Russia clearly required cultural and historical distinctions formulated in the field of ethnopsychology in order to understand the nature and essence of the centuries-old Russian-Ukrainian confrontation (PERELOM, 2023, p. 436).

Chapter 6 “Racism, Fascism, Nazism: Totalitarian Imperial Origin and Comparative Historical Projections” consists of articles by Vasyl Tkachenko mainly, who reflects on the content of modern racism ideology and shows its bizarre ideological origins. At this point, we should note that the interesting historical origins of Putinism were traced by V. Ilnytskyi, V. Starka and M. Haliv (Ilnytskyi, Starka & Haliv, 2022). V. Tkachenko confidently asserts that Stalinism has never been overcome in Russia (on the contrary, the rehabilitation of the Stalinist regime in the eyes of the public was being carried out), explains the process of the fascistization of Putin's regime. The historian is convinced that fascism is emerging in Russia. “It seems that when Putin leaves the political arena, the people and the system he created will remain. And at the same time, the formed attitude towards Ukraine will remain, according to which the right of the Ukrainian people to live in their own independent and sovereign state is questioned” (PERELOM, 2023, p. 508), – summarizes V. Tkachenko. A similar opinion was expressed by a historian Volodymyr Lytvyn, who believes that even after the collapse of the criminal Putin regime in Russia, racism will not cease to be an indispensable companion of the Russian mentality.

Chapters 7 and 8 of the reviewed book focus on various aspects of the current Russian-Ukrainian war and cover issues ranging from social guarantees to combatants to international politics and position of various countries of the world in Russia's war against Ukraine. The reflections of Alla Kyrydon and Serhiy Troyan about the possibility and options of the trauma of a lost war for Russia are interesting. The researchers talk about three expressions of the trauma of the lost war, and do not give a final answer to the question of whether after the defeat in the war against Ukraine in the Russian space, the cultural and traumatic discourse, the result of which is repentance, will gain an advantage (following the example of German society after the defeat of Hitler's Third Reich in World War II). For this, at least two things are necessary: the first is the unconditional victory of Ukraine in the war, the liberation of all temporarily occupied territories and accession to the EU and NATO. The second thing is the condemnation by a special International Tribunal, similar to the Nuremberg one, of the crimes of Russians and the Russian state. In the case of such a “trauma of a lost war”, the inhabitants of a soullessly cold space with an area of more than 17 million sq. m. km there will be a chance for repentance (PERELOM, 2023, p. 579). We doubt this thesis: the multi-ethnic population of Russia, obsessed with the imperialist idea and convinced of the omnipotence of the “nuclear cudgel”, is hardly capable of repentance.

The researchers A. Kyrydon and S. Troyan try to formulate a number of lessons of the modern Russian-Ukrainian War for Ukraine and the civilized world. Among them there are the following: the era of great wars has not gone into the past; the main strategic goal of Russia's war is the subjugation or destruction of Ukraine as a state and the Ukrainian ethnic group; a powerful and effective factor of success is the strength of the nation, united against the invader; the policy of pacifying the aggressor, as in previous times, is false and ineffective;

the powerful security belt of the world, the core of which is the consolidated West, still does not see a clear perspective of the new world security architecture; Ukraine's post-war security can be ensured only as a result of its accession to NATO; during the Russian-Ukrainian War, the incapacity of certain international organizations (for example, the UN Security Council) became apparent; defeating Russian militarism requires the consolidation of actions: military, information, sanctions, cultural, diplomatic (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 580–585). In our opinion, the following lesson should be added to this: in the current and future polarized world, there will always be countries that will directly or indirectly, constantly or episodically support the aggressor, not caring about humanistic morality, but pursuing their own interests, which they will proudly call “national”.

In Chapter 8, the historian Stepan Vidniansky presented the results of his analysis of the attitude of Hungary, Romania, Moldova, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland to the war in Ukraine (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 637–642, 653–680). Andriy Martynov made the same review for China, India, Iran, Austria, Serbia, Bulgaria, Belarus, Germany, France, Turkey, the Baltic countries, as well as Caucasian, Central Asian, African and Latin American countries (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 711–766, 776–781). These articles are rich in a selective factual and statistical material, although behind their promising headlines in some places there are no answers to the questions posed. Thus, A. Martynov was going to answer the question “what are the prospects of Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine under the conditions of war?” (PERELOM, 2023, pp. 753–758). However, the historian limited himself to a brief summary of the history of NATO and Ukraine's cooperation with this military political bloc, and therefore did not make any predictions regarding Ukraine's membership in NATO.

The last, Chapter 9 of “TURNING POINT...” deals with the “historiographical front” of the Russian-Ukrainian War. In this Chapter all 10 essays were written by Oleksandr Udod, a renowned Ukrainian historiographer. He made several original claims, including that historians, along with politicians and the military, share responsibility for all interstate and civil wars of modern times (PERELOM, 2023, p. 793). The scholar suggests that the Russian historians are to blame for the Russian-Ukrainian War, because as early as 2001, they began to “substantiate historically” Putin's political ambitions. According to O. Udod, the Russian historians, ignoring written and unwritten canons and standards of the historical profession, have turned into historians-propagandists and are directly responsible for the preparation and resolution of the war with the help of the formation of “war symbols”, mobilization of the Russians for heroic violence against the Ukrainians. The Russian historians de facto legitimized the genocide of the Ukrainians, denying the right to existence of the nation and the Ukrainian state (PERELOM, 2023, p. 796). O. Udod also shows convincingly that Putin turns to and appeals to history in order to justify his imperial ambitions. O. Udod's thesis that there is no historical science in Russia today, because the Russian historians abandoned scientific methodology, is controversial (PERELOM, 2023, p. 803). In our opinion, this statement limps on excessive generalization: a huge number of the Russian historians really serve the state propaganda, but there are the Russian scholars, who focus on Ancient Times studies, the Middle Ages studies, and Chinese studies scholars, whose scientific work is based on modern methodological principles of historical science. In this case we can't help mentioning the famous Russian historian Tetiana Tairova-Yakovleva, who did researches on the history of early modern Ukraine and was persecuted in Russia for her clear scientific and civic position.

O. Udod also reflects on the question of expediency of the historiographical understanding of Russia's war against Ukraine, i. e. a modern event that is still ongoing. In general, the

scholar draws an unambiguous conclusion: it is necessary and possible to study the war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine already now, to study it scientifically, with a high degree of historiographic understanding (PERELOM, 2023, p. 824). In his opinion, a number of researched issues are already important and possible for theoretical conclusions, primarily the name of the war, its nature, source base. It should be noted that nowadays there are scientific reflections on the understanding of the nature of war by the Ukrainian scholars (Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2023). It is also important that O. Udod raises the issue of modernization of modern history education, primarily at secondary school. In addition, the scholar emphasizes the need for the Ukrainian historians to oppose the Russian historical propaganda. The Ukrainian historians are aware of their responsibility for the place and role of scientific history in opposing the Russian historical propaganda. They should ensure the implementation of continuous analysis and monitoring of the Russian state and media historical policy regarding Ukraine, broad informing of the Ukrainian and international public on current issues of Ukrainian history (PERELOM, 2023, p. 821). Of course, one cannot but agree with these opinions. It should be understood that at the same time, the Ukrainian historians do not become “fighters of the ideological and propaganda front”, do not retreat from scientific methodology, but with the help of a critical thinking and scientific analysis, they help to cleanse the public consciousness of the Russian pseudo-scientific inspirations on historical issues. An example of the fulfillment of this task by the Ukrainian historians is the reviewed book.

In general, we congratulate the team of authors of Volume 3 of “TURNING POINT...” on the publication of a necessary and resonant work, which is designed to convey to the broad circles of the Ukrainian society and the international public the results of an in-depth research by the Ukrainian scholars on the complex problems of the Ukrainian-Russian relations. Of course, the book contains several shortcomings, in particular, not always appropriate use of journalistic passages (for example, regarding “wilding of the Russian population” (PERELOM, 2023, p. 479)) and sometimes an abstract presentation of historical facts, which creates the feeling that some texts were written in a hurry. However, these drawbacks can be understood and excused due to an acute sense of justice of the Ukrainian scholars and the need to conduct not only a defensive, but also a quick offensive struggle on the “historiographical front”. We believe that this work should be translated into English, which will make the visions of the Ukrainian historians more accessible for understanding by the international scientific community.

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