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Vasyl ORLYK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of Department of History, Archeology, Informational and Archival Affairs, Central Ukrainian National Technical University, 8 Prospekt Universytetsky, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25006 (v.m.orlik@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-7947-9557

Researcher ID: C-1025-2019

Scopus-Author ID: 57195333722

Volodymyr KROPIVNYI

PhD (Engineering), Professor, Rector, Central Ukrainian National Technical University, 8 Prospekt Universytetsky, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25006 (vlkropivny@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-5313-0226

Researcher ID: NXY-2309-2025

Scopus-Author ID: 57361769500

Василь ОРЛИК

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри історії, археології, інформаційної та архівної справи, Центральноукраїнський національний технічний університет, пр. Університетський, 8, м. Кропивницький, Україна, індекс 25006 (v.m.orlik@gmail.com)

Володимир КРОПІВНИЙ

кандидат технічних наук, професор, ректор, Центральноукраїнський національний технічний університет, пр. Університетський, 8, м. Кропивницький, Україна, індекс 25006 (vlkropivny@gmail.com)

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**COPPER COINS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH (1103 – 1130):
PHYSICO-CHEMICAL ANALYSIS**

Abstract. The Purpose and Scientific Novelty of the Article. The purpose is to do the research on the development of coin minting in the Crusader states, with a particular focus on the Principality of Antioch, during the first third of the 12th century. For the first time, the authors have conducted a comprehensive physicochemical analysis of copper coins from the Principality of Antioch, utilizing X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, an MMP-2P model optical metallographic microscope, and a spark optical emission spectrometer Solaris CCD Plus GNR. **Conclusions.** We conclude that the copper coins were struck on coin flans produced by casting. All the coins contain lead (Pb). Lead (Pb) was widely used in copper alloys in the Levant during the 11th–12th centuries. Taking into account the uniform technology used for producing flans for all coin types and the use of an alloy with a high lead (Pb) content, the authors conclude that a single mint operated in the Principality of Antioch. The consistent

presence of lead (Pb) in all analyzed samples of Antiochene copper Crusader coins strongly suggests that lead was deliberately added during the melting process. After casting, the flans underwent further mechanical processing, including the removal of the solidified gating system and the remelting of defective pieces. Only then were the coins struck using a manual minting technique.

A comparative analysis of the coins of the Principality of Antioch and those of the Seljuks of Syria indicates that the addition of lead (Pb) to the coin alloy was not a practice at the Antiochene mint prior to the Crusader occupation. Significant variations in the content of the primary elements in the coin alloy within a single coin type suggest the use of diverse raw materials in alloy production.

Comparing the results of X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and optical emission spectrometry, it is important to note that the former allows for more accurate determination of the chemical composition of a metal object, as the assessment is based on radiation from a larger surface area. Furthermore, X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy does not damage the surface of the studied coin.

Keywords: Principality of Antioch, Crusades, Oriental coins, follis, fals, dirham, numismatics, coin minting, mint, physicochemical analysis.

МІДНІ МОНЕТИ КНЯЗІВСТВА АНТІОХІЇ (1103 – 1130): ФІЗИКО-ХІМІЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ

Анотація. Мета і наукова новизна статті. У статті досліджено проблему становлення монетного карбування в державах хрестоносців, зокрема в князівстві Антіохія в першій третині XII століття. Автори статті, вперше в історіографії здійснили комплексний фізико-хімічний аналіз мідних монет князівства Антіохії першої третини XII століття за допомогою X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, оптичного металографічного мікроскопа моделі MMP-2P та іскрового оптичного емісійного спектрометру Solaris CCD Plus GNR. **Висновки.** Мідні монети князівства Антіохії першої третини XII століття, карбувалися на монетних флангах виготовлених шляхом лиття. Усі монети князівства Антіохії містять у складі монетної заготовки свинець (Pb). Свинець (Pb) широко використовувався у Леванті в XI–XII століттях у мідних сплавах. Враховуючи єдину технологію виготовлення монетної заготовки для всіх типів монет та використання для цього монетного сплаву зі значним вмістом свинцю (Pb), автори вважають, що в князівстві Антіохія діяв один монетний двір. Враховуючи присутність свинцю (Pb) у всіх досліджуваних зразках антіохійський мідних монет хрестоносців, цілком логічним є висновок, про додавання свинцю (Pb) під час плавлення. Після застигання литих заготовок вони додатково піддавалися механічній обробці, зокрема, обрубкування затверділої ливникової системи та відправлення на переплавку бракованих заготовок. Лише після цього, із монетних заготовок, використовуючи ручну технологію карбування, виготовлялися монети. Порівняльний аналіз монет князівства Антіохії та монет сельджуків Сирії, вказує, що додавання свинцю (Pb) до монетного сплаву не було традицією на Антіохійському монетному дворі до приходу хрестоносців. Суттєве коливання вмісту основних елементів монетного сплаву у межах одного монетного типу свідчить про використання різної сировини для виготовлення сплаву.

Порівнюючи результати X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy та оптичної емісійної спектрометрії, необхідно зауважити, що перший метод дозволяє більш точно встановлювати хімічний склад металевих об'єктів оскільки оцінка проводиться на основі узагальнення випромінювання від більшої ділянки. Крім того, X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy не наносить шкоди поверхні досліджуваної монети.

Ключові слова: князівство Антіохія, хрестові походи, східні монети, фоліс, фельс, дирхем, нумізматики, монетне карбування, монетний двір, фізико-хімічний аналіз.

Problem Statement. Among the corpus of coins associated with the Crusader states, the emissions of the Principality of Antioch from the first third of the 12th century stand out in particular. These were issues of coins made from copper-based alloys. The minting of copper coins had its advantages from both economic and political perspectives.

In the 11th century, copper coinage was well known not only in Byzantium but also in the neighboring territories of the Islamic world. Stefan Heidemann notes that the earliest

mention of the circulation of Byzantine copper coins on Islamic territory comes from the Tajik-Persian poet of the Seljuk era, Nasir-i Khusrau (Heidemann, 2002, p. 395). When Nasir-i Khusrau arrived in Akhlat (Eastern Anatolia) in November of 1046, “he discovered that business transactions there were conducted with copper money” (Heidemann, 2002, p. 395). At that time, as Heidemann rightly points out, only dirhams were minted in Akhlat, not copper coins (Heidemann, 2002, p. 395). Therefore, according to the German scholar, Byzantine copper coins were in circulation in Akhlat.

After the Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, Seljuk rulers began minting copper fals. In particular, before the arrival of the Crusaders, anonymous copper fals of the Seljuks of Syria were minted in Antioch (Album, 2020, p. 102. #779). Thus, copper coins were already familiar to the population of the Principality of Antioch.

In any case, copper coinage posed no issues for the new Antiochene establishment – the South Italian Normans, who made up a significant portion of the Crusaders. In Sicily, by the end of the 11th century, copper – alongside gold – formed the foundation of the monetary system. The emission of copper coins in Sicily had been carried out “over several centuries by Byzantine administrators and later by the Arab and Norman conquerors of the island” (Orlyk, 2011, p. 158).

P. Spufford quite rightly notes that the primary function of Sicilian copper coins was to facilitate minor payments, which were a common feature of urban life (Spufford, 1988, p. 10). The copper coins of the Principality of Antioch served a similar function.

Additionally, the status of *monetary seignior* was of considerable importance, as it emphasized the special position of the prince within the complex feudal hierarchy of the Near East. Equally significant was the fact that minting coins from copper-based alloys was always a profitable endeavor for the minter.

Despite limited publications on the numismatic issues of the Principality of Antioch, new studies periodically emerge, revealing previously unexplored aspects of this important scholarly topic. Researchers have long questioned whether the minting center was located solely in the city of Antioch or whether mints also existed in other cities of the Principality of Antioch (Metcalfe, 2006). A detailed study of the evolution of iconography across different coin types, die analysis, and physicochemical analysis of Antiochene coins may provide an answer to this question. In particular, physicochemical analysis – especially the examination of coin alloys using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and electron microscopy – makes it possible to reconstruct the technological process of coin minting, from the melting of metal to the production of the final coin.

Methodology: To determine the elemental composition of coins from the Principality of Antioch, we employed X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. The study was conducted using an Elvax Plus X-ray fluorescence spectrometer (manufactured by Elvatech, Kyiv, Ukraine) under the following parameters:

- element detection range: from 11Na to 92U;
- X-ray tube anode voltage: 40/10 kV;
- tube current: automatic stabilization;
- exposure time: 30/30 seconds;
- total measurement duration: 28 seconds.

X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy “is a well-known, non-destructive, fast and multi-element analytical method” (Markou, Charalambous, & Kassianidou, 2014).

To examine the internal structure of the coin alloy, an MMP-2P model optical metallographic microscope was used, designed for observing and photographing microstructures with a magnification range from 40x to 1250x. Metallographic examinations were performed on polished surfaces of metallographic sections.

Sample preparation for metallographic study included cutting a small template from the coin material, which led to the destruction of the coin. To produce metallographic sections, the metal sample (a coin fragment) was subjected to careful grinding followed by polishing of the cross-sectional surface.

For more detailed analysis of the coin metal's structural features, the section surface was etched using a 4% solution of nitric acid in ethyl alcohol. In the preliminary stages of microsection preparation, the macrostructure was examined on the ground up cross-section of the coin material at magnifications ranging from 25x to 50x. Macrostructural analysis provided information about the structure of oxidation layers on the coin surfaces and the presence of large non-metallic inclusions. We also used a Solaris CCD Plus GNR optical emission spectrometer.

For the metallographic study (a destructive research method), the authors used three coins. Specifically, two coins of the first type from the reign of Tancred of Taranto were examined. From the first coin (Id 3), a metallographic section was prepared with a thickness of 2 mm and a cut length of 8 mm; from the second (Id 10), a section with a thickness of 1.6 mm and a cut length of 10 mm was prepared. Additionally, one coin of Roger of Salerno, Type 1 (Id 32), was used to produce a section with a thickness of 1.2 mm and a cut length of 8 mm.

In addition to X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and microscopic metal analysis, our study employed methods of direct physical measurement of the coins, particularly their weight and dimensions. For the visual analysis of the coin flan, we used an MBS-10 model binocular microscope.

Review of Recent Literature. Physicochemical analysis of coins began in the 20th century, particularly in the post-war period. One of the earliest significant publications of that era was by Polish physicists Zofia Stos-Fertner and Tadeusz Florkowski, dedicated to radioisotope X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis for detecting heavy metal impurities in Kufic silver coins. This research was presented at the Symposium on Archaeometry and Archaeological Prospection held on March 18–22, 1975, in Oxford, England, and was published as a separate brochure in Kraków by the Institute of Physics and Nuclear Techniques (Stos-Fertner, & Florkowski, 1975). The scholars rightly emphasized that spectral analysis “is a valuable method for non-destructive, rapid and sensitive analysis of elemental composition” (Stos-Fertner, & Florkowski, 1975, p. 3).

However, the widespread adoption of XRF research has occurred only in recent decades, largely due to the development of portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometers. The mass production of such instruments “began with the development of compact X-ray tubes with a wavelength of 0.05 to 10 nanometres and an energy range of 0.1 to 25 kiloelectron volts (keV)” (Kropivnyi, Orlyk, Kuzyk, & Kropivna, 2023). As a result, the number of scholarly studies on historical metal artifacts – especially numismatic objects such as coins and coin dies – has increased significantly (Gitler, & Ponting, 2006; Orlyk, 2016; Boiko-Haharyn, & Korpusova, 2017; Inberg, Ashkenazi, Cohen, Iddan, Cvikel, 2018; Jonsson, 2018; Crosera, Baracchini, Prenesti, Giacomello, Callegger, Oliveri, & Adami, 2019; Al-Saad, & Rababah,

2020; Orlyk, 2021; Orlyk, & Prokhnenko, 2023a; Orlyk, & Prokhnenko, 2023b; Orlyk, & Prokhnenko, 2024; Indutny, Pirkovich, & Dyshlova-Hrynyuk, 2024; Orlyk, & Callataÿ, F. (de), 2024; Šmit, & Šemrov, 2025 et al.).

At the same time, no specialized studies have yet been conducted on the elemental composition of the coin metals of the Principality of Antioch.

Purpose of Research. The purpose of the research is to investigate the technological features of the production of coin flans and the minting of copper coins by the Crusaders in Antioch.

Results.

The Beginning of Copper Coinage by the Crusaders in the Principality of Antioch.

In the Principality of Antioch, large copper coins were minted during the reigns of Bohemond I (1099 – 1111), Tancred of Taranto (regent for Bohemond I from March of 1101 to May of 1103, and from late 1104 to December of 1112), Roger of Salerno (regent for Bohemond II from late 1112 to June of 1119), Baldwin II of Jerusalem (regent for Bohemond II from 1119 to 1126), and Bohemond II himself (1126 – 1130).

As mentioned earlier, prior to the arrival of the Crusaders, the Seljuks of Syria had minted anonymous copper fals in Antioch (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 (Not to scale) (CNG 350, Lot.650.) Seljuks of Syria, Anonymous, Æ Fals, Antioch Mint, Standing Elephant Type, circa AH 480s – 488s (1090s – 1098s.)
Obverse: Elephant with a cloth covering (caparison) facing right
Reverse: Within a hexagon adorned with floral dots, Arabic inscription “sultan”
Weight: 2.67 g **Orientation:** ↑↓ 12 o'clock.

Such coins, alongside Byzantine issues, were used in Antioch both before the Crusaders began minting their own coins and afterward, as evidenced by numerous finds of Seljuk coins during archaeological excavations in Antioch (Miles, 1965, p. 497).

As for Byzantine coins, during the Princeton University archaeological excavations in Antioch in the 1930s, it was noted that the coins of the Crusader rulers “are in the same general fabric as the Byzantine folios of the later eleventh century, of which the excavations produced similar quantities” (Metcalf, 1995, p. 22).

Highly informative regarding the circulation of Seljuk coins in the Principality of Antioch is a hoard of 65 copper coins, consisting of 59 Seljuk coins and 6 Byzantine coins (including some from the final years of the reign of Alexios I), which was “found in the American excavations at Corinth” (Metcalf, 2006, p. 294). According to Metcalf, “The hoard almost certainly represents a sum of money carried westwards from Antioch – and not by a Seljuk! The obvious candidate is a crusader returning home after the First Crusade, taking ship from Antioch and transferring across the Isthmus via Corinth” (Metcalf, 2006, p. 294).

The initiation of independent coinage by the rulers of the Principality of Antioch was driven by a number of significant factors, particularly the need – especially among the urban population – for small-denomination coins to pay for services and minor purchases.

The demand for copper coins in the Principality of Antioch was so high that, in addition to locally minted coins, the monetary circulation also included not only Byzantine and Islamic coins of the Levantine rulers but even copper objects resembling coins.

This is evidenced by a coin hoard found near Jubayl (Djubbayl), north of Beirut, Lebanon, during the 1970s and 1980s, where, along with coins of the Principality of Antioch – including an anonymous issue (Fig. 5) – a coin-like object (Fig. 2) was discovered that stylistically resembles a coin from the time of Roger of Salerno featuring an image of St. George on horseback.



Fig. 2 (Not to scale)¹

In numismatic scholarship, there is no consensus regarding the dating of the initial emissions of coins by Bohemond I and his regent Tancred (Schindel, 2023). In our view, the most convincing hypothesis is that of M. Phillips, who suggests that Bohemond I began minting coins “after his release from captivity and before his departure for Europe a year later” (Phillips, 2023, p. 214), meaning between June of 1103 and December of 1104. Tancred, acting as regent for Bohemond I, likely began minting his own coins only after Bohemond’s departure – no earlier than 1105. This theory is supported by numismatic evidence, particularly the absence of Bohemond I’s coins being overstruck by Tancred’s emissions in the first two series. Tancred is recorded to have overstruck coins of Bohemond I only in the third series (Phillips, 2023, pp. 210–211). Thus, while issuing the first two series of his own coins, Tancred, as regent, did not overstrike those of his suzerain. Only after consolidating power in Antioch did he begin overstriking Bohemond I’s coins.

¹ Private collection, Ukraine.

Therefore, it is not appropriate to speak of independent Crusader emissions in the Principality of Antioch prior to 1103. Before that, the inhabitants of this Crusader state used copper coins of the Syrian Seljuks and the Byzantine Empire.

Coin Minting Techniques Used by the Crusaders in Antioch. A detailed examination of coins from the Principality of Antioch in the first third of the 12th century shows that some coins were struck on newly cast coin flans of irregular circular shape (e.g., those of Tancred, Roger of Salerno, and Bohemond II), while others were overstruck on previous emissions or on coins of others, including Byzantine folles and Seljuk fals of Syria.

The mint in Antioch operated a full cycle of coin production – from melting ore (or scrap metal) to issuing finished coinage. This included producing coin alloy, casting coin flans in special molds, processing and adjusting the flans, striking coins, and handcrafting the coin dies.

The technology used by the previous rulers of Antioch – the Seljuks of Syria – for preparing coin flans was somewhat different. During the minting of fals in Antioch, the Seljuks used a method whereby a square piece was cut from a hammered metal sheet and then "rounded" by trimming or chopping off the sharp corners (see Fig. 1).

The coin dies in Antioch were handcrafted by engraving mirror images, primarily with the use of a burin. This is indicated by irregularities in the halos of St. Peter, St. George, Jesus Christ, as well as in the outer circles of the obverse and reverse, and in the arms of the cross of St. Peter, among others.

Pre-modern coins often exhibit production defects characteristic of manual minting techniques. These include, in particular, incomplete strikes and die misalignments. Such defects are interrelated. The upper die (used for striking the reverse) typically had a smaller diameter than the lower die (used for the obverse). As a result of misalignment during striking, a portion of the reverse image sometimes extends beyond the coin's surface. This indicates that the flan did not fully receive the kinetic energy from the hammer blow, and thus, insufficient pressure was applied to transfer the full image from the die.

The manual striking technique employed in the Principality of Antioch has been known since antiquity.

As previously noted, the Principality of Antioch undertook a full cycle of coin production. Let us now examine the coin alloys used for minting local currency in Antioch during the first third of the 12th century, based on the primary elemental composition identified through X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.² For this analysis, we consider as primary those elements that constitute more than 3% of the composition in individual specimens (see Table 1).

The main elements of the coin alloys of the Principality of Antioch in this period were copper (Cu), lead (Pb), tin (Sn), and zinc (Zn).

In addition to the actual alloy elements, the coin surfaces also contain residual particles of sand: silicon (Si), aluminum (Al), and dirt – phosphorus (P) – which may have entered the coin materials from the sand-clay mixture used in coin flan molds, as well as from slag produced during the melting process.

It is important to note that a significant amount of silicon remains on the surface of the analyzed coins even after mechanical cleaning – provided that the patina was not damaged. The same applies to the presence of aluminum on the coin surfaces. Aluminum oxide (Al₂O₃)

² All coins from the Ukrainian private collection were provided by the owner for research purposes and with permission to publish their photographs.

is a component in the chestnut soils commonly found in northern and western Syria, the region in which the coins of the Principality of Antioch were struck.

Given the cultural and historical value – and, in some cases, the rarity – of the coins under study, all X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy measurements were performed without damaging the surface or patina of the coins.

A macrostructural study of the coin of **Roger of Salerno, Type 1 (Id 32)**, carried out using a destructive method, revealed a considerable amount of aluminosilicate inclusions (ranging in size from 0.10 to 0.15 mm) embedded in the surface oxide layer. These inclusions could significantly affect the accuracy of the chemical composition measurements conducted using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (see Fig. 3).

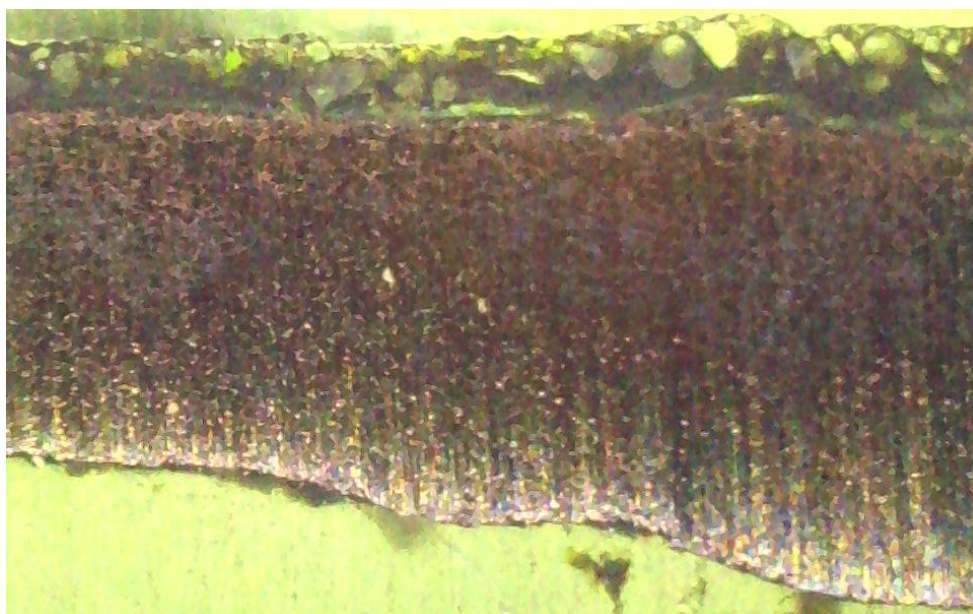


Fig. 3 Macrostructure of coin metal (Id 32) (50x magnification), indicating the fixation of aluminosilicate inclusions in the surface oxide layer

In addition to the elements listed in Table 1, the coin alloys also contain other chemical elements characteristic of various ore deposits; however, the percentage of such elements in the coin alloy is insignificant.

Table 1 presents a systematic overview of the chemical elements detected on the coin surfaces, organized according to the chronology of emissions and coin types.

A control analysis of the chemical composition of the coin material (Id 3), struck on a cast coin flan, was carried out using a spark optical emission spectrometer Solaris CCD Plus GNR. The analyzed specimen was in poor condition (Good/Poor). It was determined that the coin material was bronze containing approximately 6% tin, over 30% lead, about 2% phosphorus, with the remainder being copper. These contents should be considered approximate, since no standard reference samples of tin-lead bronze were available for spectrometer calibration. The analysis lasted thirty seconds.

Table 1

**Elemental composition of the coin surface of the principality of Antioch
in the first third of the 12th century**

Id	Coin types	The chemical elements %						
		Cu	Pb	Si	Sn	Zn	Al	Fe
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Bohemond I (Fig.6.1)	60.341	2.673	28.781	0.609	0.517	5.008	1.123
2	Tancred, Type 1 (Fig.6.2)	57.236	14.235	20.027	2.756	1.727	1.837	1.001
3	Similar	34.823	37.475	11.847	7.721	2.752	3.293	0.983
4	Similar	50.556	25.752	9.654	6.050	4.061	1.258	1.019
5	Similar	37.931	6.925	35.220	1.474	1.195	12.815	3.342
6	Similar	50.867	10.727	24.481	2.525	1.820	6.145	1.944
7	Similar	62.091	11.633	15.509	2.203	3.870	3.172	0.885
8	Similar	73.931	0.838	17.317	0.860	5.203	1.312	0.284
9	Similar	38.670	38.478	11.337	3.721	1.316	3.707	1.341
10	Similar	61.346	19.847	7.530	3.135	1.025	4.027	1.019
11	Similar (Fig.6.3)	63.265	17.092	8.230	2.418	1.765	4.168	0.993
12	Similar (Fig.6.4)	48.468	18.586	20.189	5.402	2.252	2.901	1.013
13	Similar (Fig.6.5)	57.194	10.397	23.275	4.205	0.910	2.474	0.774
14	Similar	62.976	16.086	6.969	3.619	2.909	3.883	0.858
15	Similar	67.139	10.676	9.740	3.031	1.001	5.753	0.869
16	Similar	68.507	9.374	12.362	5.091	1.930	1.295	0.536
17	Similar overstrikes on a Byzantine anonymous follis	72.463	5.528	14.475	1.756	1.176	3.448	0.604
18	Tancred, Type 2	73.529	16.680	3.465	2.453	1.190	1.986	0.225
19	Similar	31.303	13.992	31.846	2.222	0.376	15.992	3.221
20	Similar	42.231	22.633	19.071	4.150	2.163	4.671	1.156
21	Similar	29.037	21.037	30.972	1.745	0.647	13.179	1.803
22	Similar	54.251	15.630	20.630	3.587	0.875	2.169	0.899
23	Similar	63.415	1.143	28.389	0.579	1.055	4.073	0.797
24	Similar (Fig.6.6)	52.362	24.931	10.574	7.118	0.369	2.980	0.624
25	Similar	52.550	11.035	23.191	2.718	4.079	4.425	0.938
26	Tancred, Type 3 (Fig.6.7)	86.822	5.283	0.416	2.985	3.255	0.295	0.385
27	Similar	45.820	3.679	34.050	2.751	1.049	10.290	1.853
28	Similar, overstrikes on Fals Seljuk of Syria	96.463	0.740	1.313	0.421	0.279	0.357	0.146
29	Seljuks of Syria, Fals, Antioch Mint, Standing Elephant Type (Fig.6.8)	93,679	0,928	3,211	0,566	0,868	0,306	0,149
30	Tancred, Type 4 (Fig.6.9)	55.916	24.108	11.011	2.589	2.175	1.175	0.653
31	Similar	68.622	21.571	1.992	3.761	1.027	0.384	0.670
32	Roger of Salerno, Type 1 overstrikes on Fals Seljuk of Syria	40.696	2.648	33.234	0.865	2.062	18.236	1.780

Table 1 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
33	Similar	39.465	1.043	35.627	1.092	1.047	19.494	1.717
34	Similar	81.472	3.001	9.304	0.795	1.785	1.905	0.591
35	Similar	71.182	1.152	24.013	0.640	0.305	1.941	0.438
36	Similar	44.360	11.110	31.093	3.344	1.260	5.501	2.468
37	Similar overstrikes on Tancred, Type 4 (Fig.6.10)	42.231	22.633	19.071	4.150	2.163	4.671	1.156
38	Roger of Salerno, Type 2	82.905	2.047	9.036	0.890	2.046	1.510	0.721
39	Similar (Fig.6.11)	35.905	34.691	15.999	5.213	0.851	4.305	1.176
40	Roger of Salerno, Type 3 (Fig.6.12)	52.861	15.224	21.424	2.535	1.968	2.396	1.698
41	Bohemond II	71.706	7.612	6.404	3.701	1.464	3.826	0.430
42	Similar (Fig.6.13)	33,795	37,924	2,463	18,169	0,391	1,251	1,207
43	Similar (Fig.6.14)	53.185	19.810	18.287	3.511	1.565	1.461	1.085
44	Anonymous (Fig.6.15)	68.168	7.161	17.458	0.280	0.238	3.351	2.760

Following the procedure, a burn mark from the spectrometer’s spark discharge remained on the coin surface, up to 5 mm in diameter, resulting in the loss of the coin’s historical value.

On the other hand, the presence of insoluble discrete lead particles uniformly distributed within the copper-containing matrix creates an attenuating, shielding effect on the intensity of spectral lines of the chemical elements comprising the coin metal when using traditional spectrographic methods for alloy composition analysis. X-ray radiation emitted by copper atoms is weakened as it passes through large lead inclusions, which leads to artificially inflated lead values during computer processing of inputs.

Compared to values obtained through quantitative metallography and XRF analysis, spark spectrometry may overestimate lead content by up to 7%. The accuracy of the result at any given point is influenced by the degree of dispersion of lead inclusions and the extent of its segregation throughout the coin’s mass. Where lead is finely dispersed, the measurement error may range from 1% to 2%.

In practice, when conducting technical measurements, reference samples with chemical composition close to that of the analyzed sample are typically used. In this context, the use of XRF express analysis for determining the metal composition of coins is most appropriate, as it provides an averaged result across the sample’s volume.

The first coinage of the Principality of Antioch was most likely issued, as noted above, from mid-1103 – 1104 by Bohemond I, after his return from captivity. Because such coins are exceptionally rare, we were able to examine only a single specimen (Id 1), which Phillips classifies as Type 1 (Fig. 6.1). The piece was struck on a flan and retains 28.781% surface sand. The Cu-to-Pb ratio in the alloy is 22.57 : 1. Lead was deliberately introduced, for “lead was sometimes added to copper alloys in order to improve the fluidity and lower the melting temperature, properties which facilitated casting, particularly the filling of large and complex moulds” (Yahalom-Mack, Langgut, Dvir, Tirosh, Eliyahu-Behar, & Erel, et al., 2015). This practice goes back to antiquity: “first and foremost lead ores were a major source of silver,

and lead was merely the by-product of silver extraction” (ibid.). Matthew Ponting’s study of Fatimid-period copper-alloy metalwork records objects (a lamp tray, animal foot, single foot, long foot, small bucket, small dipper, handle, mortar, sword ferrule, etc.) containing 7.29 % – 41.40 % lead (Ponting, 2003, pp. 101–103). The celebrated 10th–11th-century Islamic scholar Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī called a copper-lead alloy *baṭrūy* – “bad copper” – observing that it had a pale colour and “could not withstand extensive hammering or fierce fire” (al-Bīrūnī, 2011, p. 298).

The Bohemond I coin studied here was struck by the same technique used for late Byzantine anonymous folles and tetartera. Indeed, the metrology of Antioch’s copper coinage is closest to those Byzantine types. Byzantine copper coins, like many Near-Eastern issues, including Sasanian issues (Van Ham-Meert, Rademakers, Gyselen, Overlaet, Degryse, & Claeys, 2020, p. 52) and Abbasid issues (Smirnova, 1963, p. 52), traditionally contained lead. The earliest tetarteron *noummion* issues were struck entirely in lead (Hendy, 1999, p. 231).

The coins of Tancred generally show a high lead content, reaching a maximum of 38.478% (Id 9). Because X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy consistently reveals a substantial percentage of lead, we conducted a supplementary investigation of one Tancred Type 1 coin using an electron microscope.

A destructive metallographic study of coin Id 10 was carried out on polished sections with an MMP-2P microscope at 100–250× magnification. The examination confirmed that the coin was struck on a cast flan. The matrix is an α -tin-in-copper solid solution containing lead inclusions (the dark and grey areas, see: Fig. 4). Lead is virtually insoluble in solid copper alloys, appearing in the microstructure as a dispersion of discrete particles; the size of these inclusions and the spacing between them are directly related to the lead content and the cooling rate during solidification. The absence of any anisotropy in the shape of the lead inclusions shows that the cast coin flans underwent no pre-strike forging. A similarly undistorted, non-metallic inclusion, visible in the macrostructure, also indicates that the flan experienced no bulk deformation before striking.

In hot striking, lead-rich bronze coins would exhibit molten lead inclusions. The lack of cavities between the low-melting lead inclusions and the lighter copper-rich lattice demonstrates that the flan was not reheated prior to striking.

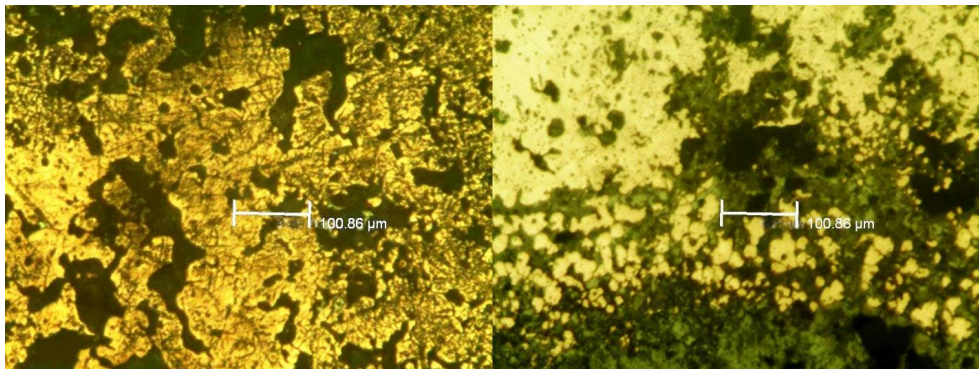


Fig. 4. Microstructure of coin metal (Id 3) (150x magnification):
a) central part of the coin; b) edge of the coin



Fig. 5 Macrostructure of the coin metal (Id 10) (25× magnification) showing a non-deformed slag inclusion in the right section of the coin's cross-section

The addition of lead to bronze alloys improves casting properties, especially fluidity, and also facilitates cold striking. Lead can serve as a thinning agent, since a coin containing 20% lead allows for a 20% reduction in copper usage. However, it is unlikely that the alloy was chosen solely for its workability.

Regarding the coins of Roger of Salerno, those that show signs of being overstruck on earlier coins have a chemical composition that is significantly different from other coins of the Principality of Antioch. Specifically, the lead (Pb) content in these alloys ranges only from 1.043% to 3.001% (Id 32–35, 38). Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the original coins that were overstruck by the analyzed Roger of Salerno issues.

In contrast, **coins of Roger of Salerno struck on new cast flans** (Id 36–37, 39–40) contain between 11.110% to 34.691% lead – typical for most coins of the Principality of Antioch.

All three analyzed **coins of Bohemond II** (Id 41–43), struck on newly cast flans, also contain lead, ranging between 7.612% – 37.924%.

Besides copper coins of the Principality of Antioch that are clearly identified in modern scholarship issuer-by-issuer, we also examined **an anonymous coin** (Id 44) featuring a bust of St. Peter on the obverse and two monograms (Fig. 6.15). This coin type was described by Gustave Schlumberger in the appendices to his work, with an illustration on Plate XIX, 1. The eminent French numismatist attributed this type to the “Principality of Antioch and the earliest days of Latin occupation.” (Schlumberger, 1954, p. 493) Metcalf suggests this type may have been struck “during the reign of King Baldwin II? – or after 1130?” (Metcalf, 1995, p. 28) The elemental composition of the metal indicates that this coin is closest in alloy to those of Bohemond II, though its flan is noticeably thinner than any of the other emissions analyzed from the Principality of Antioch. This strongly suggests that the coin was struck after the death of Bohemond II – i.e., after February of 1130.

Conclusions. Our research indicates that the Principality of Antioch most likely operated a single mint, as evidenced by the consistent casting technology used for coin flans across all coin types. The elemental composition also shows no significant variation – all coins from the principality contain lead (Pb) in their flans. Lead was widely used in copper alloys in the Levant during the 11th – 12th centuries. Its presence improved the casting and striking properties of the flans and also offered a cost advantage, as lead – being a by-product of silver extraction – was much cheaper than copper.



Fig. 6

A comparative analysis of coins from Antioch and those of the Syrian Seljuks shows that the addition of lead was not a practice at the Antiochene mint before the arrival of the Crusaders. The significant variation in the elemental composition of a single coin type suggests that different raw materials were used for alloy production.

Given the lack of local copper deposits in the Principality of Antioch, it is highly likely that the Crusader mint worked with scrap copper, which was melted down and poured into molds. The presence of lead (Pb) in all analyzed samples of Antiochene Crusader copper coins supports the conclusion that lead was intentionally added during the melting process.

After casting, the flans were further processed: sprues were trimmed, defective flans remelted, and only then were coins struck using a manual minting technique.

When comparing X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) with optical emission spectrometry, it is important to note that the former provides more accurate results regarding the chemical composition of metallic objects, as it evaluates a broader area. Furthermore, XRF does not damage the surface of the coin being analyzed.

The physicochemical analysis conducted by the authors confirms Phillips' thesis that the coin bearing Bohemond's name belongs to the first emission of the Crusader mint in Antioch. This emission was followed by mass coinage under Tancred of Taranto, which became possible only after 1104. The composition of the anonymous coin with the image of St. Peter suggests that it was minted after the cessation of Bohemond II's coinage – i.e., after his death in February of 1130.

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Ihor SMUTOK

PhD hab. (History), Professor of Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (smutokigor@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-5430-163X

Vasyl TUCHAPETS

PhD hab. (Theology), Associate Professor of the Theology Department, Private Higher Education Institution “Ivano-Frankivsk Academy Ivana Zolotoustoho”, 22 Vladyky Sofrona Mudryho Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code, 76019 (tuchapets.v@ifaiz.edu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0002-9748-603X

Ігор СМУТОК

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна індекс 82100 (smutokigor@gmail.com)

Василь ТУЧАПЕЦЬ

доктор наук з богослов'я, доцент кафедри богослов'я, ПЗВО “Івано-Франківська академія Івана Золотоустого”, вул. Владики Софрона Мудрого, 22, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76019 (tuchapets.v@ifaiz.edu.ua)

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**ENNOBLEMENT OF THE ORTHODOX / GREEK CATHOLIC CLERGY
IN PRZEMYŚL LAND (THE 16th – 18th CENTURIES):
LEGAL CONFLICTS AND EVERYDAY REALITY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to do a comprehensive research on a separate aspect of inter-estate relations in the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in particular, the ennoblement of priestly families and the mechanisms by which they achieved social success. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, verification, as well as on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (prosopographic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. Scientific Novelty.* The study focuses on a previously unknown aspect of inter-estate relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in particular the entry of the Orthodox and later Greek-Catholic clergy into the nobility (szlachta in Polish). The scope and mechanisms of this phenomenon have been elucidated through the prism of the legal field and everyday practice. **Conclusions.** The noble class of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, despite its apparent isolation, was constantly replenished with new families. Among them there were

descendants of the Orthodox (Greek-Catholic) clergy. This phenomenon is observed in the territory of modern Western Ukraine (the Ruthenian Voivodeship). Within the boundaries of Przemyśl land, four dozen priestly families managed to improve their social status. All known cases of clergy ennoblement took place in the area of compact residence of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nobility (szlachta). After all, ennoblement was achieved not by legal instruments, but by close coexistence and kinship between the nobility and the local clergy. The life circumstances in which this latent ennoblement was carried out were different. However, certain trends and mechanisms of this process were common. Priests and their descendants, living in villages where the nobility lived compactly, acquired land ownership, became related to local families. Some of them changed their surnames to noble ones. Individual families lived in royal estates. They also achieved ennoblement through kinship with the nobility. However, the memory of their unprivileged origin persisted and their noble status was permanently questioned by the local noble community.

Keywords: nobility (szlachta) in Przemyśl land, Orthodox clergy, Greek Catholic clergy, Przemyśl diocese.

НОБІЛІТАЦІЯ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГО / ГРЕКОКАТОЛИЦЬКОГО ДУХОВЕНСТВА У ПЕРЕМИШЛЬСЬКІЙ ЗЕМЛІ (XVI – XVIII СТ.): ПРАВОВІ КОЛІЗІЇ ТА ПОВСЯКДЕННА РЕАЛЬНІСТЬ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – з'ясувати окремі аспекти міжстанових стосунків Давньої Речі Посполитої, зокрема, нобілітацію священницьких родин та механізми досягнення ними суспільного успіху. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, науковості, верифікації, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (просопографічних, історико-типологічних, історико-системних) методів. **Наукова новизна:** досліджено невідомий раніше аспект міжстанових стосунків Давньої Речі Посполитої, зокрема потрапляння православного, а згодом греко-католицького духовенства до шляхетського стану. Розкрито масштаби і механізми цього явища через призму правового поля та повсякденної практики. **Висновки.** Шляхетський стан Давньої Речі Посполитої попри позірну замкнутість постійно поповнювався новими родинами. 3-поміж них були вихідці з православного (греко-католицького) духовенства. Це явище спостерігається на теренах сучасної Західної України (Руське воєводство). У межах Перемишльської землі свій суспільний статус зуміли поліпшити чотири десятки священницьких родин. Усі відомі випадки нобілітації духовенства відбувалися в ареалі компактного проживання руської (української) шляхти. Адже шляхетство досягалося не правовими інструментами, а за тісного співіснування та родичання шляхти і місцевого духовенства. Життєві обставини, в яких здійснювалася ця латентна нобілітація, були різними. Однак певні тенденції і механізми цього процесу були спільними. Священники та їхні нащадки, проживаючи в селах, де компактно мешкала шляхта, набували землевласність, родичалися з місцевими родинами. Частина з них змінювали прізвища на шляхетські. Окремі родини проживали у королівських маєтностях. Вони також досягали нобілітації через родичання зі шляхтою. Втім пам'ять про їхнє непривілейоване походження зберігалася і постійно місцева шляхетська спільнота їхній шляхетський статус ставила під сумнів.

Ключові слова: шляхта Перемишльської землі, православне духовенство, греко-католицьке духовенство, Перемишльська єпархія.

Problem Statement. The Old Rzeczpospolita was an estate monarchy with a clearly dominant role of the upper class – the nobility (szlachta). Transition from one estate to another was seemingly impossible, because belonging to a certain social group was determined by origin, and not by personal qualities and desires of a person. However, everyday life made its own adjustments. Despite the fact that in the 16th – 18th centuries the family composition of szlachta did not undergo significant changes in its basis, it had never been stable and was replenished by people from the lower strata of society. In the Ruthenian Voivodeship (present-

day western Ukraine), this replenishment occurred, among other things, at the expense of the parish clergy of the Orthodox (later Greek Catholic) Church. This was due to the presence in Przemyśl land of a significant number of Ukrainian or rather Ruthenian nobility, who lived compactly in the southern part of the aforementioned land. A detailed study of this aspect reveals the mechanisms of ennobling underprivileged families that were not regulated in the legal field and demonstrates how inter-class barriers were overcome in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Review of Sources and Recent Research. The ennoblement of the Orthodox/Greek Catholic clergy in Przemyśl Land and the Ruthenian Voivodeship in the modern era was developed in the context of studying the history of the Orthodox/Greek Catholic Church and its hierarchy. The social origin of the clergy was the subject of research by both Polish and Ukrainian historians. In particular, we should mention the publications of O. Chupa, J. Krochmal and V. Zielecka-Mikołajczyk (Chupa, 2018; Krochmal, 2013; Krochmal, 2014; Zielecka-Mikołajczyk, 2021, pp. 501–506). Studying the history of Przemyśl Diocese and its clergy, they, among other things, the above mentioned researchers focused on the social origin of the parish clergy. However, they did not touch on the issue of the ennoblement of priestly families. Some factual information about priestly families can be found in the studies by O. Tsykvas, L. Tymoshenko (Tsykvas, 2016; Tymoshenko, 2006). These publications do not contain broader generalizing conclusions about the social origin of the clergy. The ennoblement of the clergy was studied by L. Smutok and Ya. Lyseyko during the period of Austrian rule in Galicia (the 19th century) (Smutok, & Lyseyko, 2023). A number of facts about the material conditions of the nobility and clergy are given in articles by I. Smutok, V. Ilnytskyi, M. Haliv (Smutok, Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2024;).

The purpose of the study is to do a comprehensive research on a separate aspect of inter-estate relations in the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in particular, the ennoblement of priestly families and the mechanisms by which they achieved social success.

Research Results. The Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth remained an estate monarchy throughout its existence, where the nobility played a leading role in all spheres of life. In historiography, as early as the 19th century, there was a well-established idea of the nobility as a closed community that remained virtually unchanged in its tribal composition. These beliefs were based on legal conflicts. The practice of proving nobility in case of doubts about the belonging of certain individuals or families to the nobility (the so-called *deductio nobilitatis* procedure) shows what exactly served as a measure of belonging to nobility. Without delving into the law intricacies of that time, we may generally distinguish two basic criteria – origin and land ownership. The first one was based on the heredity of a social status: each nobleman/noblewoman was a son or daughter of a nobleman or noblewoman. It is not for anything that the procedure for proving nobility in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was largely based on finding out who the parents, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, etc. of a person claiming noble status were. The second criterion involved the possession of a real estate that was in hereditary unlimited ownership. Ideally, the family estate of a nobleman could not be located in royal possessions or estates of the clergy (Vinnychenko, 2012, pp. 13–15).

Of course, everyday life made its own adjustments. In the 16th century there was a clear procedure for obtaining nobility by people of an unprivileged origin. Apparently, it was granted for outstanding merits, primarily in the military field. This procedure required the involvement of both monarch and Crown Sejm, and was therefore extremely complex. It

is not surprising that a limited number of individuals/families were ennobled in this way and their presence among the nobility did not affect the family composition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth nobility significantly (Vinnychenko, 2012; Smutok, 2018)

Despite these circumstances, the nobility class continued to be replenished in the 16th – 18th centuries by people from different strata of the population who overcame class barriers and circumvented legislative norms. We will try to demonstrate how this was done using the example of the clergy ennoblement of the Orthodox and later Uniate faith in the territories of Przemyśl land.

In the 16th – 18th centuries, the nobility of Przemyśl land was replenished with almost four dozen clans/families. These were both individual families represented by two or three generations, family branches uniting several dozen families within four or more generations, and entire clans with their own family branches. All of them were united by the fact that they lived in the territory that was the habitat of the Ruthenian nobility. This is the southeastern part of Przemyśl land from the Hungarian border in the south to the Dniester river and the Strviah river in the north. These families are equally present both in the noble settlements of the Ruthenian nobility and in the royal villages of Sambir economy, Drohobych and Przemyśl.

The ennoblements of each of these families/genus have partly distinct and partly common features. This circumstance enables us to unite them into several groups, each with its own history of social success.

Some priestly families entered the nobility estate at the stage of its final formation. Chronologically, this is the period of the end of the 15th – the first half of the 16th century.

Their ennoblement is directly related to the change in the status of land ownership. That is, they somehow managed to take the former church ownership into their own hands and transfer it to the status of noble land ownership.

In particular, the Berezhnyski were ennobled in this way. They did not receive their estates on the basis of a royal privilege with obligations to perform military service, like the majority of the noble families in the neighbourhood. Until the beginning of the 16th century, they are not mentioned at all in Przemyśl grodsky and zemstvo acts. The history of the family can be traced back to the 1530s, and the Berezhnyski were descended from Sambir archpriest and priest Ihnat. The family owned part of Berezhnysia village land, the rest of the village was in royal ownership. In the inventory of Sambir starostvo of 1585, the Berezhnyskis' property is described as "zemstvo's priesthood". Apparently, the Berezhnyski managed church lands. How they managed to alienate them in their own favour without resistance from the Orthodox bishop of Przemyśl is unknown. However, it is well known how the Berezhnyski transformed it into noble land ownership. Priest Ihnat, either himself or with the assistance of others, forged the Charter of Prince Leo, allegedly issued on May 4, 1292, to a priest Kos concerning the village of Berezhnysia. Of all the dozen or so Charters of Prince Leo, the one mentioned above is considered the most obvious forgery. However, this did not prevent its approval by King Sigismund II Augustus at the Sejm in 1550. Thus, from 1550 Ihnat and his sons became full owners of the noble estate (Smutok, 2019, pp. 166–212).

The Neronovychi Strashivski, the owners of the priesthood in Straszewychi (*Straszewicz in Polish*), a village owned by the Orthodox bishop of Przemyśl, tried to do something similar. However, they failed to alienate part of the lands, as the Berezhnyski had done. The Neronovychi also used a forgery, allegedly issued on behalf of Prince Leo. However, Przemyśl lords did not allow the loss of part of their landholdings. The Neronovychi continued to hold the priesthood in Straszewychi in the 16th and 17th centuries and were

priests in neighbouring villages. However, the lack of their own settlement with the status of a noble estate directly affected their social status. In the documents they are referred to partly as nobles, and partly as people of a non-noble origin (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 99, p. 940; c. 104, pp. 406, 408; c. 118, pp. 1695–1698; c. 128, ž. 1704; c. 129, pp. 113, 1409; c. 137, p. 1870; c. 140, p. 1940; c. 146, p. 1469; f. 14, d. 1, c. 13, p. 1060; c. 14, p. 662; c. 19, p. 10, c. 36, p. 65; c. 39, pp. 821, 854; c. 43, p. 1322; c. 47, p. 146; c. 59, pp. 792–793; c. 62, pp. 875, 927; c. 63, p. 193).

Another category of priestly families acquired nobility status by establishing a certain noble settlement. There were probably the majority of them. A typical example is the Stupnytski Vaskovychi. The ancestor of this branch was Vasko, who should probably be identified with Vasko, the governor and priest of the town church of Dobromyl. In 1650, he purchased a field called “Livkovska” from Ivan Stupnytskyi Saturnyk in Stupnytska Volia (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 125, pp. 139–140). Such a transaction was not accidental, because his wife was Anastasia, the daughter of the aforementioned Ivan. Probably, Vasko had a son, Mykhailo, and two daughters after marrying her. Mykhailo Vaskovych lived in Stupnytsia, or rather in Volia Stupnytska. In 1681 – 1713 he performed pastoral duties in the Church of St. George in Stupnytsia. It is noteworthy that in documents he is several times called “Dobromylsky”. If his father's status was indicated as “reverend / religious”, then Mykhailo is called “noble and religious” (1681, 1695, 1701, 1708) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 136, pp. 491–494; c. 151, p. 548; c. 219, p. 697; c. 219, p. 697). Mykhailo married a noblewoman from the neighbouring village of Silets, Tetiana, a daughter of Ivan Yavorsky Masnykovych. The couple had five sons and three daughters. None of the sons continued the family tradition and became a priest. In documents from the first half of the 18th century, they are invariably called nobles and are related to the local nobility. Thus, Yacenty married Maria Horodyska Abramoych, Havrylo – Anna Vynnytska Klizevych, Hryhoriy – Sofia Monastyrska, Yuriy – Marianna Horodyska Yadvischak, Nastasiia married Joan Horodysky Matseichak, Olena – Havrylo Horodysky Bratko, and Marianna – Petro Baranetsky from the village of Kulchytsi. In 1782, the Stupnytski Vaskevychi confirmed their nobility without any obstacles (Smutok, 2014, pp. 94–95).

The Vysochanski Dumkovychi were ennobled in a similar way. They were descended from Stefan, a priest from the village of Vysotske Verkhnie. In 1671, he and his son Ivan transferred the manor with a subject pledged by the Vysochanski Minkovychi to Kyiv Metropolitan Anton Vynnytsky. By the middle of the 18th century, the Dumkovychi had already lived in the neighbouring noble settlement of Matkiv, where they owned some land. In the documents, they are called nobles. Finally, in 1782, the Dumkovychi confirmed their origin at Lviv zemstvo court (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 125, p. 2157; c. 264, pp. 205, 209; c. 616, pp. 1903–1904; f. 14, d. 1, c. 135, pp. 93–95).

The story of the Sozanski Luty family, the Ortynski Popovychi family from Ortynychi, the Matkivski Vanchovychi from Matkiv, and the Terletski Firlaby from Terlo is similar.

The fate of several other families was similar, but with certain differences. In particular, the Komarnytski Demkovychi owned the priesthood not in Komarnyky, but in the neighbouring village of Zadilsko. Their ancestor, a priest Demko, who lived somewhere at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, married one of the daughters of Staszek Komarnytsky Onofrykovych. His son Fedko continued to live in Zadilsko and inherited the parish from his father (1641). The third generation of the family is represented by a priest Petro. In the middle of the 18th century the Demkovychi family lived in Komarnyky, where they disposed of some land

ownership. In 1753 they sue at Przemyśl grodsky court with the Komarnytski Jadczyzysychi and are named the Komarnytski. In 1790, Demko's descendants confirmed their nobility as the Komarnytski Stashevychi family (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 146, p. 1483; c. 249, pp. 501, 506–507; c. 366, p. 324; c. 499, p. 1441; c. 532, p. 869; c. 587, p. 711; c. 592, p. 797; f. 165, d. 6a, c. 34, pp. 338–339).

Similarly, the Kulchytski Popovychi were descended from Protas, who in 1561 received a royal charter for the priesthood in the royal part of Kulchytsi. His grandson Ivan did not continue the family tradition and did not become a priest. After leaving the priesthood, he moved to the noble part of Kulchytsi. There he quickly formed a landed estate, buying up land from the Kulchytski. Initially, he was called either “polite” or “noble”. In 1611, Ivan was accused of a plebeian origin. Perhaps he himself inspired this in order to undergo the usual procedure of “purification of the nobility”, having previously prepared everything necessary for this. He succeeded in this, although the evidence presented (witnesses and written documents), upon closer examination, is inaccurate and doubtful. This fact confirms that the family did not belong to the Kulchytski. However, after 1611, Ivan and his descendants, known as the Kulchytski Popovychi, were firmly integrated into the local gentry environment (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 61, p. 1156; c. 68, p. 71; c. 87, pp. 782–784; c. 90, pp. 1407, 1430; c. 93, p. 963; c. 97, p. 1003; c. 99, p. 1046; c. 103, pp. 1311–1315; c. 107, p. 1065; c. 108, pp. 934, 938; c. 112, p. 131, 137; c. 121, pp. 1023, 1037; c. 124, p. 2785; c. 131, p. 327; c. 135, pp. 761, 1331; c. 142, p. 1554; c. 149, p. 2500; c. 309, p. 956; c. 316, p. 51; c. 319, p. 992; c. 325, p. 794; c. 327, p. 473; c. 336, pp. 847–849; c. 343, p. 114).

An interesting aspect of the ennoblement of priestly families is the use/change of surnames. All the above cases demonstrate that ennoblement was carried out by joining one of the already existing families, whose origin was not in doubt. As a result, this integration was accompanied by the “appropriation” of the noble surname of this family. This was obviously intended to serve as a certain guarantee against suspicions and accusations of a non-noble origin. We will consider how effective this was later. It can now be stated with certainty that the manipulation of surnames was not an accident, but a deliberate act, with the aim of hiding one's roots and origin.

However, not all priestly families resorted to this. Some of them continued to use their own surnames. For example, the Bilashivski, who were probably descended from a priest Ivan Bilas from Tatariv, moved to Vynnyky at the end of the 17th century, and continued to use their own surname and did not try to merge with the Vynnytski (Smutok, 2019, pp. 212–213). The Yamenski family from Terlo, moved, probably, from the royal village of Yamny. The documents from the 1670s and 1680s inform about a certain Mykhailo and Teodor Yamenski, parish priests in Terlo. The sons of the latter in the first half of the 18th century act as landowners in the villages of Terlo and Rozsokhy. They are invariably called noble and remain the Yamenski, not the Terletski (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 422, pp. 406, 531; c. 434, p. 321; c. 469, p. 1706; c. 478, p. 473; c. 485, p. 2044; c. 493, p. 1790; c. 507, p. 3248; c. 509, p. 776; c. 510, p. 1698; c. 516, p. 1411; c. 525, p. 1017; c. 529, p. 1860; c. 531, p. 2059; c. 532, pp. 325, 1263; c. 60, p. 1364; c. 561, p. 1856; c. 569, p. 235, 1027; c. 570, p. 2481). The history of the Smerechanski family, who came from the royal village of Smerechna in Przemyśl starostvo, is similar. Some Smerechanski families of a priestly origin lived in Terlo at the end of the 17th century, acquired land ownership there, and intermarried with the local nobility, but throughout the 18th century they were invariably called the Smerechanski (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 247, p. 591; c. 261, p. 336; c. 417, p. 2162; c. 422, p. 406; c. 433,

p. 2529; c. 473, p. 1930; c. 475, p. 2115; c. 517, p. 1081; c. 567, p. 1551; f. 14, d. 1, c. 146, p. 667; c. 223, p. 496; c. 231, p. 1012; c. 244, pp. 405–407)

The story of two other families is similar. Thus, the Sopotnytski descended from Theodore, a priest in Urizh (1677–1704), and his son Mykhailo, a priest in Yasenytsia Silna (1686–1715). The etymology of their surname probably indicates their origin from the settlement of Sopot near Pidhorodtsi (CSHAUL, f. 7, d. 1, c. 85, p. 199; f. 13, d. 1, c. 248, p. 555; c. 423, p. 156; c. 432, p. 825; c. 486, p. 695; c. 526, pp. 1284, 1538, 1541; c. 541, p. 588; c. 543, p. 186; c. 544, pp. 1555, 1790; c. 575, pp. 77, 92; c. 585, p. 385; c. 586, p. 1785; c. 596, pp. 2266–2267; c. 601, p. 1839; c. 620, pp. 2262, 2492; c. 628, pp. 393, 423; c. 629, p. 313; c. 651, p. 1320). The ancestor of the Shandrovski family was a priest from the village of Shandrovets in Sianochchyna region, Vasko. His descendants settled in Yanytychi near Drohobych in the 1620s and remained the Shandrovski among the local nobility in the 17th and 18th centuries (CSHAUL, f. 7, d. 1, c. 34, p. 378; f. 13, d. 1, c. 172, p. 364; c. 256, p. 102; c. 260, p. 602; c. 376, p. 759; c. 412, p. 289; c. 532, p. 1004; c. 556, p. 2003; c. 594, p. 2633; c. 598, p. 425; c. 625, p. 73; c. 627, p. 983; f. 14, d. 1, c. 79, p. 875; c. 180, p. 118; c. 182, p. 222; c. 186, pp. 295, 590; c. 188, p. 32; c. 195, p. 678; c. 221, p. 757; c. 299, p. 377).

In the context of the change of surnames, the history of the Topilnytski and Zhupanski families is interesting. Both lived in noble settlements. The village of Zhupanie was the joint property of the Matkivski, the Vysochanski and the Turianski, and the village of Topilnytsia, after the exchange of lands in the 1530s, was removed from the royal possessions of Sambir starostvo and passed into the hands of the Turianski. Local priestly families quickly integrated into the local nobility environment in the 16th century. However, neither the Zhupanski nor the Topilnytski families tried to become either the Matkivski or the Vysochanski or the Turianski families (CSHAUL, f. 7, d. 1, c. 89, p. 1058; f. 13, d. 1, c. 308, pp. 129, 130; f. 14, d. 1, c. 322, p. 1482)

Concluding the review of such a phenomenon as the change of surnames, one cannot help but mention the history of the Terletski Firlaby family, which is quite indicative. Their ancestor was probably Ilia Firlab, a priest in Nanchulivtsi Velyka, Sambir starostvo (early 17th century). His wife was Hasia Terletska Zankovych. From the middle of the 17th century, his descendants are mentioned among the landowners of Terlo. In the documents of the 18th century, they are called differently. They invariably called themselves the Terletski Zankovychi Firlaby, but in various legal proceedings their opponents call them the “Nanchulovski”, “Popovychi”, “Popovychi Firlaby”, “Nanchulovsky Firlaby” (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 478, p. 251; c. 484, pp. 1087, 1191; c. 486, pp. 1013, 1018; c. 494, p. 1192; c. 517, p. 1081; c. 532, p. 547; c. 535, pp. 71, 242; c. 545, pp. 383, 444, 2652; c. 546, p. 472; c. 551, p. 201; c. 561, p. 1895; c. 567, p. 1560; c. 568, p. 2222; c. 579, p. 2151; c. 618, p. 416; f. 14, d. 1, c. 180, p. 559; c. 187, pp. 257, 259; c. 229, p. 487).

In the 18th century, the ennoblement of priestly families took on new features. In particular, families appeared that tried in every way to emphasize their privileged position, but they did not live in any of the noble settlements. Usually these were priests and their descendants who owned priestly land in royal estates (Przemyśl and Drohobych starostvo, Sambir economy). Those were the Dobrivlianski from Dorozhiv and Medenychi, the Korostenski from Dobromyl, the Domozhyrski from Moldavske, the Tovarnytski from Ploske, and the Krasnytski from Hrushiv. As a rule, they were related to the local nobility, so in documents they are alternately called “reverends” and “nobles”. Apparently, the nobility in neighbourhood did not consider them to be their equals, but this did not prevent the latter

from receiving ennoblement after Galicia became part of the Austrian Empire (in detail: Smutok & Lyseyko, 2019; Smutok & Lyseyko, 2023).

All of these variations of ennoblement have one thing in common: they were achieved through the adaptation of public consciousness to the idea that a certain family belonged to the nobility. Obviously, this is due to the existing specifics of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: there was no specific government body responsible for accounting for the nobility; there was no list or registry of noble families/individuals; there was no clear procedure and criteria that would regulate who had the right to become a noble and who did not. All this was based on historical memory and tradition. Residents of a certain region knew who was a nobleman and who was not among their neighbours. That is, the Kulchytski knew that their neighbours, the Chaikivski, the Berezhnyski, the Bachynski, the Sozanski, the Stupnytski, the Siletski families, etc., were noblemen. And each of these families, accordingly, knew each other well. Belonging to a certain family and owning land in one of the noble settlements were obvious criteria for nobility in the society of that time. Under these conditions, the ennoblement of the priesthood was achieved not through certain legal procedures, but through kinship with the nobility, the acquisition of a noble real estate, and often through a change of surname, as well as through the instillation in the public consciousness of the idea that a certain priestly family was noble from its grandfather or great-grandfather.

This latent appropriation of a noble status often met with resistance and was the subject of constant concern for priestly families. Despite the desire to erase their origins in every possible way, their noble neighbours remembered it for decades. Permanently, as a rule, during conflicts where one of the parties was the ennobled descendants of a priest, the opposing side emphasized in every possible way their questionable origin. In various protests and complaints their status was described as “honestus”, “plebeus”, etc. For example, in 1718, the Kopystynski from the village of Horodyshche, protesting against the sons of Mykhailo Stupnytsky, called them the Popovychi, not the Stupnytski, carefully avoiding calling them nobles (CSHAUL, f. 7, d. 1, c. 93, pp. 2331–2335). The Vysochanski Dumkovychi found themselves in a similar situation: in one of the protests it was noted that the Matkivski Viazulychi questioned their social status (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 616, p. 1903). The Terletski Firlaby invariably called themselves the Terletski Zankovychi, but in various legal proceedings their opponents called them “the Nanchulovski”, “the Popovychi”, “the Popovychi Firlaby”, “the Nanchulovsky Firlab” (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 486, p. 1013; c. 545, p. 383). All this proves that in everyday use, two identifications could coexist for a long time: self-identification, which used an assumed noble surname to hide one's priestly origin, and identification by neighbours and fellow residents of the noble settlement, who knew and remembered who was who.

During conflicts, it happened that the case was not limited to mockery and accusations of usurpation of the nobility. The opposing side demanded to prove a noble origin. In particular, the Topilnytski, the Terletski Firlaby, the Sozanski Luti, the Ortynski Popovychsi, the Kulchytski Popovychi, the Korostenski, the Domozhyrski, the Smerechanski found themselves in such a situation. For this, it was necessary to present witnesses and present relevant documents. The case was considered at the Vyshensky Sejmik. If the procedure was successfully completed, a document was issued certifying the nobility status. This procedure was called “deduction of nobility” (*deductio nobilitatis*). There was preserved the nobility deduction of the Topilnytski (1580) (CSHAUL, f. 14, d. 1, c. 279, pp. 286–294); the

Domozhyrski (1604) (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 638, pp. 603–608); the Kulchytski Popovychi (1610) (CSHAUL, f. 14, d. 1, c. 89, pp. 291–294). The rest did not dare to prove their noble status, and without any reason. As these few conclusions testify, this matter was extremely difficult and was accompanied by outright falsifications.

For example, the Domozhyrski initially traced their origins to Terebovliansky sub-district chieftain Oleksandr Domozhyrsky, the owner of the village of Domazhyr in Lviv land (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 627, pp. 535–536). As proof of this, the privilege of King Sigismund III for Przemyśl Voivodeship, indicated by Olexander, was submitted to the city acts of Przemyśl (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 628, pp. 1001–1002). However, for some reason, the Domozhyrski abandoned this legend and chose a different path. In 1773, they presented a document called “*deductio nobilitatis*” by Petro Domozhyrsky, allegedly dated 1604. A closer examination of the document reveals its identity with the 1601 nobility deduction of Petro Ilnytsky. Only the characters were changed (instead of the Ilnytski – the Domozhyrski); the rest of the text is verbatim (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 638, pp. 603–608; c. 395, pp. 1102–1106).

Conclusions. The noble class of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, despite its apparent isolation, was constantly replenished with new families. Among them there were descendants of the Orthodox (Greek-Catholic) clergy. This phenomenon is observed in the territory of modern Western Ukraine (the Ruthenian Voivodeship). Within the boundaries of Przemyśl land, four dozen priestly families managed to improve their social status. All known cases of clergy ennoblement took place in the area of compact residence of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nobility (szlachta). After all, ennoblement was achieved not by legal instruments, but by close coexistence and kinship between the nobility and the local clergy. The life circumstances in which this latent ennoblement was carried out were different. However, certain trends and mechanisms of this process were common. Priests and their descendants, living in villages where the nobility lived compactly, acquired land ownership, became related to local families. Some of them changed their surnames to noble ones. Individual families lived in royal estates. They also achieved ennoblement through kinship with the nobility. However, the memory of their unprivileged origin persisted and their noble status was permanently questioned by the local noble community.

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Yaroslav LYSEYKO

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History, Museum Studies and Cultural Heritage, Lviv Polytechnic National University, 5 Mytropolyta Andreia Street, Building, 4, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79016 (lyseyko@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3404-7221

ResearcherID: L-9341-2016

Oleksandr IARMOLENKO

PhD (Law), Doctoral student of the Department of Economic and Legal Disciplines and Economic Security, Donetsk State University of Internal Affairs, 1 Velyka Perspektivna St., Kropyvnytskyi, Kirovohrad region, Ukraine, postal code 25000 (yarmolenkooleksandr17@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-1414-5991

Ярослав ЛИСЕЙКО

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії, музеєзнавства та культурної спадщини, Національний університет “Львівська політехніка”, вул. Митрополита Андрія, 5, корпус 4, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79016, (lyseyko@gmail.com)

Олександр ЯРМОЛЕНКО

доктор філософії в галузі права, докторант кафедри господарсько-правових дисциплін та економічної безпеки, Донецький державний університет внутрішніх справ, вул. Велика Перспективна, 1, Кропивницький, Кіровоградська область, Україна, індекс 25000 (yarmolenkooleksandr17@gmail.com)

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**THE POBIDYNSKI NOBLE FAMILY IN SANOK LAND
IN THE 16TH CENTURY (ACCORDING TO THE RECORDS
OF THE SANOK CASTLE AND LAND COURTS)**

Abstract. The purpose of the research is to reconstruct the genealogy, property, and social status of the Pobidynski family in the 16th century, based on the records of the Sanok castle (grody) and land courts. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of scientific criticism, historicism, as well as on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and specific historical (historical typological, historical systemic, prosopographic, microhistorical) methods. **Conclusions.** Vladyslav (also known as Waclaw) Pobidynski (1470 – † ar. 1499), the descendant of the Pobidynski family, carried on the lineage in the 16th century. The family experienced demographic growth due to large offspring in multiple family branches during this period. The Sanok castle and land court records provide information on 57 individuals from the Pobidynski family, who lived during the 16th century,

in contrast to only 36 identified for the 15th century. However, the family's landholdings did not expand accordingly. On the contrary, estates were increasingly divided among numerous heirs, resulting in smaller and less economically viable shares. This marks a stark contrast to the 15th century, when the family's property base grew significantly in each generation. The weakening of the family's economic standing appears to have affected their social status. In the local administrative hierarchy of the 16th century, only three family members held official positions: Yan Pobidynski (1500 – †1527/1529), who served as Deputy Judge and later Land Judge of Sanok land; his brother Klemens Pobidynski (1483 – † before 1526), who was the Castle Judge and Wacław, the son of Stanisław Pobidynski (1541 – 1581), who served as Deputy Judge and Vice-starosta of Sanok land. Despite their declining material base, the Pobidynski family remained active in legal and economic matters, acting as creditors and borrowers, and maintained their place within the local nobility through kinship ties and regular participation in local assemblies (sejmik) and court sessions as assessors.

Key words: Sanok land, the Pobidynski family, nobility, castle (grod) court, land court, economic matters, creditors, borrowers, debtors.

ШЛЯХЕТСЬКА РОДИНА ПОБІДИНСЬКИХ ІЗ СЯНОЦЬКОЇ ЗЕМЛІ У XVI СТОЛІТТІ (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ СЯНОЦЬКИХ ГРОДСЬКОГО І ЗЕМСЬКОГО СУДІВ)

Анотація. Метою статті є реконструкція генеалогії роду Побідинських, їхнього майнового та суспільного становища у XVI столітті, використовуючи для цього матеріал сяноцьких городських та земських актів. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах наукової критики, історизму, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний, історико-системний, просопографічний, мікроісторичний) методів. **Висновки.** Рід Побідинських у XVI столітті продовжили нащадки Владислава (званого теж Вацлавом) Леонардовича Побідинського (1470 – † бл. 1499). У цей період родина Побідинських продовжувала своє демографічне зростання за рахунок багатодітних сімей. На сторінках сяноцьких городських та земських актових книг вдалося відшукати відомості про 57 представників роду, життя яких припало на XVI століття, супроти 36 осіб, що жили століттям раніше. Водночас майновий комплекс родини впродовж XVI століття зростання практично не зазнав, навпаки поміж численних нащадків маєтності дробилися на дедалі менші частки. Це контрастує із ситуацією попереднього XV століття, коли Побідинські в кожному поколінні динамічно нарошували свої володіння. Ослабле майнове становище вочевидь впливало і на суспільні позиції. В локальній урядовій ієрархії впродовж XVI століття було лише троє представників роду Побідинських: сяноцький підсудок, а згодом земський суддя Ян Побідинський (1500 – † 1527/1529), його брат, сяноцький городський суддя Клеменс Побідинський (1483 – † до 1526), сяноцький підсудок і підстароста Вацлав Станіславович Побідинський (1541 – 1581). У XVI столітті Побідинські зберігали активність у судових і господарських справах, виступаючи як кредитори й позичальники, а також утверджували свою присутність у шляхетському середовищі через родинні зв'язки та участь на сеймикових зібраннях чи у судових засіданнях як асесори.

Ключові слова: Сяноцька земля, Побідинські, шляхта, городський суд, земський суд, господарські справи, кредитори, позичальники, боржники.

Problem Statement. The Pobidynski family belonged to typical nobility families of Sanok land of a moderate prosperity in the 15th – 17th centuries. The above-mentioned family along with the others formed the regional elite, and were prominent in the social and economic life of Sanok land owing to their presence at the meetings of grodsky and zemstvo courts, participation in nobility congresses, and through numerous monetary and property transactions recorded in court books. The Pobidynski family were closely integrated into the local nobility community also due to family and economic contacts with the representatives of similar families. The study on the genealogy of the Pobidynski family, the evolution of

their economic and social status will enable us to better reconstruct a personal composition and social hierarchy of the local nobility community. Based on a micro-historical approach to the research, we will be able to trace typical algorithms for the development of this family, which can be extrapolated to the entire regional elite with a similar social and property status.

Review of Researches. The first authors wrote about the Pobidynski family were the famous noble heraldic writers, Szymon Okolski (Okolski, 1641, p. 246), Kasper Niesiecki (Niesiecki, 1841, p. 331), Severyn Uruski (Uruski, 1917, p. 110), but the above mentioned authors provided rather fragmentary information about the family. Przemysław Dąbkowski managed to reconstruct the history of the Pobidynski family from Sanok land in the 15th century due to the oldest published court records of Sanok zemstvo and grodsky courts (Dąbkowski, 1931, pp. 71–84). Adam Fastnacht often mentioned the above-mentioned family in his studies in the context of the research on the processes of settlement in Sanok land and the history of this region in the late Middle Ages (Fastnacht, 2002, pp. 37–42). Some aspects of the economic situation of the nobility are revealed in the article by Ihor Smutok, Vasyl Ilnytskyi, and Mykola Haliv (Smutok, Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2024). Despite of well-preserved act books of Sanok zemstvo and grodsky courts, the genealogy of the Pobidynski family as the representatives of the regional elite of Sanok land in the 16th–17th centuries has not been studied yet.

The purpose of the research is to reconstruct the genealogy of the Pobidynski family, their property and social status in the 16th century, based on the material of Sanok grodsky and zemstvo acts.

Research Results. *Vladyslav* (also called *Waclaw*) *Leonardovych Pobidynski* (1470 – † c. 1499) the Pobidynski family descendant carried on the lineage in the 16th century (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 40). His children were Yan (1500 – † 1527/1529), Klemens (1483 – † to 1526), Stanisław the Senior (1485– † to 1502), Stanisław the Junior (1508 – † 1540/1541), Petro (1517 – 1531), Jacob (1531) and daughters Anna (1520), Regina (1525) and Barbara (1531)¹. They were adults at the end of the 15th – the first third of the 16th century. We would like to focus on each of them and the lineages they started.

Władysław's daughter, *Anna Pobidynska*, was mentioned in 1520 as the wife of Ioan Bydlowski. At that time, she wanted her brothers Yan and Stanisław to pay her dowry (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 73). The second daughter of Władysław *Regina* was mentioned as the wife of Ioan Górski in 1525 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 146). There is no evidence, which can prove that *Barbara* was Władysław's daughter. She was mentioned as the sister of Petro, Jacob and Stanisław – apparently Władysław's sons in 1531 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 743–744; f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 250).

Yan Pobidynski was the most notable among the sons of Władysław. He was mentioned in the sources after his father's death, in 1500 (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 42). Yan was among the assessors of Sanok zemstvo court in 1506 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. III, p. 195), and in 1512 he had the position of Sanok zemstvo court (Przyboś, 1987, p. 280). Nine years later, in 1521, Yan Pobidynski obtained the prestigious office of Zemstvo Judge in the regional hierarchy, which he held until his death in 1527–1529 (Przyboś, 1987, p. 286). Yan Pobidynski belonged to the Roman Catholic denomination. It was evidenced by the fact that he received from the King the right to sell rent from royal estates to a clergyman for the maintenance of the church in 1521 (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 42).

¹ In brackets we provide the mentions about a person in historical sources.

The property complex, which belonged to Yan Pobidynski consisted of shares in the villages of Pobidno, Pysarivtsi and Andrushkivtsi. The above-mentioned settlements formed the core of the Pobidynski property complex in Sanok land since the first half of the 15th century (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. III, p. 692, 432, 439). In 1517, Yan and his brother Stanisław are mentioned as the owners of Zawada village – the estate probably passed to him from his father-in-law Stefan Świętopielko († 1504) from Zavady (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. III, p. 721). Yan Pobidynski also owned the village of Iwonicz, where he settled down and began to be called Yan of Iwonicz later. At one time, this estate came into the possession of the Pobidynski's owing to the marriage of Yan's father Władysław with Ursula Iwoniczka, whose father had no sons (Fastnacht, 1991, p. 173). In 1519, Yan Władysławowych sold his share in the village of Andrushkivtsi and Pobidny to his neighbour Felix Zarshynsky (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 32–33). This step was understandable because these villages were separated from Yan Pobidynski's settlement in Iwonicz. However, the sale was not finalized, as after Yan's death, the village of Andrushkivtsi was still the widow's property.

Yan Pobidynski also owned the royal village of Radoszyce. This remote mountain village was located 37 km southeast of Iwonicz. Radoszyce and the local salt farm were acquired by Yan's grandfather, Leonard Pobidynski, in 1476 – 1484 (Prochaska, 1894, pp. 387, 388). Apparently due to the remoteness of the estate, in 1511 Yan, together with his brother Stanisław, decided to sell the Radoszyce salt farm to Wanczy from Rokytów for 120 zł. However, through the mediation of the Sanok starosta, Nikolai Wolski, in 1527 Yan Pobidynski and his wife Małgorzata bought the right to own this kingdom from the Wallachians (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 74).

Yan's wife, Małgorzata, nicknamed Sondzyna, was the daughter of Przemyśl khorunży Stefan Świętopielko († 1504) from Zawada. In 1520 – 1521, Yan recorded her dowry in the village of Iwonicz (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 94; Przyboś, 1987, p. 195). In his coat of arms Severyn Uruski indicates that Yan Pobidynski was married to Kateryna Bolestraśicka, however, this does not coincide with the information in the grodsky acts, although Małgorzata's father was indeed the didych (heir) to the village of Bolestraszyce (Uruski, 1917, p. 110). In 1529, Małgorzata was mentioned as a widow in Sanok acts. First of all, in this status, she wanted to receive the payment from Joan Pakoszywski due amounts in the village of Andrushkivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, p. 608). In 1530, Małgorzata received confirmation from the King that the newly founded village of Oślawytsia with the soltysivstvom near Radoszyce belonged to her possessions (Fastnacht, 1962, p. 154). At that time, the mountainous part of Sanok land was actively settled according to the Wallachian law (The Vlach law). It seems that at one time, Yan Pobidynski and his wife also tried to join this process. However, Małgorzata did not manage to preserve the territories that belonged to the royal property. In 1539, King Sigismund granted Radoszyca and Oślawyca to Przemyśl castellan, Nikolai Odnowski from Felshtyn, for his services (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 74).

After her husband's death Małgorzata sorted out the family's financial and property issues actively (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 212; f. 15, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 1142–1145, 1230–1231, 1259, 1278, 1335–1338). She was mentioned as the didychka (heiress) of the Andrushkivtsi family in 1548, and in court cases until 1551 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, p. 1015; f. 15, d. 1, c. 16, p. 348). Most likely, there was no contuniation of Yan Pobidynski branch in Sanok land.

The second branch of the Pobidynski was founded in the 16th century by another son of Vladyslav, **Klemens Pobidynski**. He was distinguished by serving as a grodsky judge in

the public life of the Sanok land (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 41). In 1486, Klemens gave his wife Burneta, a daughter of Wilhelm Dolynsky, a dowry of 120 hryvnias at value half of the villages of Pobidne, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi (Prochaska, 1894, p. 201). Klemens Pobidynski had three adult sons. The eldest of them was *Ioan Pobidynski*, who in 1510 was the owner of shares in Pobidne, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi (Fastnacht, 1998, p. 137). He was also mentioned in 1512 in a dispute with his father over a mortgage in the village of Selyska (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 8, p. 618). After that, neither Klemens nor his son Ioan were mentioned in the Sanok court documents for a long time. Only in 1526 Klemens's wife, Burnet, is called a widow and from that moment on, Klemens's descendants were regularly mentioned. Hence, in 1526, his son *Stanislaw Klemensovycz* provided his widowed mother with the maintenance due to her in the villages of Dudyntsi and Markivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 165). Two years later, in 1528, Stanislaw is mentioned with his brother *Felix Pobidynski* (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, p. 579). In 1530, their nephew Andriy, the son of the eldest brother of Ioan Klemensovycz, was mentioned in the case of shares in the villages of Dudyntsi and Markivtsi, which they ceded to Stanislaw Vladyslavovych Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 224–225). According to Severyn Uruski, Felix Pobidynski owned an iron ore mine, which he sold in 1549 (Uruski, 1917, p. 110).

Petro Pobidynski was one of the younger sons of Vladyslav. Severyn Uruski in his coat of arms states that in 1517 Petro received the voivodeship in the village of Khodkovychi. It was not possible to identify this village, nor to find the corresponding fact in Sanok act books (Uruski, 1917, p. 110). In 1520 Petro Pobidynski gave a share in the villages of Pobidno, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi to his wife Anna (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 81). Ten years later, in 1529 – 1530, he sold his shares in the above mentioned villages to his brother Stanislaw Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, p. 616; f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 188–190). At the same time, in 1529, Petro Pobidynski acquired a mortgage in the village of Vuiske from Stanislaw Kmit (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, p. 615). According to Severyn Uruski, Petro's sons were Adam, who inherited the above-mentioned voivodeship in Khodkovychi, and *Valentyn Pobidynski* (Uruski, 1917, p. 110). The brothers were practically not mentioned in Sanok acts. Only Valentyn Pobidynski was mentioned in property transactions with Ioan Zaporsky in 1556 – 1559, from whom he received a mortgage in the village of Vrochantsi. At the same time, he is recorded as Valentyn Pobidynski from Kotkovychi or from Kazanovychi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 281–282, 342–343; c. 18, pp. 30–31).

In 1531, in Sanok grodsky books, Petro Pobidynski was mentioned with his brother *Jacob* and sister Barbara twice (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, p. 250). There was no further mention of Jacob and Barbara, which could be found in the sources. It is not certain that these were indeed Vladyslav's children – it is possible that they might have belonged to the generation of his grandchildren (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 743–744).

The next son of Vladyslav Pobidynski, *Stanislaw Pobidynski Sr.*, in 1489 bequeathed to his wife Anna Kalinska 120 hryvnias concerning half of the estates he inherited after dividing them with his brother Klemens (Prochaska, 1894, pp. 223, 224, 225). In 1492, he sold his share in Pobidny, Markivtsi and Dudyntsi to Peter Felshtynsky for 200 hryvnias (Prochaska, 1894, p. 241). In 1502, ten years later, Stanislaw Vladyslavovych was listed as deceased, and his wife Anna remarried to a Sgirsen (Prochaska, 1894, p. 326).

After Stanislaw's death, his estates were forcibly taken by his brother Klemens, about which the deceased's son Andriy Stanislawovych Pobidynski complained in 1504 (Prochaska, 1894, p. 351). The uncle and nephew managed to reconcile and the following

year, in 1505, they divided the peasants and fields in Pobidny, Dudyntsy and Markivtsy between themselves. In particular, the manor in Pobidny became the property of Klemens, while Andriy inherited an inn, a mill and a forest there. Later, Andriy Pobidynski was still mentioned as a didych in Pobidny and Markivtsy in 1511 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 8, p. 544). There was also another son of Stanisław Vladyslavovych, *Petro Pobidynski* in the above-mentioned division act between Andriy and Klemens Pobidynski in 1505 (Prochaska, 1894, pp. 357–358).

In addition to Stanisław Sr., there was another Vladyslav Pobidynski's son, under the same name. He was mentioned after the death of his older brother. ***Stanisław Vladyslavovych Pobidynski Jr.*** was mentioned in one of the first documents in 1508, when he appeared in a case with his cousin Anna, a daughter of the late Matviy Leonardovych Pobidynski, who inherited the village of Niebieszczan (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 42). Stanisław Pobidynski owned shares in the family nest, the village of Pobidno, as well as in Pysarivtsi, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 8, pp. 433, 465–466; f. 16, d. 1, c. III, p. 692; f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 35, 118). In 1529 – 1530, he bought out the brothers Petro and Klemens's shares in the above-mentioned villages (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, p. 616; f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 188–190, 224–225).

Due to the temporary holdings, it was possible for Stanisław to expand his possessions. Hence, in 1526, he became the owner of the village of Vzduv from Adam Vzduvsky as the pledge and it was in his possession in 1537 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 438, 539; f. 15, d. 1, c. 13, p. 1057). There were numerous loans secured by property, which were given out by Stanisław at the dusk of his life, in the 1530s (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 1177, 1220–1223, 1340–1343). In 1531, the village of Morokhiv was added to his property complex. King Sigismund granted this estate as a fief to Stanisław Pobidynski and his male heirs after the death of his uncle Matviy Pobidynski (Fastnacht, 1998, p. 157).

In public life, Stanisław Pobidynski was a permanent assessor of the zemstvo court, where he was present on a regular basis in 1519 – 1540 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 57, 68, 97, 101, 116, 126, 128, 135, 145, 151, 166, 178, 179, 183, 215, 226, 238, 254, 261, 263, 279). Stanisław Vladyslavovych Pobidynski Jr. died during the period of the years of 1540 and 1541, leaving behind a considerable offspring – three daughters and six sons.

In 1544, his sons provided a dowry for his sister Ursula, who was married to Stanisław Kałycki (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, p. 204). *Zofia* was mentioned with her brothers in 1540 and 1554, and in 1570 she was recorded as the deceased wife of Winiarski (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 264–267; f. 15, d. 1, c. 16, pp. 1176). The third daughter, Anna, was mentioned in 1556 as the wife of Ioan Bartholomew Jakubowski. He received a dowry of one thousand zł (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 265–267).

There were mentioned six sons of Stanisław Pobidynski on the pages of Sanok act books, after the death of their father, in 1541– ***Ioan*** (1541 – † to 1560), ***Waclaw*** (1541 – 1581), ***Petro*** (1541 – 1563), ***Sebastian*** (1541 – 1561), ***Symon*** (1541 – 1563) and ***Andriy*** (1541 – 1568). For some time, they settled the family's property affairs together. For the first time, the brothers appeared together in Sianok grodsky court in 1541, when they received a pledge in the villages of Spirne and Hvoznytsia from Makhovski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 784–785). A year later they pay the debt of their relative on maternal side Andriy Tarnavski (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 74). In 1543, the Stanisławovychi Pobidynski tried to continue possession of the royal village of Morokhiv, which their father had once obtained as his property (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, p. 158).

In 1560, Stanisław's sons divided the estate among themselves. There were the following participants, who took part in the division: Waclaw, Symon, Sebastian and Andriy Pobidynski. At that time, their brother Ioan was deceased, and his share was acquired by the Sianok castellan Zbigniew Sinnenski, who also took part in the division. The subjects of the division were the following villages of Iwonicz, Pobidno, Dudyntsi, Markivtsi, Pysarivtsi and Andrushkivtsi. Sebastian and Symon Pobidynski received shares in three villages – Iwonicz, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi, including a large pond and a mill. Waclaw Stanisławowych Pobidynski inherited the villages of Andrushkivtsi and Pysarivtsi. Andriy Pobidynski got Pobidno and a mill in this village, which he was to use with Waclaw jointly, because the share that Waclaw received did not include a mill (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 290–292). There were 17 owners, 2 korchma (inns), a mill with one wheel and a priest, so there was a church there in the ancestral home – the village of Pobidno in 1552 (Fastnacht, 2002, p. 42).

Once again, the descendants of Stanisław Pobidynski came forward in 1561 – those were the Sanok Judge Waclaw Pobidynski, his brothers Simon and Andriy and his nephew Waclaw, the son of the late Ioan Stanisławowych Pobidynski. They fought for the inheritance of the late Ioan Penyzhko, the husband of their cousin Anna Matviyivna Pobidynska. Those were the villages of Niebieszczany, Wielopole, Zimbertova Volia, Ratnawica, which were still the property of the Pobidynski at the end of the 15th century. After the death of Penyzhko, Lviv subcommissary Ioan Dershnak, Sambir military Stanisław Dershnak, and Valentyn and Petro from Rokitnytsia claimed these same estates, who seized these villages “by force” (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 526–529).

We would like to talk about each of the sons of Stanisław Władysławowych Pobidynski and the branches they founded in detail.

Ioan Stanisławowych Pobidynski was probably the eldest son. He began to manage his own business affairs shortly after his father's death. So in 1542, he received the village of Pelnia as a pledge from Ioan Pelwelski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, pp. 42–43). In 1544, Ioan Pobidynski provided a dowry for his sisters in Sandomierz land on the estates that were in the pledge possession of the Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, pp. 42–43). Even before the official division of the estates, he managed the village of Dudyntsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, p. 701). Ioan Stanisławowych got married to Regina, a daughter of Stanisław Kwiłyński. He received 400 zł of dowry from her in 1549, which he recorded on half of his estates. His wife brought Ioan the village of Graba in Sandomierz land into his possession (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, pp. 1102–1105). Ioan Stanisławowych passed away between the period of years of 1556 and 1559 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 188–190, 269; f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, p. 128). He left behind daughters *Elizabeth and Sophia*, and son *Waclaw*. The daughters were mentioned in sources as of 1559, and Ioan's widow Regina was last mentioned in 1561 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 128, 450).

Waclaw Pobidynski, the son, carried on Ioan's lineage. He appeared in the Sanok acts after his father's death in 1559. Having grown up, he got married to Kateryna, a daughter of Hieronymus Stano from Novotanets. Waclaw was mentioned with his wife in 1577 in the dowry case (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 183–184). However, in 1579, Kateryna from the Stano family was called a widow. The couple had a daughter, *Khrystyna Pobidynska* (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 531).

The second son of Stanisław Władysławowych Jr., **Petro Pobidynski's** name and surname appeared in sources together with his brothers' names and surnames, starting in 1541. The

last known mention of him was given by Severyn Uruski, when he lists the sons of Stanisław Pobidynski in 1563 (Uruski, 1917, p. 110).

Until 1560, **Sebastian Stanisławowych Pobidynski** acted in business together with his brothers mainly. After the division of the estate in 1560, he and his brother Symon, became the owners of the villages of Iwonicz, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi. He had been managing Iwonicz even before the division, because in 1555 he mortgaged a share of this village to Zbigniew Sinnenski for 50 zł (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 176–178, 237–238), and in 1560 he borrowed another 80 zł from him (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 293–294). Finally, in the same year Sebastian sold Sinnenski half of his share in Dudyntsi and Markivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 306–309). Right after, Sebastian Pobidynski passed away during the period of 1560 and 1561 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, p. 610).

Andriy Stanisławowych Pobidynski inherited a share in the village of Pobidno according to the partition of 1560 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 290–292). In 1562 he was mentioned as an assessor of the Sanok Grodsky Court (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 119–120). Just like his brother Sebastian, Andriy Pobidynski borrowed money from the Sanok castellan Zbigniew Sinnenski in the early 1560s (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, p. 635; f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 292–293). In the 1560s and 1570s, his name and surname appeared in the context of receiving new loans mainly. For example, in 1561, he borrowed 100 zł from the Sanok Judge Stanisław Czarnotski, secured by the village of Niebieszczany, which was the subject of a dispute with the Dersznaks (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 529–531). In the same year, he borrowed 340 zł from Ioan Vlynski on the collateral of half of his estate in the village of Pobidno (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 836–837). In 1563, Andriy took a loan from Ivan Pegowski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 268, 638–639), and in 1570, together with his brother Wacław, he mortgaged Pobidno to Vyniarsky, the husband of their late sister Zofia (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 264–267). At the end of the 1570s, Andriy Pobidynski was still mentioned in cases where he acts as a borrower: in 1577, he borrowed 1,000 zł from the Sanok Judge Josyf Didynski, which he re-mortgaged to Krysztof, a son of Ioan Vlynski, his long-time lender (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 444–448). In 1579, Andriy Pobidynski again borrowed 200 zł from Vlynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 548–549). After that, he was not mentioned in the documents.

Symon (Shimon) Stanisławowych Pobidynski, after the division of 1560, inherited the villages of Iwonicz, Dudyntsi and Markivtsi together with his brother Sebastian (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 290–292). In fact, Symon appeared as the didych (heir) of the village of Dudyntsi earlier, starting from 1554 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 32–33). In 1561, Symon Pobidynski and his cousin Gabriel were mentioned in the conflict with the Sanok burghers. They accused the Pobidynski of an armed attack on the town, and accused them of “violence in houses” and murder (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 456–462). In the same year, the nobleman Felix Leszczynski was blamed for the wounds inflicted on Symon Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 606–607).

Since 1560, Symon Pobidynski's name and surname had been mentioned in the records as the heir to the estate of the late Ioan Penyzhko. It was about the village of Niebieszczany, which at one time was brought into Penyzhko's possession by his wife Anna Matviyivna Pobidynska, a cousin of Symon's father Stanisław. Apparently, the Penyzhko couple had no children, so the estate was inherited by the sons of Stanisław Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 421–423; f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, p. 146). In addition to Niebieszczany, in 1561 – 1563 Symon Pobidynski was named the heir of the villages of Wielopole, Zimbertova Volya,

Ratnawica, Morochow, Morochownytsia, Zawadka and Vysochany that were in possession of same Ioan Penyzhko (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 646–648; f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 352–353, 520–522). He pledged these villages to Sanok Judge Stanisław Czarnocki numerous times (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 472–473, 531–533). The figure of Symon Pobidynski disappeared from the pages of the registry books after 1563. There is no information about his descendants, as well as about the fate of the property complex he inherited.

Another of Stanisław Pobidynski's sons, *Wacław*, inherited the villages of Andrushkivtsi and Pysarivtsi after the partition of 1560. He achieved a particularly high position in the social life of Sanok land among his brothers. Even at a young age, he was mentioned among the assessors of the Zemstvo Court in 1544 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 19). Wacław began his career as Sanok Judge (1555 – 1570) (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 17, p. 157; Przyboś, 1987, p. 280), and in the last quarter of the 16th century he ruled as the deputy-starosta of Sanok (1573 – 1581) (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 25, p. 45; f. 15, d. 1, c. 30, p. 125; f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 10–11, 150, 441–442, 671–672, 878–879). His active participation in the public life of the region and authority among the local nobility is evident from the fact that for several decades, Wacław was documented annually as an assessor at the meetings of the local zemstvo court until 1581 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 341, 377, 412, 480, 542–543, 568, 571–572, 616).

After the division of the Pobidynski estate in 1560, Wacław Stanisławowych inherited the villages of Andrushkivtsi and Pysarivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 290–292). He began to manage the village of Pysarivtsi immediately after his father's death, in the 1540s. Hence, in 1544, he bequeathed the local peasants to Sebastian Pakoshiwski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, pp. 203–204). Having become the sole owner of the properties allocated to him, Wacław Pobidynski pledged them in the 1560s many times. In 1563, he borrowed 1,500 zł from Ioan Vlynski, secured by the Pysarivtsi and half of the Andrushkivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 201–203). At the same time, he borrowed 350 zł from Josip Dedenski, secured by the village of Andrushkivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 363–366). 1568, Wacław, was lent money by Sanok Judge Stanisław Czarnocki (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 192) on the security of the village of Pysarivtsi. Occasionally, Wacław Pobidynski acted as a lender. For example, in 1575, he lent 600 zł to the local nobleman Matviy Bal (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 323–326). In 1578, Mykola Prylutski returned to him for a loan (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 441–442, 454–457). The last mentions of Wacław Pobidynski were also related to loans: in 1579 he borrowed 100 zł from Albert Karlicki on the security of two peasants in Pysarivce (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 727–727). A year later he borrowed 900 zł from Ioan Wróblewski, who in turn recorded a dowry for his wife *Anna Pobidynska*, who was probably Wacław's daughter (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 861–862, 863). In the same year, Wacław borrowed money from Kasper Krawetski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 878–879). As early as 1581, he was an assessor of Sanok Zemstvo Court, and he probably joined the majority sometime after that (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 616).

Wacław Stanisławowych married to Jadwiga Pichkurivna approximately in 1543 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 15, p. 156). It is known that the couple had daughters *Zofia* and *Jadwiga*, who were mentioned in 1574 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 205, 287–290). At the end of Wacław's life, his sons began to appear in the sources. Hence, in 1579, he granted possession of the field near Pysarivtsi to the sons of *Wacław* and *Heorhiy Pobidynski* (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 690–691). In the same and the following year, Wacław gave possession of Pysarivka and Andrushkivka with the courtyard to his son Heorhiy (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 554–556; f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, p. 691). Heorhiy Wacławowych Pobidynski is

subsequently mentioned in sources until the end of the 16th century (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, p. 153). In 1587, he was recorded among the participants of the Vyshensky sejmik (Prochaska, 1909, p. 64).

In addition to the Stanisławowychi, in the middle and second half of the 16th century, several more Pobidynski lived in Sanok land, but it was not possible to link them to the genealogical tree of the family.

One of them was Heorhiy Pobidynski, who appeared on the pages of the Sianok Grodsky books, starting from 1540 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 13, p. 1368). Since 1557 he had been mentioned as the owner of the village of Konkolivky. This settlement was geographically located in Przemyśl land, 50 kilometers north of Pobidny and in the 15th century belonged to the powerful Kmity. There was no information regarding under what circumstances and when Heorhiy Pobidynski acquired the above-mentioned village, the answer should probably be sought in Przemyśl Grodsky acts. We only know that the possessor of another mortgaged property of the Kmity, the village of Vuyske, at one time was Petro Władysławowych Pobidynski. Due to the possession of the estates belonging to the Kmity, we could make a supposition that Heorhiy could have been the son of Petro Pobidynski. Despite the fact that Heorhiy called himself the didych (heir) from Kankolivka in Przemyśl land, he remained closely involved in the economic affairs in Sanok land. Hence, in 1557 Heorhiy provided a loan to the local nobleman Stanisław Didynski on the collateral of the village of Kryve, and in 1561 – the shares in the village of Dydnia (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 538–539; f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 609–610, 634). In 1559 he lent money to another local nobleman, Stanisław Zarshynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, p. 168). His debtor was also Hieronymus Pakosziwski, who gave Heorhiy possession of his estates in 1561 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, p. 596). Heorhiy managed the peasants in Pakoszewka as early as 1568 (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 170, 193–195). In 1562, among Heorhiy Pobidynski's borrowers, Stanisław Domaradski was named, who borrowed 200 zł on the collateral of the village of Zakobiła in Sandomierz region (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 867–869). A year later, in 1563, Heorhiy Pobidynski received possession of parts of the villages of Yurivtsi and Sorohiv, which belonged to Stanisław Humnyski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 867–869). He retained possession of these villages as of 1571 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 25, pp. 6, 35). One of the last mentions about Heorhiy Pobidynski dates back to 1577, when he received possession of the estates of Barbara Stadnytska from Zboriv (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, p. 241).

In 1568, the son of Heorhiy of Kankolivka, *Stanisław Pobidynski*, was first mentioned (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 141). Ioan and Kryshtof were probably the younger Heorhiy's sons, who were also called the heirs of Kankolivka. In 1582, their names were mentioned among the assessors of Sanok Zemstvo Court (CSHAUL, f. 16, d. 1, c. 7, p. 616).

It was also not possible to identify the parents of *Gabriel Pobidynski*, who was known in documents since 1553 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 16, p. 754). In 1561 he was mentioned as a cousin of Symon Pobidynski, so he was probably the son of Klemens, Yan or Petro Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 456–462, 502). It is known that Gabriel owned a share in the village of Andrushkivtsi. The last known mention of him dates back to 1599 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, pp. 145, 159). He passed away right after, as his widow Elżbieta, a daughter of Kasper Welżbieta, appeared in the documents (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, pp. 835, 922–923, 1058–1064). By 1602, she had remarried to Filip Szczepanowski and was mentioned in Sanok acts in 1611 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 140, p. 1301; f. 15, d. 1, c. 143, p. 5). Gabriel had a daughter *Jadwiga*, who was documented in 1601–1602 as the heiress of a

share in the village of Andrushkivtsi (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, pp. 792, 954, 1163–1164, 1196; f. 15, d. 1, c. 140, pp. 1267, 1374).

Stanisław Pobidynski was Gabriel's brother. In 1579 he was named the didych (heir) of the Soltys estate in the village of Nowoszydzi – probably in Sambir region. Stanisław lent Rafał Humnyski 180 zł, for which he received possession of a part of the village of Humnysk (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 637–638). In 1573, Stanisław's wife, *Malgorzata*, was mentioned (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 25, pp. 45, 47–48). Stanisław passed away sometime before 1599, leaving behind sons *Krzysztof* and *Ioan*, and a daughter *Anna* (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, pp. 835, 922–923). They had to engage in legal disputes with their aunt Elżbieta, the widow of Gabriel Pobidynski (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, pp. 922–923, 1058–1064, 1223–1224).

Kryshtof Stanisławowych Pobidynski inherited from his father the salt farm in Nowoszydzi, the owner of which was mentioned in 1599 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, p. 169). He also owned a share in the village of Andrushkivtsi. Kryshtof was mentioned in the sources until 1602 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 140, pp. 1382–1383).

In 1599, another son of Stanisław, *Ioan Pobidynski*, was mentioned separately from Kryshtof and Anna. He was brought into possession of his village of Grabownica by Sanok hunter Herhiy Pelka (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 139, p. 24). Ioan had Grabownica in his possession until 1602 (CSHAUL, f. 15, d. 1, c. 140, p. 1279).

Conclusions. Hence, the Pobidynski family continued its demographic growth due to large families in the 16th century. On the pages of Sanok town and zemstvo act books, we managed to find information about 57 representatives of the family, who lived in the 16th century, compared to 36 people, who lived a century earlier. At the same time, the property complex of the family in the 16th century practically did not grow, on the contrary, among the numerous descendants, the estates were divided into smaller shares. This state of affairs contrasts with the situation of the previous 15th century, when the Pobidynski dynamically increased their possessions in each generation. Obviously the weakened property situation also affected social positions. In the local government hierarchy in the 16th century, there were only three representatives of the Pobidynski family: Sanok Judge, and later the Zemstvo Judge Yan Pobidynski (1500 – † 1527/1529), his brother Sanok district Judge Klemens Pobidynski (1483 – † until 1526), Sanok Judge and sub-starosta Wacław Stanisławowych Pobidynski (1541 – 1581). In the 16th century, the Pobidynski remained active in judicial and economic matters, acting as creditors and borrowers, and also asserted their presence in the noble environment owing family ties and participation in sejmik meetings or court sessions as assessors.

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Vitalii TELVAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-2445-968X

Researcher ID: X-5320-2018

Oleh PETRECHKO

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the World History and Special Historical Disciplines Department, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 46 Lesya Ukrainka Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (o.petrechko@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-5535-3730

Віталій ТЕЛЬВАК

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)

Олег ПЕТРЕЧКО

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Лесі Українки, 46, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (o.petrechko@ukr.net)

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**AMONG THE YOUTH: MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY
AND THE STUDENT BODY OF LVIV UNIVERSITY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to determine the nature of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationship with the students of Lviv University. **The methodology of the research** is based on an interdisciplinary approach. There has been given special emphasis on structural functional system analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative historical method, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. There have been also used the methods of periodization, classification, and typologization. **The scientific novelty** of the research consists in its attempt at a comprehensive reconstruction of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's communicative strategies in relation to the student community of Lviv University. **Conclusions.** Taking into consideration the summarized material, it is possible to speak of Mykhailo Hrushevsky as an innovative pedagogue in higher education. Rejecting the patriarchal practices of demonstrative professorial superiority over the student body, the scholar laid

the foundation in our intellectual culture for a tradition of democratic engagement with the youth. At its core was the Enlightenment idea of the University as a harmonious community of the authoritative mentors and knowledge-seeking students. The communicative strategy chosen by M. Hrushevsky enabled the establishment of a productive, partnership-based dialogue with his students, which had several important consequences. First and foremost, the first national historiographical school emerged, whose representatives shaped the leading trends by large in the Ukrainian social sciences and humanities throughout the 20th century. The impact of bringing politically opposed student youth together behind the concept of higher education in their own mother tongue was equally important. This cultural maxim became the foundation of a long-term strategy and tactic, adopted by all Ukrainian political parties, in the struggle against discriminatory Polish policies in the region. Hrushevsky's undisputed leadership in these initiatives made him a cult figure among the Ukrainian youth.

For the same reason, his students of other nationalities, especially the Poles, often treated the scholar with a certain distance, and at times with outright hostility, echoing the rhetoric of their older peers. However, those among them not involved in political disputes and preparing for academic careers considered M. Hrushevsky to be a classic figure in Ukrainian studies and preserved a respectful memory of him. In general, it was precisely Hrushevsky's students, who became the main participants in the complex Polish-Ukrainian dialogue during the war years and the two decades that followed. Elucidating the influence of the Professor's ideas on the nature of this process remains a topical issue in the intellectual history of Central and Eastern Europe.

Key words: M. Hrushevsky, Lviv University, students, cooperation, conflicts.

У КОЛІ МОЛОДІ: МИХАЙЛО ГРУШЕВСЬКИЙ ТА СТУДЕНТСТВО ЛЬВІВСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є з'ясування характеру взаємин М. Грушевського зі студентами Львівського університету. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції комунікативних стратегій М. Грушевського стосовно представників студентської спільноти Львівського університету. **Висновки.** Узагальнений матеріал уможливорює говорити про М. Грушевського як педагога-новатора вищої школи. Відкинувши патріархальні практики демонстративного вивчення професури над студентською громадою, вчений заклав у нашій інтелектуальній культурі традицію демократичного спілкування з молоддю, в основі якої лежала просвітницька ідея Університету як гармонійної спільноти авторитетних наставників і спраглої знань молоді. Обрана М. Грушевським комунікативна стратегія уможливила налагодити зі своїми вихованцями продуктивний партнерський діалог, що мало декілька важливих наслідків. Передусім, постала перша національна історіографічна школа, представники якої значною мірою визначили провідні тренди української соціогуманітаристики в ХХ столітті. Не менш важливим ефектом стало об'єднання поділеної в політичному плані студентської молоді ідеєю рідномовної вищої школи. Ця культурна максима лягла в основу прийнятої всіма українськими партіями довголітньої стратегії й тактики боротьби з польсько-українською політикою в краї. Беззаперечне лідерство М. Грушевського в цих проєктах зробило з нього культову постать для української молоді.

З цієї ж причини його студенти інших національностей, передусім поляки, ставилися до вченого з певною дистанцією, а нерідко й відверто вороже, наслідуючи риторику старших колег. Утім та їх частина, яка не була заангажована в політичні суперечки і готувалася до наукової кар'єри, вбачала в М. Грушевському класика українознавства й зберегла про нього шанобливу пам'ять. Загалом же, саме студенти М. Грушевського стали головними учасниками складного польсько-українського діалогу в роки війни та подальше двадцятиліття. З'ясування впливовості ідей професора на особливості його протікання є актуальною проблемою інтелектуальної історії Центрально-Східної Європи.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський, Львівський університет, студенти, співпраця, конфлікти.

Problem Statement. There has been paid special attention to the multifaceted scholarly and pedagogical work of the author of the History of Ukraine-Rus' in contemporary Hrushevsky studies at Lviv University. The above-mentioned notable interest is driven by a growing understanding of its significance in strengthening the cultural – and consequently, political – agency of the indigenous population of Eastern Galicia, which existed within a context of interethnic competition intensified by the challenges of modernization. There have been diverse scholars, drawing on newly discovered Ukrainian, Austrian, and Polish archival collections, which shed light on numerous organizational, didactic, and communicative aspects of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's professorial routine. Nevertheless, there are many issues, which still should be analysed more rigorously, particularly in light of the expanding source base and the enduring influence of historiographical stereotypes formed during the period of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle. Hrushevsky's relationships with his students stand out as particularly complex among these unresolved issues. Its relevance is directly linked to the ongoing Polish-Ukrainian discussion regarding the influence or marginality of M. Hrushevsky's activities as the professor of the first Ukrainian History Department in the annals of our intellectual culture.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationship issue with his students was raised during the scholar's lifetime. Typically, on the occasion of his jubilees, his former students reflected – sometimes with more, sometimes with less depth – on their experiences interacting with him. Understandably, given the nature and motivations behind such writings, the above-mentioned reflections tended to be laudatory in tone (Lentsyk, 1984; Chubaty, 1975). There were similar discursive practices, which were carried on by Hrushevsky's students during the postwar period: a few of his former pupils from Lviv, who had the fortune of emigrating to the American continent, depicted the image of an eminent mentor of the youth in their memoirs (Telvak, & Sabinskyi, 2022). This somewhat one-dimensional portrayal of Hrushevsky as professor is largely reproduced by contemporary Ukrainian scholars addressing the topic (Kachmar, 2016–2021; Sukhyi, 2016–2021).

At the same time, there developed a sharply contrasting interpretation of Hrushevsky's pedagogical role within the Polish historiography. Our western neighbours echoed the rhetoric of the interethnic tensions consistently that marked the turn of the 19th to 20th century. They generally either denied the Ukrainian professor any meaningful role within the university community of the time or, conversely, depicted him as a demagogic figure, who incited the Ukrainian youth to resist the administration of Galicia's leading institution of higher education (Telvak, Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2023). Unfortunately, even contemporary Polish historiography of Lviv University during the autonomous period reproduces frequently these outdated historiographical clichés uncritically (Adamski, 2011). Taking into account the circumstances, there is a drastic need for a comprehensive analysis of the issue on “Hrushevsky and the youth of Lviv University,” given the expanded body of sources now available and the accumulated historiographical experience in interpreting this topic.

The purpose of the research is to determine the nature of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationship with the students of Lviv University.

Research Results. It could be easily seen in the body of Hrushevsky studies that his decision to accept the Galician narodovtsi' offer to head the newly established Department of Ukrainian History at Lviv University was primarily driven by his desire to develop a national historiography within the constitutional Austro-Hungarian monarchy – a state where

the Ukrainian language was not subject to the same discriminatory restrictions as in the Russian Empire. However, an equally important motivation was Kyiv University graduate's aspiration to engage the Galician youth in the study – and subsequently the study – of their native past. The evidence could be found in the Memoirs of Oleksandr Barvinsky, the initiator of the University department. He asserted that during one of his regular visits to Kyiv, where the priorities for the newly established department's Professor were discussed with the participation of O. Konysky and V. Antonovych, the latter gave M. Hrushevsky the following guidance: "[...] To become a guide and advisor to the younger generation at the University, to steer them away from empty social and political rhetoric, and to direct them towards serious and substantive scholarly work, thereby preparing them for future service to the benefit of the Ukrainian people" (DMCT IL, f. 135, c. 24, p. 370).

The young professor understood, no less than his mentors, the importance of establishing a trusting and collaborative dialogue with his students. His ambitious plans to search for documents in the Russian and Western European archival collections and, on that basis, to undertake a comprehensive reconstruction of the Ukrainian history in all its thematic dimensions could only be realized through the organization of collective scholarly work. Keeping in mind the above-mentioned, he addressed the younger members of his audience already in his inaugural lecture at Lviv University, specifically inviting those, "who are eager to study history with me *viribus unitis*" (Hrushevsky, 1994, p. 14). Calling on the students in attendance to collaborate, Hrushevsky emphasized: "I consider any dogmatism in my discipline unnecessary and any *juratio in verba magistri* [blind acceptance of the teacher's word] – unacceptable. I would like to see the same spirit of inquiry and critical thinking in my collaborators – my students – as much as possible, and I sincerely hope that, above all, they will apply that spirit to my own words as well, not accepting them uncritically" (Hrushevsky, 1994, p. 14).

This emotional appeal by the newly appointed professor to the youth had a powerful mobilizing effect. One of his first students, Myron Korduba, noted that after the inaugural lecture, "everyone at the university, who identified as the Ukrainian enrolled in Hrushevsky's lectures – not only philosophy students from various groups, but also law and theology students – and he had to lecture in the largest auditorium" (Korduba, 1916, p. 795). Such enthusiasm was fueled by Hrushevsky's personal demeanor as a professor, which, according to Korduba, "was entirely unlike the typical university professors I had become accustomed to encountering in Lviv" (Korduba, 1916, p. 795). This referred to the professor's distinctly democratic style of communication with students, most vividly reflected in his habit of addressing his younger colleagues as *pane-tovaryshu* [Mister Comrade] (Krypiakevych, 1935, p. 34), thereby reducing the psychological distance and fostering a collegial dialogue. This communicative strategy contributed to the dynamic formation of Lviv School of History significantly, whose representatives formed the closest circle of Hrushevsky's students.

It was in his interaction with aspiring researchers of the national past that the author of *The History of Ukraine-Rus'* most fully revealed himself as a mentor and scholarly guardian of the youth. It should be noted that his remarkable patience and willingness to teach students the intricacies of the historical craft, despite his heavy involvement in numerous academic projects and public engagements, were of utmost importance. His students often recalled this, noting that "he never begrudged his precious time for conversations with the unexperienced ('half-baked') scholars" (Krypiakevych, 1935, p. 34).

M. Hrushevsky's effort to align the personal scholarly interests of young researchers with the foremost task of contemporary national historiography is also striking – the creation of a

comprehensive reconstruction of the Ukrainian past. With this in mind, he often brought in the research topics that reflected his own focus on the Cossack era, which, according to Ivan Krypiakievych, “became, as it were, their [representatives of the Lviv school’s] specialization” (Krypiakievych, 1991, p. 397). Nevertheless, if a student clearly expressed a desire to pursue an independent topic, Hrushevsky was always supporting and consistently helped guide those early efforts toward a publishable standard. This is evident in the acknowledgments many students included in their first publications. For instance, Melania Bordun, in her first article dedicated to the socio-cultural history of the Ukrainian clergy in the 18th century, expressed gratitude to her mentor for his scholarly guidance (Bordun, 1912, p. 39). Alongside her, other students developed their own research interests: Bohdan Buchynskyi (Western European medieval history), Zenon Kuzelia (ethnography), Stepan Rudnytskyi (geography and cartography), among others. This clearly refutes the stereotype – common in conservative historiography – that the author of *The History of Ukraine-Rus’* “exploited” his students for scholarly gain.

Alongside his scientific leadership, Mykhailo Hrushevsky considered it essential to provide comprehensive support to his students in their daily life concerns. First and foremost, as head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, he facilitated the establishment of a number of scholarship funds aimed at financing research by freshmen (Telvak, & Telvak, 2022). Due to the above-mentioned, the motivated young people were interested in the academic work gained the opportunity to prepare for their doctoral studies. In addition, the Ukrainian professor made significant efforts to keep his most talented students in Lviv, where they had the opportunity to engage in the research work, as teaching in the Galician provinces made archival work practically impossible. One example is the case of Stepan Tomashivsky, whom the historian, through repeated appeals to the Ukrainian parliamentarians, managed to secure a teaching position at Lviv gymnasium, thereby enabling him to prepare his habilitation thesis. Not infrequently, Hrushevsky also rescued his protégés from difficulties using his own funds. A vivid example is the case of the arrest of M. Zalizniak in the affair known as the “Trial of the 101”. Having ended up in prison, this native of Russian-ruled Ukraine had no close contacts in Lviv, who could post bail for him. It was Hrushevsky himself, who secured his student’s release by posting a rather large bail for the time – 20,000 crowns (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 672, pp. 36–51).

Such comprehensive support was highly valued by the Ukrainian professor’s students. Evidence of this is the unfailingly grateful content of their letters to their teacher, which reflect their understanding of the significance of the assistance received. For instance, M. Korduba considered it his student duty to “express gratitude that melts my heart” (Kupchynskyi, 2016). S. Tomashivsky wrote “sincerely thanks” to Mykhailo Hrushevsky many times (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 792, p. 97). D. Korenets consistently asked him to accept his “heartfelt thanks for the great kindness now shown to me again” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 553, p. 76). M. Zalizniak thanked the teacher for “the warm attitude towards me, as well as for sincerity” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 485, pp. 150–151). Vasyl Herasymchuk repeatedly expresses his “very deep and heartfelt gratitude” (Hyrych, & Samsonyk, 1994, p. 84). Many similar examples could be cited.

Alongside the above-mentioned comprehensive support, M. Hrushevsky also considered the moral education of students to be his own duty. It is most eloquently illustrated by the situations when rumors reached him about the frivolous attitude of the young people towards their commitments or their squandering of funds received from the Shevchenko Scientific

Society (NTSh) on entertainment. Then, the scholar would adopt a completely “fatherly” style of behavior and clarify straightforwardly such an unsightly situation. For example, when rumors of M. Korduba’s dissolute behavior in Vienna reached him, he wrote directly to the student: “And now I must fulfill a very unpleasant duty regarding you. Several times since my return I have heard that you have the reputation of being a reveler, constantly spending time at the restaurants [...] etc. I don’t immediately believe such gossip, but the mere existence of it is very unpleasant to me. Of course, you may reply that it’s none of my business, but I think – you won’t do that. [...] So, it would be unpleasant for me to give up on you” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 133). Further, M. Hrushevsky described his ideal of a Ukrainian scientist to the young scholar: “[...] The scientific work always demands a certain asceticism from a person, and someone who is too drawn to taverns cannot be a serious worker, devoted to the research and the national interests that Rus’ requires”. At the end of the letter, the professor emphasized the importance of honest communication: “In any case, tell me the honest truth in your reply!” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 134).

Interestingly, such frankness did not offend the predominantly older audience – many of whom already had families – but rather was regarded as a sign of the teacher’s sincere concern and deep engagement. For instance, in response to the above-mentioned letter, M. Korduba first noted: “You have indeed provided yet another proof of your devotion by writing to me about this” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 135). Subsequently, mirroring his teacher’s directness and sincerity, the young man described the hardships of his life in Vienna. This left M. Hrushevsky with no doubt that the student had become a target of a defamation campaign led by ideological opponents from the Russophile circles.

M. Hrushevsky was no less demanding of his students as a scholarly advisor. Although it was essential for members of his academic school to publish their initial studies as part of the doctoral process, the professor consistently upheld high professional standards. He refused to compromise and often required extended and meticulous work on academic texts. A vivid example of this is case of the above-mentioned M. Bordun and her first study on the history of the Greek Catholic clergy. In a letter to her mentor, she described candidly her fatigue from prolonged work on a single topic and appealed for understanding, given her limitations as a novice researcher: “Most Honorable Professor, As requested, I am sending the introduction to my work. At the same time, I dare to ask you, if possible, to kindly accept my work in its current form, as I am very eager to obtain an academic degree as soon as possible. I have been working on this research for more than two years. I am really worn out, and the thought of revising it once more is, quite frankly, overwhelming” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 303, pp. 246–247).

A similar combination of goodwill and high expectations characterized Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s communication with the Ukrainian students at Lviv University, even with those, who were not working with him directly as their academic advisor. After the professor publicly advocated in 1897 for the establishment of a Ukrainian institution of higher education in Lviv (Hrushevsky, 1897), the students chose him as a trusted Counselor in their protracted struggle to defend their national rights within the university. M. Hrushevsky accepted willingly this psychologically taxing role, despite the fact that it led to a rupture in his relationship with the Polish professorial colleagues. From that point on, he launched a vocal media campaign in support of the Ukrainian students’ demands and emerged as the moral leader of their movement. This role is evidenced by numerous contributions to Lviv newspapers, which reported his presence at many student gatherings and *viche* [public assemblies] where tactical

decisions were made in response to the Polish discriminatory practices in the cultural sphere (Telvak, Kurylyshyn, & Telvak, 2022). At the same time, the professor's involvement was extremely important for both sides of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, as he was able in every situation to find arguments to prevent the radicalization of emotionally inclined the youth and to keep their protest impulses within legal boundaries, something the opponents would have readily exploited.

Unfortunately, M. Hrushevsky's Polish colleagues, focused on consolidating their dominance at Lviv University, failed to appreciate the pacifying influence of their Ukrainian counterpart properly. On the contrary, they unjustifiably suspected him of inciting the students. The evidence was a letter from the Rector of Lviv University, Ludwik Rydygier, addressed to Hrushevsky, requesting an explanation of his participation in the general assembly of the Ukrainian youth held at the *Narodnyi Dim* [People's House] on December 7, 1901. The meeting marked the beginning of the student secession from Lviv University (SALR, f. 26, d. 13, c. 1, p. 15). In his response, Hrushevsky emphasized that his presence had a constructive influence on the course of the discussion: "[...]As I heard from more than one person, my participation, given the respect I command among the youth, could only contribute to a serious and composed atmosphere, free from outbursts against the Senate [...]". In concluding the letter, Hrushevsky reaffirmed his constitutional right to communicate freely with the student body: "Finally, I must note that, as far as I am concerned, the practice of Lviv University to date has not imposed any restrictions on professors' freedom in their relations with the academic youth. In this light, I can only interpret the Senate's present inquiry as a reaction to the exceptional nature of the current troubling circumstances" (SALR, f. 26, d. 13, c. 1, pp. 20–21).

Despite this more than comprehensive explanation, the Polish administration remained under the influence of Lviv tabloid press, which consistently portrayed M. Hrushevsky as a disruptor of interethnic "harmony". As a result, he was blamed unjustly not only for allegedly inciting student protests, but also for the students' decision to leave Lviv University en masse as a demonstration against national discrimination. It was reflected in a letter from K. Studynsky to O. Barvinsky: "I will also add that the Poles are pointing to Hrushevsky as the provocateur (Wojciechowski stated this publicly, in Kolessa's presence), although Hrushevsky was in fact strongly opposed to the student secession. I ask you to possibly clarify this to the Minister, because here they would very much like to devour Hrushevsky" (DM LSL, f. 2483, c. 149, pp. 54–55).

Alongside defending the interests of the Ukrainian youth within the university, M. Hrushevsky also repeatedly acted as their advocate in the public sphere. This concerned an orchestrated media campaign launched by the Polish chauvinist press, which sought to discredit Ukrainian students by claiming that they had become so immersed in political struggle that they no longer produced individuals with scholarly inclinations. The goal of such publications was to justify to the Viennese authorities the increasingly restrictive anti-Ukrainian policies implemented at Lviv University. As someone thoroughly familiar with the daily hardships faced by his students, M. Hrushevsky acknowledged that "intense struggle, the ever-restless, troubled atmosphere, and strained relations at the university in recent years have, understandably, not been conducive to calm academic work" (Hrushevsky, 1907, p. 1). At the same time, he exposed the manipulative nature of the Polish press's assertions and, through numerous examples, demonstrated that the detrimental conditions for the education of the region's native population, caused by the university administration, did not diminish the youth's

inclination towards learning. “And still, I say this emphatically”, the historian continued, “it is simply untrue that the Ukrainian youth have become so politicized that they have lost any academic interest and have stopped educating people with scientific qualifications. Even though nine years have passed since the great university assembly of 1899, which launched the campaign for a Ukrainian university, serious academic interests among the Ukrainian students have never faded, despite the long, drawn-out, and extremely abnormal conditions. Nor have there ever been a shortage of individuals, who pursued scientific work intensively, even at the height of the university struggle” (Hrushevsky, 1907, p. 1).

M. Hrushevsky's care for the Ukrainian students also had a distinctly practical dimension. As it was noted earlier, he established numerous scholarship funds to support students with scientific ambitions. His efforts expanded more broadly through an initiative aimed at ensuring dignified living conditions for the wider student community. In response to numerous complaints from younger colleagues about the hardships they faced in finding affordable housing, Hrushevsky offered the construction of an *Akademichnyi Dim* [Academic House] in Lviv. According to his vision, the foundation charter of the “Academic House” stated: “There has long been an urgent need for a home where the Ukrainian-Ruthenian students of higher education institutions could find decent hygienic and reasonably priced accommodation and meals – if necessary, even on credit – where they would be educated in an atmosphere of diligence, elevated intellectual interests, social and national responsibility, and where, without wasting their energy in hardship or unsuitable conditions, they would enter life's difficult struggle with untarnished reserves – of energy, fresh interests, and ideals of public service” (Diialnist Vydilu, 1905, p. 6). This project by Hrushevsky received financial backing from Kyiv philanthropist Yevhen Chykalenko, and by 1906, the first dormitory for the Ukrainian students in Lviv had begun to fulfill its mission of providing both unity and care.

Such large-scale mentorship and protective activity by the professor was highly appreciated by his younger colleagues. M. Hrushevsky's principled stance in defending the Ukrainian interests transformed him, in the eyes of students, into a national hero, who did not succumb to either official incentives or administrative punishments. Evidence of this includes the repeated ovations with which the professor, to his own surprise, was greeted when entering the lecture hall to deliver his lectures. The reports on such events can be found in the Lviv press (Telvak, Kurylyshyn, & Telvak, 2022). This occurred, for example, at the first lecture of the 1903 – 1904 academic year, when, on behalf of the assembled Ukrainian students, their colleague Dombrovsky addressed Hrushevsky with words of support: “[...] I must express my indignation at the fact that part of the Polish press, taking advantage of recent university events, has launched an attack against you – our respected and beloved professor, a true man of science who has nothing to do with political agitation and struggles – with vile denunciations and slanders, aiming to undermine your position. [...] Let, at this moment, at least a partial reward for all of this be the respect and sympathy of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian youth for you, and a guarantee that we will not allow anyone, whoever they may be, to violate your honor and person with impunity” (Ovatsiia, 1903, p. 3).

It is characteristic that, as in other similar cases, M. Hrushevsky did not use the manifestation of sympathy toward him to inflame the Polish-Ukrainian tensions, as his colleagues in the faculty accused him of doing, but rather to temper emotions and redirect them into a constructive channel. Thus, responding to the previously mentioned words of student solidarity, the professor addressed those gathered: “I thank you, gentlemen, for your expressions of sympathy. Indeed, any honest man should be outraged by the behavior of a

certain segment of the Polish press – these efforts to turn against me, as a weapon, those heartfelt relations that from the beginning have bound me to my audience, and which should bind every professor to his audience. But do not let such antics upset your composure. Let us remain calm and proceed to what we have gathered here for – to the lecture I had announced” (Vid Vp. Prof. Hrushevskoho, 1903, p. 3).

While supporting the Ukrainian students in their struggle for national rights at Lviv University, M. Hrushevsky reacted quite sharply to displays of political maneuvering, factionalism, and demagoguery within the youth environment itself. Since such delicate issues from a reputational standpoint concerning the Ukrainian youth movement were not appropriate for public discussion, the scholar expressed his attitude toward these unappealing phenomena on the pages of his diary usually. Based on it, we found out about Hrushevsky’s stern conversations with those student representatives, who turned the youth activism into an end in itself and neglected their academic responsibilities. One example of such a reaction can be found in a March 1904 entry: “A law student came asking me to attend the law students’ assembly. I delicately made it clear that this was a dishonest move. Of course, I wouldn’t go. They completely messed up the university’s affairs” (Hrushevsky, 2021, p. 103).

The representatives of other nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire also studied at Lviv University along with the Ukrainian students. The Poles dominated clearly in number. M. Hrushevsky had rather complicated relations with them. The student catalogs show a relatively small, yet stable, presence of non-Ukrainians at the lectures and seminars of the author of the “History of Ukraine-Rus” (Telvak, & Telvak, 2023). Although the scholar was equally tolerant of all national groups in the university’s student community, he, nevertheless, had certain prejudices against the Russophiles, whom he considered to be the national renegades. This is evident from his reaction to the presence of the Russophile youth at his lectures during the Ukrainian students’ secession – an act that undermined the unity of resistance to the discriminatory Polish policies systematically implemented by the university administration. In a letter to his brother Oleksandr, he described the situation the following: “[...] I had a lecture today [...]. There were two – one Russian, and one *katsap*, as they say in Ruthenian (a Russophile). They said they would attend, but I will not conduct a lecture for two people for 5 hours a week; somehow that will be resolved” (Hrushevsky, 2021, p. 133).

The history of Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s relationship with the Polish youth was no less complex. On the one hand, the Polish students were regularly enrolled in his courses and, along with the Jewish students, formed the majority of the non-Ukrainian ethnic group attending the professor’s lectures. On the other hand, they could not have remained unaffected by the powerful smear campaign launched by the Polish press, which portrayed M. Hrushevsky as a “mortal enemy of Poland” and a “Haidamak instigator”. The historian himself began to notice that the Polish students were increasingly avoiding him. A manifestation of this distancing was their refusal to attend his lectures during the Ukrainian student secession (Telvak, Pedych, & Telvak, 2021). The scholar observed such distancing in the following years as well. For example, in March of 1907, he noted in his diary: “In the university library, it seemed the Polish youth were glaring at me – *nie dajmy się sprowokować!* [let’s not allow ourselves to be provoked]” (Hrushevsky, 2021, p. 399). In turn, in July of 1910, when Adam Kocko died as a result of a Polish-Ukrainian clash on university premises, the Polish youth paradoxically placed the moral responsibility for their own crime on M. Hrushevsky. A proclamation from a Polish assembly stated: “As the intellectual culprits [of A. Kocko’s killing], the Polish youth consider Prof. Hrushevsky and Dnistriansky, whose immediate

removal as apostles of slaughter is an essential condition for peace within the walls of Lviv University” (Adamski, 2011, p. 105). Amid such an atmosphere, and with well-grounded fears for his personal safety, M. Hrushevsky, as he noted several times in his diary, was forced “to lecture with a revolver in his pocket” during periods of heightened interethnic conflict! (Hrushevsky, 2021, pp. 261, 470). Nonetheless, despite the intense ethnic struggle within the university, non-Ukrainian students focused on academic careers, as evidenced by student catalogs, continued attending the Ukrainian professor’s lectures right up to the outbreak of World War I. It was the most outstanding among them, who laid the foundations for national traditions of interpreting Hrushevsky’s work in the historiographies of Central and Eastern Europe (Telvak, & Telvak 2019).

Conclusions. Taking into consideration the summarized material, it is possible to speak of Mykhailo Hrushevsky as an innovative pedagogue in higher education. Rejecting the patriarchal practices of demonstrative professorial superiority over the student body, the scholar laid the foundation in our intellectual culture for a tradition of democratic engagement with the youth. At its core was the Enlightenment idea of the University as a harmonious community of the authoritative mentors and knowledge-seeking students. The communicative strategy chosen by M. Hrushevsky enabled the establishment of a productive, partnership-based dialogue with his students, which had several important consequences. First and foremost, the first national historiographical school emerged, whose representatives shaped the leading trends by large in the Ukrainian social sciences and humanities throughout the 20th century. The impact of bringing politically opposed student youth together behind the concept of higher education in their own mother tongue was equally important. This cultural maxim became the foundation of a long-term strategy and tactic, adopted by all Ukrainian political parties, in the struggle against discriminatory Polish policies in the region. Hrushevsky’s undisputed leadership in these initiatives made him a cult figure among the Ukrainian youth.

For the same reason, his students of other nationalities, especially the Poles, often treated the scholar with a certain distance, and at times with outright hostility, echoing the rhetoric of their older peers. However, those among them not involved in political disputes and preparing for academic careers considered M. Hrushevsky to be a classic figure in Ukrainian studies and preserved a respectful memory of him. In general, it was precisely Hrushevsky’s students, who became the main participants in the complex Polish-Ukrainian dialogue during the war years and the two decades that followed. Elucidating the influence of the professor’s ideas on the nature of this process remains a topical issue in the intellectual history of Central and Eastern Europe.

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Victor CHALAVAN

PhD (History), Doctoral Student, National Scientific Agricultural Library of the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine, 10 Heroes of Defense Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03121 (vchal77@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0009-0008-1253-4057

Liliia PYLYPENKO

PhD (History), Senior Researcher of the Department of Library and Information Technologies and Scientific Document Processing, National Scientific Agricultural Library of the National Academy of Agricultural Sciences of Ukraine, 10 Heroes of Defense Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03121 (lilichka.pylypenko@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-6408-048X

Віктор ЧАЛАВАН

кандидат історичних наук, докторант, Національна наукова сільськогосподарська бібліотека НААН, вул. Героїв Оборони, 10, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03121 (vchal77@ukr.net)

Лілія ПИЛИПЕНКО

докторка філософії, наукова співробітниця відділу бібліотечно-інформаційних технологій та наукової обробки документів, Національна наукова сільськогосподарська бібліотека НААН, вул. Героїв Оборони, 10, м. Київ, 03121, Україна (lilichka.pylypenko@gmail.com)

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CONTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES TO STUD MATTER DEVELOPMENT IN CATTLE BREEDING ON UKRAINIAN LANDS AS PART OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to identify the most significant achievements and initiatives of agricultural societies of Ukraine under Russian rule in the direction of developing breeding in cattle breeding in 1907 – 1915 (although the chronology of the study partially goes beyond this framework). *The methods of the research* are based on the principles of objectivity, systematics, historicism; historical genetic, historical systemic, historical typological methods, as well as there have been applied the methods of scientific criticism of historical sources. *The scientific novelty* of the study consists in the comprehensive analysis of the agricultural societies contribution of the specified period to cattle breeding development. **Conclusions.** It has been determined that the issues on the improving livestock breeding in Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the 20th century were dealt with by the majority

of agricultural societies that had branch departments. Hence, the Imperial Agricultural Society of Southern Russia (Odesa) focused on the development of sheep and horse breeding. The Poltava Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry made a significant contribution to the development of sheep and pig breeding. Yelyzavethradske Agricultural Society developed measures to improve the care of cattle and established a horse breeding committee. However, as it turned out, the greatest contribution to the development of breeding in cattle breeding in the studied period was made by Kharkiv, Kyiv and Podilsk Agricultural Societies. The first of them is the initiative to introduce a cattle stud book, the development of which began in 1907. By the end of 1913 on the analogy with Kharkiv stud books were introduced in other regions of the empire. The merit of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society was the organization of the first control unions for fattening cattle in Ukraine, which began to function in 1910 – 1911. In 1913, the so-called “Mixed Russian-Swiss Committee for the Purchase of Swiss Pedigree Cattle” was established at the Livestock Department of Kyiv Agricultural Society, access to which was open to all agricultural societies, zemstvos and individual farmers of the Russian Empire. The Committee's activities were aimed at eliminating intermediaries in the livestock trade. In 1915 the Podilsk Union of Cattle Breeders at Podilsk Agricultural Society included more than 100 purebred cattle factories in Podilsk, Kyiv, and Volyn hubernias. It is proven that these activities of agricultural societies contributed to the search of rational methods of animal husbandry, the acquisition of breeding material and the profitable sale of livestock products. The agricultural societies made an important contribution to the formation and development of breeding in Ukrainian cattle breeding at the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, in the development of animal breeding selection programs, effective methods and technologies for the reproduction of valuable breeding resources, practical recommendations for the application of scientific and technical achievements in production, etc.

Key words: livestock, cattle breeding, breeding business, agricultural societies, cattle breeding book, control unions for cattle fattening.

ВНЕСОК СІЛЬСЬКОГОСПОДАРСЬКИХ ТОВАРИСТВ У РОЗВИТОК ПЛЕМІННОЇ СПРАВИ У СКОТАРСТВІ НА УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ЗЕМЛЯХ У СКЛАДІ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.

Анотація. Метою статті є з'ясування найбільш вагомих здобутків та ініціатив сільськогосподарських товариств підросійської України у напрямі розвитку племінної справи у скотарстві протягом 1907 – 1915 років (хоча хронологія дослідження частково виходить за ці рамки). **Методи дослідження:** публікація базується на принципах об'єктивності, системності, історизму; використано історико-генетичний, історико-системний, історико-типологічний методи, а також методи наукової критики історичних джерел. **Наукова новизна дослідження** полягає у комплексній оцінці внеску сільськогосподарських товариств зазначеного періоду у розвиток скотарства. **Висновки.** Встановлено, що питаннями поліпшення тваринництва на українських землях на початку ХХ століття займалися більшість сільськогосподарських товариств, які мали у своєму складі галузеві відділи. Так, Імператорське товариство сільського господарства Південної Росії (м. Одеса) особливу увагу приділяло розвитку вівчарства і конярства. Полтавське товариство сільського господарства та сільськогосподарської промисловості відзначилося вагомим внеском у розвиток вівчарства і свинарства. Єлисаветградське товариство сільського господарства розробляло заходи із поліпшення догляду за ВРХ і заснувало комітет конярства. Проте, як з'ясовано, найбільший внесок у розвиток племінної справи у скотарстві у досліджуваній період здійснили саме Харківське, Київське й Подільське товариства сільського господарства. Першою з них належить ініціати́ва упровадження племінної книги великої рогатої худоби, розробка якої розпочалася ще у 1907 році. До кінця 1913 року за аналогією з харківською племінні книги були упроваджені і в інших регіонах імперії. Заслугою відділу тваринництва Харківського товариства сільського господарства була організація перших на теренах України контрольних союзів з відгодівлі худоби, які розпочали функціонувати ще з 1910 – 1911 років. При відділі тваринництва Київського товариства сільського господарства у 1913 році створено так званий “Змішаний Русько-Швейцарський Комітет для закупівлі швейцарської племінної худоби”, доступ до якого було відкрито усім сільськогосподарським товариствам, земствам і окремим господарям Російської імперії.

Діяльність комітету спрямовувалася на усунення посередництва у торгівлі худобою. До складу Подільського союзу скотарів при Подільському товаристві сільськогосподарства на 1915 рік належало більше 100 заводів чистопорідної рогатої худоби у Подільській, Київській, Волинській губерніях. Доведено, що такі заходи сільськогосподарських товариств сприяли пошуку раціональних прийомів тваринництва, придбанню племінного матеріалу та вигідному збуту тваринницької продукції. Сільськогосподарські товариства здійснили важливий внесок у становлення і розвиток племінної справи у скотарстві України на початку XX століття, зокрема, щодо розроблення селекційних програм розведення тварин, ефективних методів і технологій відтворення цінних племінних ресурсів, практичних рекомендацій стосовано застосування науково-технічних досягнень у виробництві тощо.

Ключові слова: тваринництво, скотарство, племінна справа, сільськогосподарські товариства, племінна книга великої рогатої худоби, контрольні союзи з відгодівлі худоби.

Problem Statement. The agricultural societies of Ukraine became the founders of the domestic agricultural science and industry research, laid the foundations of vocational and technical and higher agricultural education, gave spur to the processes of improving agricultural machinery and breeding in animal husbandry in the 19th and at the beginning of 20th centuries. Large societies became centres for the development of scientific research in agronomy, with their initiatives, which had influence on the government decision-making and the development of state policy vectors for the agriculture development in general and its individual branches. It is natural that the foundation of modern animal husbandry, which includes cattle breeding (breeding and use of cattle), sheep breeding, horse breeding, goat breeding, pig breeding, rabbit breeding, as well as beekeeping and sericulture (silk farming), was laid by several generations of scholars and organizers of zootechnical business – the agricultural societies members, starting from the 19th century. Taking the above-mentioned into consideration, it is relevant and of utmost importance to carry out the study on the achievements and initiatives of the agricultural societies in Ukrainian territories at the beginning of the 20th century in the direction of breeding business development in livestock as breeding is gaining popularity.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. It has been determined that the historiography on the breeding issue in animal husbandry is extensive, in general and in its individual branches from the moment of its inception to the present day. However, there were covered only individual stages of the animal husbandry development and the evolution of scientific thought in breeding on the pages of most generalizing works, the emphasis is on the Ukrainian Soviet period, starting from the 20s – 30s of the 20th century, and later on, when the institutionalization of the organization in the form of the research centres (institutes, departments, branch higher educational institutions) received priority, and large teams of scholars worked on the development. The period of the emergence and formation of the scientific foundations of breeding in animal husbandry at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, was studied quite fragmentarily despite the fact that the agricultural societies played a key role, along with zemstvo. However, it was stated in the publications written by V. Verhunov (Verhunov, 2022), O. Holikova (Holikova, 2022), H. Linyevych and I. Vergunova (Linyevych, & Vergunova, 2023) that the agricultural research is qualified as a comprehensive study in specialized research institutions of not only agronomic, but also zootechnical phenomena. The articles published by I. Demuz, I. Vergunova (Demuz, & Vergunova, 2024) and O. Kaprallyuk (2023) were devoted to examining the agricultural societies evolution, which became centers of the scientific research in agronomy and zootechnics on the ground, and later on played a generating role in the formation of new collective forms of work.

There were diverse scholars, who covered the above-mentioned. V. Verhunov (Verhunov, 2009), A. Kotsur (Kotsur, 2007), S. Ryzhuk (Ryzhuk, 2008), Yu. Ruban (Ruban, 2001) have all studied the evolutionary development of the animal husbandry and the history of domestic zootechnical science through the prism of the activities of industry research and educational institutions, renowned scientists and the functioning of scientific directions. There were prepared the thorough studies on the scientific support of the animal husbandry at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries in the regional dimension: e.g., Poltava region (the monograph by M. Yakymenko and V. Nahaievych (Yakymenko, & Nahaievych, 2007)), Polissia (the study by M. Hladkyi (Hladkyi, 2007)). The studies carried out by I. Borodai (Borodai, 2012) and O. Demianovskiy (Demianovskiy, 2014) summarized the theoretical and methodological principles, organizational structure, and evolution of the domestic livestock breeding, including the period of the 19th – the first half of the 20th century. The studies of the above-mentioned scholars also highlighted the agricultural societies contribution to the livestock breeding development partially.

Biographical studies of Ukrainian scholars, who laid the foundation of the scientific foundations of breeding in animal husbandry at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries are of great importance. Hence, the study carried out by V. Verhunov (Verhunov, 2007), I. Borodai (Borodai, 2009), O. Holikova (Holikova, 2021a; Holikova, 2021b) was devoted in order to evaluate the role that Professor Starion Martynovych Khodetskyi at the Imperial University St. Volodymyr in Kyiv, who was a member of Kyiv Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry, played in the breeding development in Ukraine. Yu. Ruban (Ruban, 1997) and A. Korolov (2008) described the scientific activities of Pavel Oleksandrovych Pakhomov, a scholar, who was involved in the activities of Moscow Agricultural Society, the livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society, the organization of the largest exhibitions of breeding livestock, the founder of the first support breeding stations and the first so-called stud book (breed registry) in the entire Russian Empire. The publication by S. Nyzhnyk and H. Solovei (Nyzhnyk, & Solovei, 2024) was devoted to the analysis on the Ukrainian-language periodical “Rillia” (1910 – 1914), in the columns of which there was published the study on the history of the agricultural societies and various branches of agriculture, including cattle breeding.

The purpose of the research is to identify the most significant achievements and initiatives of agricultural societies of Ukraine under Russian rule in the direction of developing breeding in cattle breeding in 1907 – 1915 (although the chronology of the study partially goes beyond this framework).

Research Results. The Russian Empire remained weak in terms of the industrial livestock breeding development at the beginning of the 20th century due to, as the experts noted (Borodai, 2012, p. 59), the lack of an organizational structure for breeding in the country, the presence of a significant number of the small peasant farms with a continuous process of differentiation, the plowing of large areas of natural lands and a low level of field fodder production, and unfavorable state policy in matters of export of livestock products. The number of livestock per capita was significantly lower compared to America and European countries (e.g., in 1910, one inhabitant of Russia (and the USA, respectively) had: cattle – 313 units (739 units), sheep and goats – 512 units (709 units), pigs – 94 units (742 units) (Evdokimov, 1913). At that time, there was no experimental station for the animal husbandry in the empire (while experiments on plant growing were carried out on the experimental and demonstration fields).

The columns of periodicals emphasized the importance of mass improvement of animal husbandry on regular basis by involving the public, which, for example, in Europe, uniting into the societies and unions, organized exhibitions, printed literature independently, initiated the opening of the agricultural secondary schools and even the research stations, while the assistance of the local and central governments consisted exclusively in the organization of higher agricultural educational institutions and the provision of the monetary subsidies for the animal husbandry development (Kuleshov, 1909, p. 514). The statistics record the following number of special societies in the Russian Empire dealing with livestock and dairy farming (excluding beekeeping and poultry farming) in 1911 and 1915 respectively: 45 and 203, including: cattle breeding and dairy farming – 9 and 14; horse breeding and equestrian sports – 4 and 130; goat breeding – 32 and 50; rabbit breeding – 0 and 9 (Morachevsky, 1916, p. 2). In 1915, the societies published 3 periodicals on livestock farming (Morachevsky, 1916, pp. 67, 68).

In general, the issues on the animal husbandry and cattle breeding development were taken care of by the all-imperial societies, which were founded in the 18th – mid-19th centuries, in particular, Moscow Society for the Improvement of Cattle Breeding, the Imperial Free Economic Society, Moscow Society of Agriculture, etc. – with branches in the Ukrainian provinces. It should be mentioned that the regional agricultural societies were also distinguished by significant achievements. Hence, the Imperial Society of Agriculture of Southern Russia, which extended its activities to Bessarabian, Ekaterinoslav, Tavria and Kherson hybernias (provinces), focused on the sheep and horse breeding development in animal husbandry issues. However, under the authorship of the members of the society O. Armfeld, P. Abaza, M. Brodsky, S. Dekonsky, I. Dessmet, N. Raik, etc. a number of studies on cattle were published, which revealed issues on the breed improvement, increase in meat productivity, etc. Poltava Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry at the end 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries made a significant contribution to the development of sheep and pig breeding. Elisavetgrad Society of Agriculture (Kherson Hubernia (Province)) also focused on the development of livestock breeding, as part of which since 1904 there was Commission to study livestock breeding, which developed a program for improving the care of cattle, and a Commission to organize Horse Breeding Committee. However, in our opinion, the most significant role in the breeding development in cattle breeding at the beginning of the 20th century was played by Kharkiv, Kyiv and Podilsk Societies of Agriculture, whose activities we will consider in this article.

The Livestock Department founded in 1880 at Kharkiv Society of Agriculture, was opened only in 1907, with 56 full members (Report on the Activities of the Livestock Department of Kharkov Society of Agriculture for 1909 – 1910, 1911, p. 1). The number of full members was 93 people (Otchet, 1915, p. 3) at the end of 1914. The Department was headed by the founder of the Ukrainian breeding P. O. Pakhomov until 1916 (P. M. Lempitskyi was the Deputy, and H. H. Ivanov was the secretary); the Department also included M. F. Ivanov, A. V. Shchepkin, V. K. Arkas, O. V. Hlushkov, A. O. Holubaiev, and other scholars.

It was P. O. Pakhomov, who conducted observations of aboriginal groups of cattle from the end of the 19th century, being the secretary of the cattle breeding Committee of Moscow Agricultural Society, and when he moved to Kharkiv at the beginning of the 20th century, P. Pakhomov began researching the local breeds of cattle, in particular the Ukrainian gray cattle. The scholar was the author of “bulletins”, which were published twice a year in 1910 – 1914, dedicated to the sale of breeding material with a detailed description of

breeding animals. He is the author of the study “The Issues on Organization and Carrying out of Events for the Livestock Farming Improvement” (1908), in which the term “support mating points” was given and the importance of their functioning in the Russian Empire was substantiated (Korolov, 2008).

The activities of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society focused on three main areas: 1) the introduction of a cattle stud book; 2) the organization of control unions for cattle fattening among farmers; 3) the organization of exhibitions-fairs (auctions-exhibitions) of breeding cattle and pigs.

It is believed that the first cattle stud book, which became the prototype of modern state stud books, was founded in Ukraine in 1909. A Draft Instruction for Commissions for the Selection of Cattle for Entry into the Stud book was found. This draft was developed by P. M. Lempitskyi and considered at a meeting of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society on March 15, 1907. The final version of the Instruction was finalized by P. O. Pakhomov together with P. M. Lempitskyi and approved at a meeting of the Department on December 14, 1907. The Instruction provided the methodological recommendations and guidelines for the work of the relevant commissions, criteria for determining pure breeds of cattle, the procedure for measuring animals for entry into the stud book, and presented forms of relevant documentation (certificates, herd journals, reporting information), etc. (Proekt instruktzii, 1907). Actually, the Statute of Kharkiv Cattle Stud book, the purpose of which was defined as “promoting the improvement of livestock breeding in the area of the Department’s activities by registering breeding animals of the most common breeds of cattle bred in this area and establishing their origin and factory advantages accurately” (Materials for the establishment, 1908, p. 3), was developed with the direct participation of P. O. Pakhomov.

In particular, Swiss, Simmental, Ukrainian Gray, and Red Colonist cattle were among the purebred and crossbred cattle listed in Kharkiv Stud book. Breed analysis was carried out collectively by a special commission consisting of 3 specialists: 2 representatives chosen by the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Society, and a local veterinarian. There were the following representatives of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society in particular, P. O. Pakhomov, P. M. Lempitskyi, M. F. Ivanov, V. O. Boreisha, S. F. Kyvenko, and the others (Otchet, 1911, p. 3).

The Department of Agriculture financed the publishing of “Materials for the Establishment of Kharkiv Cattle Herd Book”.

During the period from the moment of its establishment (in 1909) to October 1, 1914, herds of 34 farms were entered into Kharkiv Herd Book: Kharkiv Hubernia – 10 herds, Kyiv Hubernia – 9 herds, Katerynoslav Hubernia – 8 herds, Poltava Hubernia – 5 herds, Kherson Hubernia – 2 herds, which amounted to a total of 947 heads of cattle (Otchet, 1915, p. 4).

The issue on introducing stud books was discussed among the specialists at the empire level: at meetings of agricultural inspectors and livestock breeders; at the All-Russian Congress on the Mass Improvement of Cattle in St. Petersburg on September 11–16, 1910. The Congress adopted a number of resolutions aimed at stimulating the introduction of the experience of stud books in various regions of the empire: giving awards at the agricultural exhibitions only for animals, which were listed in stud books; purchasing by the government and zemstvos of stud books listed in stud books; the need for the participation of nurseries that supplied the government, zemstvos and public organizations with stud material in stud books.

By the end of 1913, branches of Kharkiv Stud book were established at the permanent livestock commission of Poltava Society of Agriculture (the area of activity – Poltava

hubernia), at the Livestock Department of Kyiv Society of Agriculture (the area of activity – Kyiv, Berdychiv, Radomyshl, Skvyra, Chyhyrnsk, Cherkasy, Vasylkiv, Kaniv povity of Kyiv hubernia), at Uman-Lypovets Agricultural Society (the area of activity – Uman, Lypovets, Zvenyhorod, Tarashcha povity of Kyiv hubernia) (Report on the activities of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Society of Agriculture for 1912 – 1913, 1914, p. 5). There was compiled an independent Orlovska Stud Book in 1912 based on the analogy with Kharkiv Stud Book.

The merit of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society was the organization of the first control unions for cattle fattening in Ukraine. We could easily come across a thesis that due to the Livestock Department of Kyiv Agricultural Society the practice of organizing control unions was initiated in 1913 in the scientific literature. Their activities were often aimed at comparing the breeding characteristics of different breeds of cattle, studying the production value of the fertile animals, and the dependence of milk yield on the amount of feed consumed. However, in fact, the control cattle fattening emerged precisely in Kharkiv hubernia back in 1910 – 1911.

The primary task of the government policy regarding the industry development was recognized as changing priorities from almost unprofitable (or even unprofitable) livestock farming to profitable, improving feed conditions on the farms, transitioning to the rational livestock farming, giving livestock farming an experimental and demonstration nature. The issue on the progressive feeding, which was the amount of feed depending not only on the weight of the animal, but also on its productivity – was considered numerous times at meetings of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society at that time. As a result, such norms revolutionized the feeding of dairy cattle in Western European countries at the end of the 19th century. In particular, one of the first control unions emerged in Denmark in 1895 (there were already 400 unions in the country by the beginning of the 20th century), in Sweden – 326, in Norway – about 140 (Uspenets, 1913, p. 746). The above-mentioned centres began to be introduced into the practice of the animal husbandry only at the beginning of the 20th century in the Russian Empire: they functioned in the Baltic States, as well as in Yaroslavl, Perm, and St. Petersburg hubernias. The control unions were considered to be one of the most efficient steps towards improving the peasant animal husbandry and the peasant welfare in general by the specialists, but it was pointed out that the owners distrusted them, even in the case of complete control over the unions by the zemstvos, trained instructors, or control assistants.

According to the articles in the periodicals, the organization of such a control union began as early as 1909 with the help of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society, (From the life, 1909, p. 492; Report, 1909, p. 513). The event was financed by the Department of Agriculture, which issued the Department from July 1, 1909 to January 1, 1910 850 rubles in order to invite 2 control assistants. Hence, A. V. Potapov, the control assistant was sent to the Baltics, to Riga Agricultural Society in order to study the experience of control work (Otchet, 1911, p. 3). There were the following functions of the control assistants: to inspect the livestock farms of the owners, who expressed a fervent desire to become members of control union; to collect data on the farms cattle (age, milk yield, feeding, arrangement of livestock yards, etc.); to make up fattening plans and monitor their implementation.

There was carried out the control fattening of cattle in 8 private farms with 228 cows in Kharkiv province in 1910 – 1911, which resulted in a reduction in the cost of producing 1 bucket of milk by an average of 17 kop. (Ivanov, 1911, pp. 3, 4). By the end of 1913, the number of such farms had increased to 14 (376 cows), fattening was carried out under the supervision of 4 control assistants, 2 of whom were supported by the Department of

Agriculture, 2 by the hubernia zemstvo (Otchet, 1914b, p. 8; Ivanov, 1914, p. 3). By the end of 1914, the number of farms had decreased to 12 (with 342 cows) (Otchet, 1915, p. 7).

Kyiv Society of Agriculture established Livestock Department within its structure, which included K. G. Wulff, V. V. Goshtold-Bukraba, S. O. Bazarov, A. L. Vasiutkin, K. O. Hamaleia, V. I. Dushinskyi, and the others, only on July 1, 1912 (Otchet, 1914a, p. 58). L. O. Davydov was the Head of the Department. There was initiated a regional livestock meeting in March 2–4, 1913, which consisted of the representatives of the agricultural societies of the South-West Territory and Kharkiv Hubernia, zemstvos of Kyiv and Podilsk Hubernia, specialists of the Department of Agriculture, Professors of zootechnics, veterinarians, landowners-cattle breeders, which approved the main areas of activity of the Livestock Department, which consisted in: organizing the control unions, introducing the stud books and evaluating breeding material, organizing the courses for the control assistants, opening schools for the cattle breeders, exporting and importing the breeding livestock and livestock products.

Due to the mediation of a member of the Department and a specialist of the Department of Agriculture, M. M. Ge, there was concluded an agreement with the Union of Swiss Cattlemen on the purchase of breeding cattle (the first batch of 37 heads was purchased already in 1913) (Otchet, 1914a, p. 60). The so-called “Mixed Russian-Swiss Committee for the Purchase of Swiss Breeding Cattle” was established at the Livestock Department of Kyiv Society of Agriculture (Ge, 1913, p. 81; Otchet, 1914a, pp. 76, 77), access to which was open to all agricultural societies, zemstvos and individual farmers throughout the Russian Empire. The Committee’s activities were aimed at eliminating intermediaries in the livestock trade. The Committee’s Statute was approved on September 13, 1913. M. M. Ge published the book “The Materials for the Survey on the Swiss Cattle Breeding” in the same year, the purpose of which was to provide information on the organization of cattle breeding in Switzerland for the local farmers.

There were 8 control unions for fattening cattle with 2 thousand cows by the end of 1913 owing to help provided by the Livestock Department of the society (Otchet, 1914a, p. 59).

In 1914, the Department controlled 17 farms with 1,027 cows; in addition, 65 more applications were under consideration for membership in control unions. The above-mentioned situation was caused by the signing of an agreement by the Livestock Department of the Kyiv Agricultural Society with the Cattle Department of Podilsk Agricultural Society, according to which all control unions of these two provinces were subordinated to Kyiv. In 1914, there were organized 7 new control unions of all those who wanted, while the others, due to the lack of the sufficient personnel, remained outside the control. In addition, in 1914, the outbreak of World War I, most of the control unions, mainly in the Podilsk hubernia, ceased their activities (Otchet, 1916a, pp. 13, 14). The peak of the functioning of the control unions was observed in June of 1915, when 2,480 cows were under control; only 6 control unions with 1,320 cows managed to finish 1915 in full (Otchet, 1916a, p. 14).

The supporters of the unions emphasized that their functioning increased the general interest of cattle breeders in the animal husbandry in general (Otchet, 1914a, p. 66). The results of controlled feeding of dairy cattle in 1914 – 1915 showed a significant increase in milk yield by 16,6%, butter yield by 25,6%, and an increase in milk fat content from 3,5% to 3,8%. (Otchet, 1916a, pp. 14, 15).

However, according to scholars, the study of issues of livestock breeding improvement was not within the competence of control unions; and, despite their active creation in the early years in the Ukrainian hubernias, their experience did not become widespread

sufficiently, probably due to the lack of coordination of activities, as well as experienced control assistants (Demianovskyi, 2014, p. 142). Because of martial law, there was also the decline of control unions, as a result of which, the part of the research staff of the unions was mobilized, and there was panic among the population. In addition, when World War I broke out, the Livestock Department of Kyiv Agricultural Society was actively engaged in the evacuation and preservation of breeding cattle in the area of the South-Western Front.

The members of the Livestock Department of Kyiv Agricultural Society delivered reports and prepared brochures on livestock issues: V. P. Ustiantsev “Tasks of public activity towards improving livestock farming”, I. V. Trachtenberg “On insurance of livestock against death, loss of working capacity and forced slaughter during epizootic”, S. S. Ostapenko “Current situation of the meat industry and dairy industry in the South-Western region”. In particular, S. S. Ostapenko suggested taking a number of economic measures, which were aimed at the livestock farming development: through joint efforts of industry societies to conduct a statistical data on all livestock in the empire, to organize systematic research of the internal and external consumer meat and dairy markets, to subsidize the construction of the refrigerated warehouses for products from the state funds, to promote a reduction in the railway tariffs for the transportation of livestock products and the introduction of duty-free import of special equipment, etc. (Otchet, 1914a, p. 73).

In 1915, the Livestock Department of Kyiv Agricultural Society completed a thorough survey of 60 farms in hubernia (50 peasant farms and 10 privately owned farms) in order to determine the cost of producing 1 pood of live weight of cattle and pigs. The results showed that neither in the peasant farms nor in the farms did cattle breeding become an independent branch of the economy: very few dairy cattle were kept, and beef cattle breeding was completely absent (Otchet, 1916a, pp. 16, 17, 18).

One of the tasks of agricultural societies was to promote the sale of livestock products. In 1913, at the All-Russian Agricultural Congress in Kyiv it was emphasized that there was a drastic need to form the cooperative societies in order to organize the sale of live and slaughtered livestock to domestic and foreign markets. In particular, a joint work coordination of government, zemstvos, and city departments of consumer markets was to be aimed at reorganization of stock exchanges on the basis of publicity; arrangement of trading platforms and premises for livestock; opening of special social and cooperative bureaus for the sale of livestock lots at large markets; construction of refrigerators for public use at city markets; information about prices for livestock products; public organization of livestock insurance (Evdokimov, 1913). In particular, in 1912 there was founded an association in order to improve livestock farming in Katerynoslav hubernia, which set the goal of improving the local dairy industry by opening breeding nurseries, arranging exhibitions-auctions, organizing proper feeding of livestock, selling products through the organization of artel dairies, and keeping breeding books (Vasilev, 1912). There was issued the sum of 300 rubles, interest-free and 1,000 rubles with 3% per annum by zemstvo for the organization of a dairy artel (“partnership”) in Katerynoslav hubernia. According to data for 1915, Krasnopil and Rozumov dairy artels were established in Katerynoslav povit and Yeleniv and Chornohlaziv – in Pavlohrad povit (Salnikov, 1915, pp. 389, 390).

The Ministry approved the Charter of the Central Dairy “Association” under Kharkiv Agricultural Society, which provided help to the peasant cooperatives (agricultural societies, artels) and individual farmers in the sale of dairy products in December 1913. The activities of the “association” extended to 8 southern hubernias of the empire (Hronika, 1913).

The Podilsk Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry had the following Livestock Departments: horse breeding; cattle breeding; poultry farming; Podilsk Union of Cattle Breeders. The Society was engaged in researching the situation of the above-mentioned industries in hubernia, monitoring the work of breeding stations for cattle and horses (of which 16 were recorded within hubernia in 1909 (Report on the activities of the Podilsk Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry for 1909, 1910)), extracting breeding stock from Switzerland, regulating the purchase and sale of horses, inspecting stud farms, and contributing to the entry of horses and cattle into the stud books.

Since meat livestock was not practically developed in Podilsk hubernia, the society focused on the dairy farming following the example of Denmark. There was also the drastic need to introduce the institute of dairy instructors, which was promoted by founding dairy unions and artels. There were implemented diverse experiments on feeding dairy and meat cattle by the society in 1913 – 1914 in Khomyntsi estate of Proskuriv povit, Yampil, Bratslav, Vinnytsia povity (Otchet, 1914c, p. 67).

There was found data on the establishment by the society in 1914 of its own Podilsk stud book, in which cattle were recorded using a new system of scoring, adopted by the General Meeting of the Podilsk Union of Cattle Breeders on the basis of the Warsaw Union of Dutch Cattle Factories. In 1915 the union, headed by the well-known theorist and practical animal breeder M. M. Yasinsky, included more than 100 purebred cattle factories in Podilsk, Kyiv, and Volyn hubernias (Otchet, 1916b, p. 32).

At that time, several control unions for cattle fattening operated in the province. Experiments on cattle fattening were conducted at the Zalisiansky experimental field, which belonged to the agricultural department of Podilsk Agricultural Society.

Conclusions. It has been determined that the issues on the improving livestock breeding in Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the 20th century were dealt with by the majority of agricultural societies that had branch departments. Hence, the Imperial Agricultural Society of Southern Russia (Odesa) focused on the development of sheep and horse breeding. The Poltava Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry made a significant contribution to the development of sheep and pig breeding. Yelyzavethradske Agricultural Society developed measures to improve the care of cattle and established a horse breeding committee. However, as it turned out, the greatest contribution to the development of breeding in cattle breeding in the studied period was made by Kharkiv, Kyiv and Podilsk Agricultural Societies. The first of them is the initiative to introduce a cattle stud book, the development of which began in 1907. By the end of 1913 on the analogy with Kharkiv stud books were introduced in other regions of the empire. The merit of the Livestock Department of Kharkiv Agricultural Society was the organization of the first control unions for fattening cattle in Ukraine, which began to function in 1910 – 1911. In 1913, the so-called “Mixed Russian-Swiss Committee for the Purchase of Swiss Pedigree Cattle” was established at the Livestock Department of Kyiv Agricultural Society, access to which was open to all agricultural societies, zemstvos and individual farmers of the Russian Empire. The Committee's activities were aimed at eliminating intermediaries in the livestock trade. In 1915 the Podilsk Union of Cattle Breeders at Podilsk Agricultural Society included more than 100 purebred cattle factories in Podilsk, Kyiv, and Volyn hubernias. It is proven that these activities of agricultural societies contributed to the search of rational methods of animal husbandry, the acquisition of breeding material and the profitable sale of livestock products. The agricultural societies made an important contribution to the formation and development of breeding in Ukrainian cattle

breeding at the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, in the development of animal breeding selection programs, effective methods and technologies for the reproduction of valuable breeding resources, practical recommendations for the application of scientific and technical achievements in production, etc.

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Olga BILOBROVETS

PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University, 40 Velyka Berdychivska Street, postal code 10008 (bilobrovets@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-6638-3815

ResearcherID: H-5369-2016

Ольга БІЛОБРОВЕЦЬ

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри історії України, Житомирський державний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Велика Бердичівська, 40, індекс 10008 (bilobrovets@gmail.com)

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**VIEWS AND PUBLIC POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
OF STANISŁAW STEPOWSKI DURING THE YEARS
OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION. 1917 – 1921**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to present and analyze the public views and public political activity of one of the leaders of the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine, Stanisław Stempowski, to clarify his place and role in the public political life of Ukraine during the Ukrainian National Revolution and state formation. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity and objectivity. Owing to the chronological method and historical political and proposographical analysis, the policy of the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine in relation to the Ukrainian statehood has been elucidated through the position of its leader. The scientific novelty consists in presenting the public views and public political activities of the Polish democrat Stanisław Stempowski in the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the Ukrainian and Polish state formation in the first decades of the 20th century. Conclusions.* Stanisław Stempowski, a Polish landowner from Podillia, belonged to the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine and was a consistent supporter of the Ukrainian state independence. From his childhood, he developed friendship and respect for the Ukrainian people and accepted the Ukrainians as the masters of their land during the revolutionary and democratic transformations of 1917. After becoming the leader of the party of the democratic camp in Ukraine – the Polish Democratic Central, which united the majority of Polish democratic groups, he held struggle with the Polish nationalists (National Democrats, Endeks), defended the autonomy and interests of the Polish population in Ukraine. The Polish democratic camp supported the Ukrainian statehood, cooperated with the Ukrainian Central Council at various stages of statehood. As Minister of Land Affairs and Health and Social Welfare in two governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Stanisław Stempowski contributed to the development of the Ukrainian state. An extraordinary personality, intellectual, translator, freemason, social and political figure with a vivid democratic and civic position, Stanisław Stempowski left his bright mark in the Ukrainian and Polish history.

Key words: Stanisław Stempowski, the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Revolution, public views, public and political activity.

ПОГЛЯДИ ТА ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ СТАНІСЛАВА СТЕМПОВСЬКОГО В РОКИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ. 1917 – 1921 РР.

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у розкритті суспільних поглядів та громадсько-політичної діяльності одного з лідерів польського демократичного табору в Україні Станіслава Стемповського, з'ясування його місця і ролі в суспільно-політичному житті України періоду Української національної революції. **Методологія** базується на застосуванні принципів історизму, системності та об'єктивності. У роботі використано також історико-системний та історико-типологічний методи, що уможливило показати суспільно-політичне життя поляків в Україні в революційну добу. Завдяки хронологічному методу та історико-політичному й пропозографічному аналізу показано політику польського демократичного табору в Україні у ставленні до української державності через позицію його лідера. **Наукова новизна** полягає у висвітленні суспільних поглядів та громадсько-політичної діяльності польського демократа Станіслава Стемповського у подіях Української національної революції та українського і польського державотворення у перші десятиліття ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Польський землевласник з Поділля Станіслав Стемповський належав до польського демократичного табору в Україні та був послідовним прихильником незалежності Української держави. З дитячих років у нього сформувалася приязнь та повага до українського народу та сприйняття його як господаря цієї землі під час революційно-демократичних перетворень 1917 року. Ставши керівником партії демократичного табору в Україні – Польського Демократичного Центру, що об'єднала більшість польських демократичних груп, проводив боротьбу з польськими націоналістами (Національними демократами, ендеками), відстоював автономію та інтереси польського населення в Україні. Польський демократичний табір підтримував українську державність, співпрацював з Українською Центральною Радою на різних етапах державності. Як міністр земельних справ і здоров'я та соціальної опіки в двох урядах УНР, С. Стемповський сприяв розвитку Української держави. Непересічна особистість, інтелектуал, перекладач, масон, суспільний і політичний діяч із вираженою демократично-громадянською позицією, Станіслав Стемповський залишив яскравий слід в українській і польській історії.

Ключові слова: Станіслав Стемповський, польський демократичний табір в Україні, Українська національна революція, суспільні погляди, громадсько-політична діяльність.

Problem Statement. Stanisław Stempowski is a representative and one of the leaders of the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine during the years of the revolution and Ukrainian statehood. He was the party leader of the Polish democrats in Ukraine – the Polish Democratic Central, Minister of Agriculture and Health in the government of the UNR in 1920, and an active participant in socio-political life in Ukraine and Poland in the first decades of the 20th century. His views on the development of society, the tasks of the Polish population in Ukraine during the years of the Revolution, and his attitude towards the Ukrainian issue are distinctly democratic and progressive. The figure of Stanisław Stempowski, his beliefs, and his public and political activities in Ukraine have been poorly covered to this day.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The activities of the Polish political forces in Ukraine during the years of revolutionary transformations and state-building processes of 1917 – 1921 have little historiography and are presented primarily in the study by Henryk Jabłoński (Jabłoński, 1948), that was published during the post-war period. This issue has become the subject of research by modern Ukrainian and Polish historians, in particular Maksym Potapenko (Potapenko, 2010), Mariusz Korzeniowski, (Korzeniowski, 2024) and the others. At the same time, there is little research into the life path and public activities of the leader of the Polish democrats in Ukraine, Stanisław Stempowski. A short biographical article by Tetiana Zaretska is available in the Encyclopedia of Ukraine (Zaretska, 2012).

S. Stempowski's life path was studied by the Ukrainian researcher V. Kolesnyk in detail (Kolesnyk, 2008). The scholars refer to the study of the Polish author Grażyna Borkowska mainly (Borkowska, 1999), dedicated to the relationship between Stanisław Stempowski and the famous writer M. Dąbrowska, presenting the views, social position and character traits of the writer, publicist and a public figure. The source base for these studies were the memoirs written by S. Stempowski in 1940 – 1943 and covering the period from the birth to the beginning of World War I (Stempowski, 1953). However, nowadays, there is no study that would focus on the socio-political activities of the famous Polish democrat in Ukraine during the period of the state formation. The writing of this article was also facilitated by the memoirs of Stanisław Stempowski for the period of 1917 – 1920, published in three parts in the Parisian edition of “Historical Notebooks” of the Literary Institute, edited by E. Giedroyets (Stempowski, 1972 – 1973). They were handed over to the editorial office by S. Stempowski's son, Jerzy. It was a copy of the notes for his son. The original “Memoirs” during this period was in the possession of Maria Dąbrowska and later in the possession of her friend Anna Kowalska, but was lost after their deaths.

The purpose of this study is to elucidate the public views and activities of the leader of the Polish democrats in Ukraine, Stanisław Stempowski, and to clarify his place and role in the socio-political life of Ukraine during the era of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

Research Results. Originality of thinking, vivid individualism, freedom-loving behaviour, and defense of one's own position were evident in Stanisław Stempowski as a child, developed and strengthened during his student years while studying at Dorpat University, and were able to be realized in public and political activities during the democratic revolutionary transformations of 1917 – 1920.

Stanisław Stempowski was born in Podillia, in Guta-Czernelivetska in the estate of his parents, Jadwiga Bienkiewicz and Hubert Stempowski in 1870. His father was the owner of a glass factory. Two brothers, an elder Petro brother and a younger brother Tadeusz, were raised in the family together with Stanisław (Borkowska, 1999, p. 8). It is obvious that from his mother he inherited morality and mercy towards the disadvantaged, a desire for education, and from his father – energy, principledness, and a desire for development.

His intelligence, comprehensive knowledge, and a good orientation in the environment were formed in his childhood. Stanisław was raised in a multilingual culture. He learned German, spoke French, which he heard from a governess and from a French worker who worked in the factory. The brothers had Ukrainian nannies, Ukrainian colleagues, and friends. When the parents left home, the servants would take the children to the village, where they learned the Ukrainian language, songs, and customs. His friendship with the Ukrainians would make his stay after the 1905 Revolution peaceful and would determine his fate as a politician and publicist. Even as a teenager, despite his mother's piety, he resolutely departed from the Catholic religion, as it limited his freedom (Borkowska, 1999, p. 10).

When choosing an educational institution after graduating from gymnasium in Kamianets-Podilskyi, he decided to enter the Veterinary Institute in Dorpat (Tartu). This decision was justified by the fact that the local university had a greater autonomy compared to other Russian universities and it admitted students who had previously been politically compromised. The Polish student organizations operated there, which was also unusual for Polish lands invaded by neighbours. However, he did not join the so-called “Convention” – an organization that united the Polish students, but moved to the “Kukhnia” (“Kitchen”), which consisted not only of the Poles, but also of students from Belarus, Ukraine, and

Russia. The “Kitchen” was more democratic, a little politically left, open to discussions (Stempowski, 1953, p. 120).

In Dorpat, Stanisław Stempowski became fascinated with socialist ideas, and became acquainted with the publications “Class Struggle” and “Predsvit”, which were brought to the city by Bronisław Kulakowski, who had been dismissed from St. Petersburg University. Stanisław Stempowski recalled later: “The turn to Polishness occurred through the school of the socialist press, which tore me away from my noble past” (Borkowska, 1999, p. 14). In 1892, Stanisław Stempowski was arrested for public “subversive” activities and, after being imprisoned in various prisons, was eventually taken to Kyiv. By court decision, Stanisław Stempowski was sentenced to 3 years of police surveillance, which he spent not far from his home, in the village of Shebutyntsi located along the bank of the Dniester river, which was an inheritance from his great-grandmother Tekla Komorowska. In 1883, he married his cousin Maria Stempowski. The family had three sons (Miklas, 2020, p. 98).

After being released from police surveillance in 1897, Stanisław Stempowski and his family moved to Warsaw, where he took up publishing and translation activities. His work was helped by his acquaintance and collaboration with friends from the University of Dorpat, in particular Nanatson. In Warsaw he translated Lev Tolstoy's novel “Resurrection”. Later, the magazine “Pravda” was bought from the famous publisher Alexander Świątochowski, but this activity was not successful. Later, Stanisław Stempowski, together with Stanisław Posner and Ludwik Krzywicki, became the owners of the famous magazine “Ogień”, the first issue of which was published at the end of 1902. The magazine was of a scientific and journalistic nature. The credo was written by Ludwik Krzywicki: “I believe in the importance of science, the significance of art and the noble impulses of a man”. Stanisław Stempowski, who was not a member of any party or organization, maintained the political neutrality of the weekly, which was difficult to achieve in the case of party commitments. However, in December of 1905, the editorial office of the magazine was raided and it was banned (Stempowski, 1953, p. 230). The Warsaw period of Stanisław Stempowski's life was intense, interesting, demanding a lot of strength and energy, and contributed to establishing contacts with intellectual circles and the creative intelligentsia.

From Warsaw, Stanisław Stempowski returned to Podillia, because his father, in uncertain revolutionary times, decided to divide the estate between his sons. Stanisław Stempowski inherited the filfvarok in Vynnykivtsi, where there was barren land and poor buildings. Owing to his entrepreneurship and good organization of work, things went uphill. Observing his son's successful management, Stanisław also inherited Guta-Czernelivetska from his father (Kolesnyk, 2008, p. 118). During this period, his attitude towards the Polish gentry, the Ukrainian peasants, and the Ukrainian issue became clearly defined. Adherence to the ideas of the People's Democratic Party (PPP) and rejection of the positions and policies of the People's Democrats (NDEK) became the basis of his public activities.

The democratic transformations of the 1905 revolution in Russia led to the intensification of a public and political life in Podilska province, in which S. Stempowski also participated. He participated in election campaigns for the First and Second State Duma, organized gatherings of the nobility of Lityn County, conducted educational activities, and he was a member of various commissions of the county zemstvo. At the end of the 19th century, the Poles managed to reach an agreement with the authorities on the creation of agricultural societies formally headed by a representative of the Russian authorities. Such societies arose in Kyiv region, Volhynia, and Podillia (Korzeniowski, 2024, p. 152). At the invitation

of Marian Baranetski, a founder and chairman of the Agricultural Society in Proskurov, S. Stempowski became its member. In December of 1914, he was elected a chairman of the economic department of the Society (Stempowski, 1953, p. 330).

The fundamental position of this new period of life was S. Stempowski's desire to live as a Pole among the Ukrainians, without forgetting that he had neighbours around him – people of a different nationality, a different faith, and a different language. It was a difficult position, requiring flexibility, respect for others, patience, indulgence, and an inner conviction that one could and should fight the ghosts of the past. To a large extent, this position stemmed from the peculiarity of the Stempowski family, which consisted in its openness to the reception of otherness – ethnic, linguistic, and religious. The family distanced itself from national liberation myths, messianic and insurgent romanticism. In the eyes of a father Hubert, the January Uprising was a matter of shame and a topic closed for discussion (Borkowska, 1999, p. 8).

S. Stempowski gave a clear description of the majority of the Polish landowners in Podillia, calling them “parasitic colonists, since they did not combine their economic, cultural, and social activities with the interests of people and their future, while remaining the Poles and even emphasizing this Polishness, “which history will one day use for the purpose of fraternal coexistence between the two peoples and filling the chasm that the colonialist, a blind policy of the nobility lords and magnates dug between us” (Stempowski, 1953, p. XIV).

As S. Stempowski recalls, “in Podillia the majority of the Polish landowners were avid card players, or traders, or hunters, thoughtless and dissolute people who fell prey to the vague and lying Endek ideology, which appealed to God and Fatherland, cunningly personifying Fatherland with their estates, and then they came up with the strange term “Polish estate”, implying the Polish landowners” (Stempowski, 1953, p. XIV). Understanding the essence of social relations, a positive attitude towards the Ukrainian people, respect for working people, for order were the defining features of his personality and character. Because of this, S. Stempowski enjoyed authority among the peasants, but he clearly saw how they succumbed to agitation and external influences, which was manifested during the pogroms of 1917 – 1918.

The political self-interest of the Polish landowners was evident at the beginning of World War I, when they sided with the authorities in each of the three parts of the confiscated Polish lands for their own benefit, in order to preserve their estates and class privileges. S. Stempowski was convinced of this during a trip with Marian Baranetski to Warsaw with the offer to keep horses and cattle that were supposed to be evacuated or killed (Stempowski, 1973a, p. 110).

World War I gave the Polish population a chance to revive Poland's independence and sparked a significant patriotic upsurge. A number of the Polish democratic organizations were established in Ukraine, which were legalized and began activities after the Russian February Revolution. In March of 1917, the meeting of “The Polish Democratic Union” was held in Kyiv, the board of which included well-known Polish public figures, in particular Jewhenij Starczewski, Józef Brominski, Roman Knoll (Polski, 1917, 26 marca, p. 3). In April of 1917, the organization “The Polish Democratic Union in Rus” was founded in Kyiv (Polskie, 1917, 24 kwietnia, p. 3). “The Democratic Union of Polish Youth” emerged among student youth as an ideological society of a national progressive orientation, which took a centrist position between two long-existing student ideological groups – nationalist and democratic. The Union's charter noted the national and social orientation of its ideology (Wśród, 1917, 24 marca, p. 3). In May, another democratic organization was legalized – “The Democratic

Independence Group”, which included the editors of the publication “Kłosy Ukraińskie” Jan Ursyn-Zamarayev, Karol Waligursky, Dr. Józef Flach, and Tadeusz Garztecki (Grupa, 1917, 11 czerwca, p. 3).

The Polish political environment in Ukraine immediately reacted to the events of the February Revolution in Russia and to the situation in Ukraine related to the Ukrainian national movement and the creation of its state and political bodies. On March 6, 1917, a gathering of representatives of about 50 Polish public organizations, societies, institutions, the public, the press, and political groups of Kyiv and the provinces took place in Kyiv, with 150 people participating. This gathering was called the First Polish Congress, at which the Polish central authority in Ukraine was established – the “Polish Executive Committee in Rus”. The head of the PEC was the Endek Joachim Bartoszewicz (Zebranie, 1917, 07 marca, p. 3). By decision of the PEC of 07.03.1917, the dispatch was sent to the leaders of the Provisional Government in Russia the support was stated (Korzeniowski, 2019, p. 69).

On June 18–24, 1917, the Polish Communist Party in Russia convened the Third Congress of Representatives of Polish Organizations in Kyiv. As a delegate to the Congress, Stanisław Stempowski, on behalf of the Democratic Bloc, spoke out against the party-political decisions that exceeded the Congress’s powers, suggesting removing from the agenda irritating and acute political issues that created tension and undermined the unity and coherence of the Congress’s work. At the Congress of the democratic bloc, in his speech, he emphasized the unacceptability of the extraterritorial Polish policy in Ukraine, which was suggested by the Narodovtsi, and which would create a duality of the Polish power (Zjazd, 1917, p. 29). R. Knoll was instructed to write a written protest on behalf of the Polish Democrats (Bruski, & Korzeniowski, 2023, p. 166).

Sharply criticizing the policies of the Endeks, S. Stempowski emphasized that “they put modern meaning into the outdated forms of border fighting, creating governments and armed forces outside the borders of their native Poland and pursuing the “national policy” (Stempowski, 1973a, p. 129). The general position of the democrats regarding the tasks of the Polish population in Ukraine is set out in the works of one of the leaders of the bloc, Je. Starczewski. He noted that “true national autonomy should be limited to solving exclusively cultural issues of this national minority. Language, education, schools, cultural and philanthropic institutions, and to a certain extent economic affairs are meant” (Starczewski, 1917, p. 16). The Polish democrats sought to defend their own national interests in an independent Ukrainian state.

The democratic camp in Ukraine also opposed the creation of the Polish army outside Poland, considering it the prerogative of state power. This issue was controversial and was discussed at the Congress. In 1918, during his trip to Ukraine, the representative of the PPS from Warsaw, Tadeusz Hołówko, at a meeting with the Poles in Vinnytsia, noted the position of the leader of the Polish Democrats, S. Stempowski, who opposed the creation of the Polish army in Ukraine. He argued that the role of Polish armed units would be limited to protecting Polish estates and fighting peasants, which would deepen the hatred of the Ukrainian people towards the Poles (Hołówko, 1931, p. 170).

The secession of delegates from the democratic bloc at the Third Polish Congress resulted in the creation of the Democratic Central (DC) party, which united the majority of Polish democratic groups in Ukraine and elected Stanisław Stempowski as the party's leader. Another positive consequence of the split in the Polish political forces was the emergence of the Conservative National Labour Union (Stronnictwo Pracy Narodowej) led by Janusz

Radziwiłł, Wacław Grzybowski, and Stanisław Horwath, who had previously allied with the Endeks (Stempowski, 1973a, p. 130).

The Polish Central supported the Ukrainian Central Rada, which turned into the Ukrainian Parliament, with representation of national minorities. The consistent policy of supporting Ukraine's independence by the Polish Democratic Bloc is the most fully argued by its representative, Deputy Vice-Secretary for Polish Affairs in the Ukrainian government, Roman Knoll. In his publication "The Ukrainian Notes", he wrote in particular: "The Polish democracy actively supports the state and organizational activities of the Ukrainian people and wholeheartedly contributes to this" (Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), zesp. 1, sygn. 1, p. 5). The Polish democrats recognized the Polish property in Ukraine as a national treasure that must be defended with all forces and also considered "the belonging of Chełm region to Ukraine and its reservation of the fate of neighbouring states within Austria-Hungary unacceptable" (Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), zesp. 1, sygn. 1, p. 5).

Further developments, including the coming to power of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and the abolition of private property, which primarily affected the Polish landowners, caused protests among the Polish political environment in Ukraine. The demagogy of the Bolsheviks, their populist slogans, and the collapse of the front led to the influx of armed masses of deserters into the Ukrainian lands, looting, and the burning of landowners' estates.

The period of 1917 – 1919, described by S. Stempowski in "Memoirs", contains enough examples of the behaviour of people who belonged to different social groups, representatives of the constantly changing authorities, the Ukrainian peasants, and soldiers. In particular, he notes the episode when the Ukrainian peasants maintained order amidst chaos, digging up and stacking vegetables not for money, not on orders, but for the sake of order, because that is how it should be. In contrast, this order aroused resistance and wild anger among the Muscovites of the Bolshevised Semenovsky Regiment (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 75).

In early October of 1917, S. Stempowski's Vinnykovtsi estate was burned down and he and his wife moved to Vinnytsia. The Polish public life there had been quite active and diverse since the beginning of the democratic reforms of 1917. Since a sufficient number of landowners gathered in Vinnytsia, the "Association of Polish Landowners of Podillia" with the cooperative society "Polkoppodol" and simultaneously "The Union of Polish Agricultural Workers in Podillia" with the "Labour Mediation Bureau" soon emerged to satisfy material interests. The Polish House with a theatre was also founded under the leadership of Bolesław Szczurkiewicz, the "Central Civic Committee" (CCC) headed by a chairman Tadeusz Mostowski and a department of "The Polish Society for Aid to War Victims" (PSAWV) headed by Czesław Jakubowski, which provided assistance to refugees from destroyed and looted estates. Under increasingly difficult conditions, Maciezh szkoła, led by Leta Jaroszynska, operated. On the initiative of left-wing circles at the Polish House, the "University for All named after Traugutt" was established, in which occasional lecturers conducted lecture series on the nature, history and literature of Poland. Finally, there established "The Union of Military Poles" (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 77).

S. Stempowski did not participate in the public life of Vinnytsia, as he was connected with Lityn and had to travel to meetings of the new zemstvo, where he was a member of the land commission. Observing the events and a frequent change of power, he sharply spoke out against any nationalism, including Polish. He wrote the following: "Fearful and disgusting is any nationalism and its slogans, especially those thrown at the dark masses, filled with the

idea that people are different from each other, with a sense of hatred (I see our endecks)". In his opinion, "the bourgeoisie, small merchants, artisans, the quarter and semi-intelligentsia, as well as individual cynical intellectuals, are susceptible to nationalist psychosis. A worker and a peasant do not know it" (Stempowski, 1973b, s. 78).

The end of 1917 – the beginning of 1918 was marked by a significant disorder, the presence of gangs of front-line deserters who were engaged in looting, robbery, and attacks on manor houses in Podillia. The population had a significant number of weapons in their hands, which posed a threat. The local authorities demanded their surrender and severely punished the population according to the laws of wartime (Demianiuk, & Bundak, 2021, p. 63). To protect their own interests during the change of different authorities, in Vinnytsia the Poles decided to defend their interests and established "General Polish Committee" (GPC), consisting of 9 people: 3 from the Democratic Central (Ludwig Klinger, a secretary, S. Stempowski (a chairman), Andrzej gr. Holoniewski, 3 from the citizens of Vinnytsia (Dlugoletski, Kurochyski, Nowytski) and 3 from the PPS (Witold Skazhynski, Kielczyk, Druceyko). Later, S. Stempowski highly appreciated the activities of this Committee, believing that this "strange self-governing institution worked with honour in the most difficult time, when Vinnytsia was an island in the turbulent sea around it for a considerable period of time" (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 90).

With the adoption of the law "On Personal and National Autonomy", the Poles of Vinnytsia took advantage of it, establishing "The Polish Commune of Vinnytsia", which continued the work of the Committee. The effectiveness of the institution's work consisted, in particular, in its clear organization. After the capture of Vinnytsia by the rebellious Bolshevik troops under the leadership of Sruł Endelshtein, all authorities were dissolved and chaos began due to orders that were increasingly inappropriate (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 94).

S. Stempowski considered Pavlo Skoropadsky's government through the prism of his attitude towards the peasants, believing that the government's activities aroused hatred among the peasants and in the circles of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The PDC had an understanding with the authorities. In October of 1918, the official representative of the Polish government in Ukraine, S. Wańkowych, outlined his tasks as guardianship of the Polish population (Tymchenko, 2024, p. 122). However, with the arrival of the rebel authorities in Vinnytsia, S. Stempowski was forced to flee, as his house was surrounded by rebels. Disguised as a peasant with a declaration on the future fate of the Poles in Ukraine, S. Stempowski arrived at a meeting in Kyiv. At the meeting with the Ukrainians the delegation was represented by Witold Skazhinski, the representatives of the radical wing of democracy – S. Stempowski, Walery Svederski, and representatives of the Ukrainians. A wider meeting was convened with the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian parties and peasant unions. The negotiations ended in nothing, as the Poles refused to write a statement according to which they would have renounced the Polish rights to Eastern Galicia, Chełm region and Podlasie in favour of Ukraine (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 123). After that, S. Stempowski left for Warsaw.

In 1919, a large number of the Poles from Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania gathered in Warsaw. Having no contact with local Poles or political circles, they united in various unions of Kresy Poles (Polacy Kresowscy – in Polish), defense unions, and restoration unions. They began publishing their own newspaper, "The Voice of Kresy", edited by Edward Paszkowski. The Kyiv PVC in Rus arrived in Warsaw in its entirety (except for Stanisław Jezerski, who died). It consisted of 12 people, 3 from each of four political groups: from the Union of National Labour (conservatives), from the People's Democracy (ENDEKs), from

the non-party (crypto-ENDEKs), and from the Democratic Central (Stanisław Stempowski was appointed as a delegate, along with Jewhen Starczewski and Mieczysław Mickiewicz) (Stempowski, 1972, p. 66).

Participation in the meetings of the PVC or the Delegation (of the Sejm) caused S. Stempowski irritation and disagreement with the majority of the decisions made. Thus, he added his separate opinion to the Memorial to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ignacy Paderewski from the PVC. In it, S. Stempowski opposed the main provisions of the document, in particular the annexation of Right-Bank Ukraine to Poland, which was in fact “a call for a war of annexation in the region where the Poles make up only a small percentage, and which will cause the Ukrainian people to reject the Poles and Poland forever” (Stempowski, 1972, p. 69). He argued that the Ukrainian people were incapable of statehood. Later, S. Stempowski opposed the participation of the Central Committee representatives in the meetings of the PVC, believing that the PVC participation and silent opposition gave the Edeks advantages and triumphs through joint decisions (Stempowski, 1972, p. 73).

S. Petliura initiated the sending of a special UNR mission to Warsaw on December 31, 1918, headed by Viacheslav Prokopovych. The UNR mission was to clarify the conditions for reaching an agreement on joint actions against Bolshevik Russia and receiving assistance (S. Stempowski participated in meetings held in Jewhen Starczewski's house and conferences initiated by him with the Ukrainians from the embassy, in particular the ambassador Leonid Mykhailiv, the advisors Prokop Poniatenko and Borys Repetsky). S. Stempowski was interested in the Ukrainian issue and events in Ukraine everywhere. In September of 1919, Jewhen Starczewski managed to visit Podillia as a journalist together with the Polish trade mission led by Józef Lipkowski and several government officials from various ministries. During the trip, he noted a significant number of soldiers, the Ukrainian language in the streets of Kamianets, and the Ukrainian army, which lacked weapons, ammunition, and clothing (Stempowski, 1972, p. 84).

In Warsaw Henryk Józewski was one of S. Stempowski's closest friends, who arrived in Warsaw in January of 1919. From the first meeting until the end of his life, they walked together. Henryk Józewski considered his older comrade a father, owing to whom he got to know the intellectual world of Warsaw and met prominent and well-known people. Later Henryk Józewski recalled that “we were together at all moments of the formation of Poland and the liberation struggle for Ukraine” (Józewski, 1982a, p. 46).

Soon, through the mediation of a representative of the Democratic Central, S. Stempowski became the head of the press department in the Civil Administration of the Volyn and Podillia Front, whose chief commissar was former Minister Antoni Minkiewicz. During his tours in the Volyn Voivodeship, S. Stempowski noticed that the pro-ENDEK officers and civil administration held fast to nationalist concepts and were convinced that it was possible and necessary to resolve all national and religious issues by armed force (Stempowski, 1972, p. 85).

In January of 1920, Stanisław Stempowski visited Ukraine as an advisor to the Minister in the government of the Volyn Land and the Podillia Front. After an understanding between Józef Piłsudski and Symon Petliura for the better implementation of the Warsaw Pact, S. Stempowski was appointed Minister of Land Affairs in the government of the UNR, and from May 29, 1920, Minister of Health and Social Welfare in the government of Viacheslav Prokopovych (Zaretska, 2012, p. 846). Stanisław Stempowski went to Kamianets-Podilskyi together with Henryk Józewski, who was also appointed Minister of Internal Affairs in the

UNR government. The latter respected and warmly recollected about S. Stempowski, noting his great opportunities in the Ukrainian society, sincerity, people's trust in him and, in general, his amazing charm (Yuzevskiy, 1982b, p. 116).

Stanisław Stempowski belonged to a group that supported J. Piłsudski and his federalist ideas and advocated granting the Polish minority national and cultural autonomy within the UNR.

There is not much information on S. Stempowski's affiliation with Freemasonry. It is known that at the end of 1920, some personalities among the Ukrainian community formed the Ukrainian Masonic lodge "Unity" in Poland, which became part of the recently founded Grand Lodge "United Poles" (Polacy Zjednoczeni – in Polish). It is assumed that one of the leaders of the new lodge was Stanisław Stempowski, a member of the Central Ukrainian Committee, an institution that emerged after the liquidation of the Ukrainian government. Perhaps this lodge included other Poles from Ukraine, supporters of the Polish-Ukrainian understanding and federalism. It is also known that Stanisław Stempowski's son Jerzy considered the possibility of publishing his father's memoirs owing to the Grand Master of the US Lodge, who visited Poland and knew him well. Based on the Decree of the President of Poland of November 22, 1938 on the liquidation of Masonic lodges, they were "considered liquidated by virtue of the law itself". On October 26, 1939, the Grand Lodge of Poland announced its self-liquidation. At the same time, as Jerzy Stempowski recalls, on the orders of the Minister of the Internal Affairs Felicjan Sławo-Skłodowski, the police carried out several "barbaric" searches in S. Stempowski's house" (Listy, 1991, p. 18). The fact that S. Stempowski belonged to Freemasonry was also recorded in the Gestapo report in Warsaw in the summer of 1940 (Borkowska, 1999, p. 42).

This period was also accompanied by personal tragedies. His 19-year-old son Pavlo died after an illness, his wife Maria went to live with their younger son Hubert, and Stanisław stayed in Warsaw. From that time on, they maintained only friendly relations (Miklas, 2020, p. 99). In 1924, under the patronage of his old friend Marian Dombrowski, S. Stempowski got a job as a librarian at the Ministry of Agriculture, began to participate in the activities of the Institute of Social Economy, established by his friend Ludwik Krzywicki, and later became one of its leaders (Stempowski, 1953, s. XVII). There he met the writer Maria Dąbrowska, with whom he spent the last 25 years of his life after the death of her husband Marian. An intellectual, freemason, expert on the Ukrainian issues, and unofficial advisor to the then Foreign Ministry, S. Stempowski introduced Maria Dąbrowska to an environment represented by Henryk Józewski, Stanisław Posner, and Ludwik Krzywicki, who had a powerful influence on the maturity of her worldview and philosophy of life. Stanisław Stempowski was her guide in the world of high literature and publications related to public affairs. In 1952, S. Stempowski died in Maria's arms (Dąbrowska, & Stempowski, 2021, p. 9).

Stanisław Stempowski's public activism, the originality of his thinking, consistency in upholding and implementing democratic ideas in life, his irreconcilable struggle with the Polish nationalist camp, and support for the Ukrainian statehood were noted by both his supporters and enemies.

Conclusions. In conclusion, we it should be noted that Stanisław Stempowski was a bright, gifted, integral personality with democratic views, who recognized and professed universal human values. Being the Polish landowner in the Ukrainian lands, he respected and honoured the Ukrainian people, recognizing them as the master of their land and supporting the desire to create their own state. His active participation in the public and political life of

Ukraine as one of the leaders of democratic forces was aimed both at defending the interests of the Polish population in Ukraine and building the Ukrainian state and establishing friendly Ukrainian-Polish interstate relations. As an active and consistent exponent of democratic ideas, Stanisław Stempowski was elected the leader of the Democratic Central Party of the Polish Democrats in Ukraine. His position on key issues of the Ukrainian statehood, the participation of democrats in the work of the Ukrainian Central Rada, his understanding of the aggressive nature of the Bolshevik government, and his consistent support for Ukraine's independence are noteworthy. Practical activity for the benefit of Ukraine was also manifested in the leadership of the Ministries of Agriculture and Health in the government of the UNR. Until the end of his days, Stanisław Stempowski retained warm feelings for the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian land, where he was born and lived a significant part of his life.

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Borys MALYNOVSKY

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Postdoctoral of Cherkasy National University named after Bogdan Khmelnytsky, 81 T. Shevchenko Street, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18031 (malinovskiyboris73@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-1104-6007

Борис МАЛИНОВСЬКИЙ

кандидат історичних наук, доцент, докторант кафедри археології та спеціальних галузей історичної науки, Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького, бульвар Т. Шевченка, 81, м. Черкаси, індекс 18031 (malinovskiyboris73@gmail.com)

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PROCUREMENT ACTIVITIES OF GERMAN TROOPS IN UKRAINE (FEBRUARY – APRIL 1918)

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to find out, based on the testimony of contemporaries, what methods of procuring food and other resources were used by the German troops in the Ukrainian People's Republic (February – April of 1918). **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, objectivity and integrity, on general scientific and special scientific methods (functional, problem-chronological historical systemic methods, as well as methods of criticism of historical sources). **The scientific novelty** of the research consists in the fact that for the first time, within the framework of a special study, the issue of procurement activities of the German armed units in the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) has been considered. **Conclusions.** Since February of 1918, the German military group had been stationed on the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic – military assistance forces invited by the Ukrainian government to protect against aggression of Soviet Russia. In Ukraine the German troops had to take care of their own supplies, as well as carry out orders from the command to purchase raw materials and other goods (primarily food) for export to their homeland, and therefore, in addition to performing actual combat missions, they also carried out procurement activities. The main way to obtain what was needed was to buy at market prices (under free trade conditions), but at the same time, the army widely used requisitioning – forced paid withdrawal. When carrying out requisitions, the German military sometimes committed abuses – they paid an incomplete price or did not pay at all, resorted to fraud with receipts, and took away property that was vital to the owners. Disputes between the German military and the Ukrainian population regarding the seizure of property in a number of cases led to armed clashes. Cases of abuse, having become widely publicized, had an extremely negative impact on the attitude of the Ukrainian society towards the German troops. At the same time, the scale of abuse should not be exaggerated. Judging by the testimonies of the then contemporaries, this was not a general practice, but individual incidents.

Key words: Ukrainian People's Republic, German Empire, Austro-Hungarian and German troops in Ukraine (1918), export, requisition, procurement system.

ЗАГОТІВЕЛЬНІ ЗАХОДИ НІМЕЦЬКИХ ВІЙСЬК В УКРАЇНІ (ЛЮТИЙ – КВІТЕНЬ 1918 РОКУ)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – ґрунтуючись на свідченнях сучасників, з'ясувати, які способи заготівлі продовольства та інших ресурсів застосовували німецькі війська в Українській Народній Республіці (лютий-квітень 1918 р.). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, об'єктивності й цілісності, на загальнонаукових і спеціально-наукових методах (функціональний, проблемно-хронологічний історико-системний методи, а також методи критики історичних джерел). **Наукова новизна** результатів роботи полягає у тому, що вперше в рамках спеціального дослідження розглянуто питання про заготівельні заходи німецьких збройних підрозділів в Українській Народній Республіці (УНР). **Висновок.** З лютого 1918 року на території Української Народної Республіки перебували німецькі військові підрозділи – сили збройної допомоги, покликані українським урядом для боротьби з більшовиками. Дбаючи про власне забезпечення та виконуючи розпорядження армійського керівництва про придбання сировини й інших товарів (насамперед продовольства) для вивозу до Німеччини, німецькі війська в УНР, крім виконання власне бойових завдань, провадили заготівельну кампанію. Основним способом заготівлі було придбання на умовах вільної торгівлі, але водночас арміїці широко застосовували реквізицію – примусове оплатне вилучення. Вилучаючи продукти й речі, німецькі військові подекуди допускали зловживання, зокрема, платили неповну ціну або взагалі брали безплатно, вдавалися до махінацій з розписками. Утиски спричинили низку збройних сутичок між військами й населенням. Зловживання, судячи зі свідчень сучасників, не становили загальну практику – йшлося про окремі інциденти. Проте, набувши широкого розголосу, ці випадки вкрай негативно позначились на ставленні українського суспільства до німецьких військ, сприяли формуванню образу німця-загарбника.

Ключові слова: Українська Народна Республіка, Німецька імперія, австро-угорські й німецькі війська в Україні (1918), експорт, реквізиція, закупівля, система заготівель.

Problem Statement. In February of 1918, Austria-Hungary and Germany, in response to the Ukrainian government's request for military assistance to oust the Bolsheviks, sent their troops to Ukraine. The Central Powers' army units, deployed to the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), needed supplies – they needed food, transport, and housing. In addition to the food products and things that the units needed, goods intended for export to the homeland were needed as well. According to the Peace Treaty between Ukraine and the countries of the Quadruple Alliance (February 9, 1918), the parties were to begin trade relations immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty. The German and Austro-Hungarian troops sent to Ukraine were ordered, without waiting for interstate trade to develop, to procure and send raw materials and industrial products to their countries.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The events of 1918 in Ukraine are of considerable interest to scholars (among the recent studies there are the following ones: Kornovenko, & Pasichna, 2021, pp. 107–121; Kornovenko, Telvak, & Ilnytskyi, 2018, pp. 133–141; Lozovyi, 2021, pp. 78–86; Malynovsky, 2024, pp. 52–64; Malynovsky, & Tryhub, 2023, pp. 263–276). However, this interest is “uneven”: some contemporary phenomena and processes have been studied thoroughly, some – superficially. The latter includes the participation of the Central Powers troops in the procurement activities in

the Ukrainian People's Republic. Modern historians touch on this topic superficially – in the studies on the nature and peculiarities of the German and Austro-Hungarian military presence, on food policy, and in general on the situation in the Ukrainian state at the time (Dornik, 2015, pp. 266–276; Kuraiev, 2009, pp. 277, 278; Malynovska, & Malynovsky, 2018, pp. 102–108; Pyrih, 2018, p. 32; Shpektorenko, 1998, pp. 125–132).

At the same time, the coverage of the actions taken by the army is often selective and one-sided. Researchers usually focus on the cases of forced expropriation, without mentioning procurement under free trade conditions; abuses committed by military procurers are often considered not as exceptions but as the norm, repeatedly reproducing the thesis formulated in the Soviet times about brutal extortion as the supposedly main content of the Central Powers troops activities in Ukraine (“requisitions and plunder” – “the system of bloody management of the German invaders” (Derenkovskij, 1942, p. 24)). Since the issue of the Central Powers troops' role in the procurement campaign in Ukraine in the spring of 1918 has not been sufficiently studied, its study is a topical scientific objective.

Thus, the questions arise: were “requisitions and plunder” really the main method of supplying the German troops in Ukraine? How did the military forces acquire the food and other goods they needed for themselves and for export?

The purpose of the study is to find out, based on the testimony of contemporaries, what methods of procuring food and other resources were used by the German troops in the UNR (February – April of 1918).

Research Results. To purchase goods in the UNR, the German units received cash from the German state treasury. It is known, for example, that by the end of 1918, the military treasury of the 27th Reserve Corps contained at least 12 million rubles and 3 million marks (Bussmann, 1982, p. 439). Two options for settling purchases with sellers were provided: army procurers, when purchasing goods, either gave cash on the spot, or issued a receipt, with which sellers had to go to the military cash desk and receive the amount of money indicated in the receipt.

Taking care of their own supplies and fulfilling orders to prepare for sending them home, in the UNR the German military purchased everything valuable massively. On March 31, 1918, in her diary Countess Olha Sivers wrote a story heard from her friend about the food situation in Romny (Poltava province): “all products are very expensive because the Germans buy them in huge quantities, paying 3 rubles for 10 eggs, 15 rubles – for chickens, and sending them to Germany” (Sivers, 2015, p. 63).

The same thing happened in other regions of Ukraine. During March and April of 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic received reports from all over the world about the organized mass purchase of raw materials and industrial products by the German soldiers. For example, Iziaslav County Land Committee telegraphed the following information: the German troops, with the help of their and our agents, are buying up from the population (,) regardless of the price (,) grain (,) fodder (,) and other goods” (Central State Archive of the Highest Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, f. 2552, d. 1, c. 39, p. 62).

This campaign did not bypass the capital either. “When (...) they entered Kyiv (March 2, 1918 – *Author*) (...), the Germans began to buy up everything in Kyiv – iron, leather, manufactures and send them to Germany”, – we read in the diary of Academician Volodymyr Vernadsky (Vernadsky, 1994, p. 74).

It was primarily about purchasing on free trade terms: the German soldiers, generously spending the cash given to them, bought everything offered for sale. At the same time, in

addition to purchasing by consent, they also used forced, paid withdrawal – requisition. This procurement procedure was convenient for the soldiers: it saved their time (because it excluded a lengthy bargaining) and protected against excessive price increases.

By resorting to requisition, the army made things easier for itself, but created problems for the society. Forced purchase implied payment of the full value of the confiscated goods. However, even while complying with this norm, the requisition burdened the population – because the owners were not asked whether they agreed to sell their goods. The example of a situation where the military, seeing what they needed, simply took it, ignoring the opinion of the owners, is given in the statement by Pozniaky village executive committee (Pozniaky village, Ostersky district, Chernihiv province), addressed to the chairman of the Council of People's Ministers of the UNR. The statement ran: “On March 6, 1918, the German soldiers arrived in our village and began taking away horses from our villagers, without having any official documents, and some of them were taken away on the way back from work. They do not care and pay no attention to all the pleas and requests, because they don't speak Russian or Ukrainian, and they don't have any interpreter” (CSAHAAU, f. 2552, d. 1, c. 39, p. 134).

In the village of Pozniaky, the soldiers noticed horses suitable for requisition. Usually, the property and goods not intended for sale were not seen, because the owners, without any desire to sell it, hid it. If the products and goods were not visible, how could the military know about their very existence? The solution to this problem entailed another restriction of civilians' rights – being in search of what they needed, the military broke into the houses of civilians.

As an example, let us cite the incident that occurred in the village of Karmanovo (Tyraspol district, Kherson province) on August 28, 1918. Chronologically, this incident goes beyond the scope of the article and its participants were not German, but Austro-Hungarian servicemen. However, it can be assumed that something similar happened before and also involved the German servicemen were involved into it.

Karmanovo (until 1915 – Neudorf) was the German settlement (German colony, the village of German colonists). As we learn from the protocol drawn up by the village headman, the requisition affected the farms of Theobald Veil, Johann Zindler, Friedrich Lippert, Jakob Job and Johann Hofer. The Austro-Hungarian soldiers, without asking permission, entered the manor, went down into the cellar or climbed up into the attic, took some of the food stored there (lard, flour, and bran), and, after paying, left.

In particular, Friedrich Lippert testified: “Austrian soldiers entered the yard and, without asking, went up to the attic when he (Lippert – *Author*) saw them and followed them; having gone up to the attic (,) the eldest of them (,) a non-commissioned officer (but he called himself an officer), seeing a pile of wheat and pointing at 1 ½ sacks of flour (,) said: “You don't have any extra wheat, but we'll take the flour away” and (,) turning to the soldiers (,) ordered them to take half a sack (he had to repeat the order three times)”. Thus, having taken away 3 poods of flour, the soldiers paid Lippert 30 rubles (i.e. 10 rubles per pood) (CSAHAAU, f. 2311, d. 1, c. 146, p. 392).

And what if the owner not only did not put the property up for sale, not only did not show it, but, on the contrary, carefully hid it? In that troubled time many owners kept their grain stocks not in barns, but in hiding places. General Wilhelm Groener, one of the top commanders of the German group of troops in Ukraine, wrote in his memoirs: “those who had at least something hid it, as it is customary in Ukraine, in deep pits in the ground” (Groener, 1957, pp. 390, 391).

The first cases of requisitioning reinforced the following practice – such cases encouraged farmers to hide what had not been hidden before. Thus, in early March of 1918, after the German troops had “requisitioned and looted peasants’ property” (the words from a witness statement), the residents of the village of Mykilska Borshchahivka near Kyiv moved their livestock to the neighbouring village of Shuliavka to “hide it from the Germans” (Rybalko, 1967, pp. 34, 35).

Trying to find hidden property, the military conducted searches, i.e. they did not simply “visit” the farms without the owners’ consent, but turned everything upside down there. In his diary Volodymyr Vernadsky wrote the following: “The Germans in Kyiv Governorate (...) and in Poltava made a stunning impression on the peasants: with the help of dogs they discovered buried grain and pork, and with a magnetic arrow – hidden weapons!” (Vernadsky, 1994, p. 75).

While being housed in public institutions (for example, in schools) or in private houses, army soldiers often disposed of their owners’ property as if it had been their own – i.e. requisitioning turned from a one-time event into a process. For example, Pavlo Mykhalevych, a priest of one of the parishes near Bilopillia (Sumy district, Kharkiv province), which the German offensive reached at the end of March 1918, complained to the general of the UNR armed forces, Volodymyr Sikevych, that the German soldiers, living in the house, “smashed (...) the cellars, exterminated the goods” (Beshulia, 2019, p. 312).

In addition to searches, there was another way to make the seizure possible – not to search the owners for the necessary items, but to force them to deliver goods to the military. Pavlo Mzkhalevych told how the procurement was organized in his parish: “Every week, our parishioners carried everything the Germans ordered them to the yard, it was all packed and sent to Germany without any payment (in cash – *Author*) to the peasants, they were just given some receipts, no one could make out what was written there. (...) If someone did not follow the order, then the second week peasants had to bring twice as much as punishment, and the third time such people were sent to work in Germany, and there their trace disappeared” (Beshulia, 2019, p. 312).

Often, the compensation provided during the requisition was, as it should be, full, but the seizure concerned property that could not be seized under any circumstances. Imagine the situation of a person from whom all his supplies and essential items were taken away – they paid a good price, but did not take into account that the owner could not do without this property. In his diary Volodymyr Vernadsky wrote on April 1, 1918: “In the villages, the Germans take everything away, they pay – but do not take into account the needs of the population” (Vernadsky, 1994, p. 67).

Disregard for the owner's opinion and pressure on him were components of the coercive measure. For the population, these were hardships, but they were more or less within the limits of the norm – they could be eliminated only by prohibiting requisition. However, they were often accompanied by outright violations.

One of them was a non-equivalent payment. As noted, a person or institution that was subject to requisition should have been compensated for the full value of the seized property. In reality, the military did not always adhere to this rule. In his diary the Ukrainian poet and public figure Ostap Lutsnyi, a serviceman of the Austro-Hungarian Army Group of Archduke Wilhelm, recalled how on April 7, 1918, together with another officer, he requisitioned a car from Kherson zemstvo (Lutsnyi, 1985, p. 91). Apparently, it was the “Mercedes” car that belonged to Kherson County Food Board. (Malynovska & Malynovsky, 2018, p. 104). O. Lutsnyi did not mention how the car's owners reacted to the requisition. However,

we know about it from the official correspondence of the Ukrainian authorities. Kherson zemstvo agreed to give up the “Mercedes” car, but demanded to pay not a partial, but the full cost, because at one time (in the summer of 1917) it had purchased this car for 16 thousand rubles, and from the Austro-Hungarian military, according to their statement, it was supposed to receive only 8 thousand (Malynovska, & Malynovsky, 2018, p. 104). The above case concerned the Austro-Hungarian army, but, of course, there were cases when the German soldiers did not pay the full price either.

It happened that the owners of confiscated property did not receive any compensation at all. We learn about such forced “gifts” in favour of the military, in particular, from the complaints of the victims. Thus, the statement of the residents of the village of Mykhailivka (Kyiv district) ran: “On March 8 (...) a German officer and five soldiers of the 2nd Dragoon Squadron, under the threat of violence and punishment, took away 73 poods 16 pounds of seed oats from Mykhailivka farm of V. I. Pakentryr, and in the village of Mykhailivka, under the threat of death, the same soldiers and the officer robbed lard and eggs, while the aforementioned ranks of the German army broke the locks of the peasants’ barns and took the lard and eggs without paying money, and without even leaving any notes or receipts” (Rybalko, 1967, p. 39).

It also happened that a person was beset by two misfortunes at once – a person was deprived of the necessities, literally being taken away the last, and at the same time a person was paid a pittance or not paid at all. The German officer Hans Tintrup described a disgusting episode in his memoirs. While his army unit was located in Lutsk, in the first days of the offensive, he ordered the seizure of a local resident's cartload (“a good one”, “new”), which the unit needed to transport food supplies (oats and veal, apparently also obtained through requisition). Hans Tintrup believed that he had done the right thing, “according to the indisputable law of war”. However, the cartload owner and his family had a completely different opinion. “The peasant family was inconsolable because of this loss; they followed the cartload with lamentations as we pulled it out, and stood around it crying as it was loaded and harnessed”, Hans Tintrup recalled. Then, according to him, it was even worse: “the peasant (...) walked all day next to it (a cartload – *Author*) (...), and in the evening he appeared before me, spoke the most pleading words, and kissed the hem of my uniform with a humble bow”. In the end, one of the officers forced the peasant to leave by handing him a ten-mark bill and at the same time threatening him with a pistol” (Tintrup, 1938, p. 17, 18). Hans Tintrup, speaking about what he called a “really difficult case”, admitted that it was not the only one case (Tintrup, 1938, p. 17).

A similar incident was also mentioned by the head of the UNR military department, Colonel Oleksandr Zhukovskiy. It happened on the way to Manevychi railway station, where O. Zhukovskiy and another member of the UNR government, Hryhoriy Sydorenko, were travelling to hold a meeting with the German command (on March 20, 1918). “A peasant stops us with tears in his eyes and a piece of paper in his hands and asks us to come to help him. He says – the Germans came – they took away the last hay and the cow, and they gave us this piece of paper (,) on which something is written in German, will you help me. Protect me so that they don’t rob me. I will die of hunger and my family will die as well. My God, my God, we were robbed by our people, the Ukrainians, and now a German has come (,) and is robbing us”, O. Zhukovskiy wrote in his memoirs. The ministers were unable to provide help and protect ordinary people. They only said that the state would pay the bills, “but this was more said just to get away with it” (Zhukovskiy, 2018, p. 129).

In some places, forced gratuitous requisition was not a one-time occurrence, but systematic. Thus, on March 13, 1918, the head of Khotiv Volost People's Council (the village

of Khotiv, Kyiv County) reported to the county commissar: “It has been six days since the German troops are quartered in Khotivska volost area, especially in the village of Hatne, and have begun the arbitrary robbery of peasant property, namely: bread, oats, hay, and food supplies; they are taking everything for free. A German or two of them, they go around all the villages, making incomprehensible demands in German, they don't know Russian and do not speak Russian at all, and only by pointing at the objects they demand hay, oats, straw, which, in fact, the peasants desperately need; they take all this arbitrarily and without any payment, they kill and take away the pigs” (Rybalko, 1967, pp. 41, 42).

Sometimes citizens who were subject to requisition were not only unpaid compensation, but they themselves were forced to give money, in addition to food and things. This was the so-called contribution – a fine for failure to comply with the requisition order. Accusing people of ignoring the requisition order, the military confiscated their property and imposed a fine. For example, on March 23, 1918, the Mykilsko-Borshchahivska volost administration reported to the commandant of Kyiv, General Konstantyn Prysovsky: “Contributions are being imposed on villagers, with a deadline of several hours for their fulfillment; those who have not complied with the requirement (to pay a fine – *Author*) are being subjected to a general search” (Minc & Gorodeckij, 1942, p. 22).

A purely conditional line separated gratuitous seizures from robberies. In Lutsk such crime occurred immediately after the start of the German offensive in Ukraine. The city was occupied by the German troops on the first day of this offensive (February 18, 1918), and four days later the German servicemen committed a theft from one of the local residents – a Russian officer, commander of the 18th Automobile Squadron. While the lieutenant colonel was demonstrating the squadron's economy to the German officers, their subordinates broke into his apartment and took everything away. The victim complained to the Ukrainian government commissioner, Semen Komirny: “On February 22 (...) about 12 and 4 p.m., the German soldiers broke into and robbed my apartment in the brewery building (...), where the 18th Automobile Squadron is housed. The robbery took place while the squadron's vehicles were being inspected by the German officers and I was with them. Everything was robbed from the apartment, so I was left with only what I was wearing only” (CSAHAAU, f. 3766, d. 1, c. 162, p. 59). The list of stolen items attached to the complaint included clothing, weapons, food, as well as “dishes, knives, forks, spoons, 3 pince-nez, 2 spectacles, razors, galoshes, shoes, and other items, orders, equipment” – a total of 4,991 rubles worth of property (CSAHAAU, f. 3766, d. 1, c. 162, p. 59).

Receipt fraud became widespread. This was also a robbery, but not an obvious one – the victim realized that he/she had been robbed, not immediately, but after some time. The essence of the fraud was as follows. Taking advantage of the fact that the sellers did not understand German and did not know what a document drawn up in compliance with all the rules looked like, the military, when making requisitions, instead of receipts, issued simple pieces of paper to the owners of the confiscated property. In his memoirs Hans Tintrup wrote the following: “As long as the owner received legally correct requisition receipts, with a precise description of the property taken away, if possible also with an agreed price and, above all, with the stamp of the military unit and the signature of the officer, every was correct and there was nothing to be said; such receipts were unconditionally paid by the German military services later. (...) But was it worth delivering them (receipts by the German military services – *Author*)? The peasant could read Russian in some cases, rarely, but German – never; therefore, he was unable to make sure that everything he provided was

correctly indicated on the paper given to him; and the signature was a complete mystery to him. The stamp was the most important. But even in this case, (...) for the most naive the German servicemen would stamp a coin, and for the more intelligent – a military or other stamp, (...) stamped illegibly or even intentionally altered” (Tintrup, 1938, p. 15).

It should also be noted that during the requisition, not only property interests but also the personal dignity of citizens were often harmed – the military insulted them. For example, in the complaint cited above by the head of Khotiv People's Council, it was emphasized that the German army soldiers, while confiscating food, behaved “very rudely and with threatened the population” (Rybalko, 1967, p. 42). On March 19, 1918, reporting to Berlin about the abuses committed by the German military, the head of the German diplomatic mission in Ukraine, Alfons Mumm Freiherr von Schwarzenstein, recalled the case when a receipt issued to a peasant contained the inscription “A pig was obtained from a pig” (Baumgart, 1966, p. 124). A priest Pavlo Mykhalevych told General Volodymyr Sikevych about receipts that were written in German: “Slap the bearer of this receipt twice in the face” (Beshulia, 2019, p. 312).

If the owner did not accept the fact that his property was taken away, not only denied and protested, but also actively resisted, conflicts and even armed clashes occurred. One of such clashes occurred at Zhuliany railway station (Kyiv district) shortly after the German troops entered Kyiv. We know about the circumstances of this incident from the materials of the investigation conducted by the Ukrainian law enforcement agencies.

According to the eyewitness, on the morning of March 8, 1918, the news reached the station that the German soldiers were looting the house of a local railway worker. Since, according to this eyewitness, “cases of looting, or violent requisition, had occurred previously in nearby villages”, “the slightest rumor was enough to create tension and bring numerous residents to their feet”. A group of people led by the station chief went to the house of a local railway worker, found a requisition group of three German soldiers there, and demanded an explanation from them about their actions.

The argument continued for some time, then the German soldiers got on a cartload and drove away, and the Zhulians rushed to the ticket office, where several rifles were stored, grabbed them and ran after the German soldiers. They were already far away, they could not catch up with them, until another requisitioning group appeared on the way – two German soldiers, also on a cartload. “Taking the latter for the former”, according to the witness, the Zhulians tried to detain these two. They resisted, and shooting broke out. In the end, the German soldiers ran away.

However, the incident did not end. Clashes, i.e. situations in which the use of force by the military was met with resistance, led to a new round of repression. This happened in Zhuliany. An hour after the incident, the German unit arrived at the station, with the aim of finding and detaining the participants in the attack on the German soldiers.

The commander of this unit ordered the arrest of station employees and several local residents, and then carried out a savage massacre. According to witnesses, he “selected from the total mass 8 people, in his opinion the most suspicious, (...) and began to interrogate them with the help of an interpreter. In order to identify the guilty, (...) a striking form of intimidation was used. All 8 men were given a rifle (...) in their hands and were lined up; then the formal and detailed preparations for the shooting began; (...) it came to the point that the officer raised his revolver to give the signal. (...) The experiences of the people designated for shooting are beyond any description”.

The end of the event was as follows: “At the last moment (...) the telegraph operator stepped forward and declared: “I am a free Cossack (i.e. a member of the Free Cossacks –

a paramilitary organization in the UNR – *Author*) and I shot at the Germans because they were looting”. At the word “looting” the Germans burst into rage. Based on the telegraph operator’s testimony, two more of those who shot were identified, as well as the station chief (...). After that, the rest were released, and four (...) men, with rifles, were taken in the direction of Post-Volynsky” (Ptashynskiy, 1933, pp. 133–135). Within a few days, these people – the UNR citizens Bublîi, Serbyn, M. Nahazhevskiy and Jo. Nahazhevskiy – were sentenced to prison by the German military court (Verstiuk, 1997, pp. 197, 344).

The incident in Zhuliany was not the only one. At the same time, a similar incident occurred in another settlement near Kyiv – in the village of Markhalivka. The circumstances of the case were set out in a statement submitted to Kyiv district commissioner by commissioners T. Kovalenko and A. Synelnyk. On March 7, 1918, three German soldiers arrived in Markhalivka and “arbitrarily began to take away everything they saw: oats, chickens, eggs, boots”. The villagers demanded that the soldiers show their service IDs. They refused and “began to threaten the villagers with revolvers”. The German soldiers’ audacity cost them their lives – “a few guys (...) made an armed resistance against the soldiers and the German soldiers were killed”.

The murder led to revenge. On March 8, 1918, at about three o’clock in the morning, the German punitive detachment entered the village. The soldiers set fire to two barns, and when the villagers ran to put out the fire, they opened fire on them. “People began to hide in panic, and the Germans caught and beat them. By morning, almost all villagers fled. The German soldiers began to take over, breaking windows and doors, and looting everything. They loaded everything on carts and took it away. They broke into the consumer society store, killed the salesman, and robbed the store. They stabbed an 80-year-old grandfather to death”.

On March 11, 1918, the punishers appeared in Markhalivka again. They surrounded the village and began shelling it. “Innocent women and children fled in fear, and the German soldiers fired from machine guns and rifles. They drove almost the entire population out of the village. They took away the property that had not been taken. In addition, the women who did not have time to escape were raped. There was much more they did that we are not describing...” – those facts were included into the statement of T. Kovalenko and A. Synelnyk. Eleven residents of Markhalivka, arrested that day by the punishers, were sent to prison (Panch, 1942, p. 10, 11).

Of course, not all German soldiers behaved as exploiters and oppressors in Ukraine. While some soldiers shamelessly resorted to abuse, others avoided it. While in some places commanders turned a blind eye to crimes committed by their subordinates, in other places they severely punished soldiers for committing crimes. Cases of violations of the norm became public in the Ukrainian society. Public opinion usually ignored its observance, taking it for granted, because that is how it was. Therefore, in contemporary narrative and documentary sources, positive reviews of the German soldiers’ behaviour are rare. The then contemporaries made such confessions when, for the sake of justice, they wanted to refute the idea that looting by foreign soldiers was a widespread and everyday occurrence.

For example, in his memoirs an ethnographer and official of the Ukrainian State Mykola Mohyliansky wrote the following: “How did the Germans behave in the Ukrainian village? Everything depended, of course, on the personal command staff. I had the opportunity to personally observe the Germans who were at posts in the village of Kaniv district, Kyiv province, who did not cause any hatred and irritation among the population and did not leave behind bad feelings. For all the products and goods they took away from the local population,

the German soldiers paid properly and did not offend the population in any way. In other places, I read a number of detailed reports and investigative protocols about this, there was a direct, shameless and cynical looting” (Mogilyanskij, 1930, p. 127).

Judging by the complaints of the victims and the Ukrainian officials' reports, such places were usually located nearby. That is, they were the areas of deployment of individual units, whose commanders tolerated the soldiers' atrocities for a certain period of time. The above mentioned examples of abuses concerned mainly two regions – the frontline territory in Volyn (Lutsk, Manevychi) and the outskirts of Kyiv (Khotiv, Zhuliany, Markhalivka, Pozniaky, Mykilska Borshchahivka) from the beginning of the German military campaign against the Bolsheviks (February 18) to the end of March 1918.

Thus, in the report to the provincial commissar describing the state of affairs in the villages around the capital, Kyiv district commissar on March 25, 1918, emphasized that the violations did not cover a certain village, but a group of them, extending to a certain area: “in the regions closest to Kyiv, the German units made requisition of horse stocks, livestock, and food without any contact with the requisitioning and food authorities (of Ukraine – *Author*) and (...) take away all the seed material and even baked bread, so that nothing remains on the farm. (...) During requisitions, the German soldiers do not give any receipts, not to mention unfair prices in the case of payment (in cash – *Author*). At the same time, both during the day (.) and often at night, there are raids by the German soldiers, sometimes without command personnel, who commit uniformed robberies: they break chests, steal money, gold items, all kinds of clothing, including women's, and all other household goods and treasures. They attack women who, along with the population, flee from villages and hide in the forests” (Minc & Gorodeckij, 1942, pp. 22, 23).

However, outside the “anomalous zones,” in the rest of the territory of the Ukrainian state, there were no or almost no violations. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian army, Colonel Oleksandr Shapoval, testified: “Moving with the German armed forces to the East of Ukraine, I monitored the behaviour of the Germans and Austrians during this campaign very closely. And I firmly state (and let our future historians note this) that in that (...) direction (...) (Kyiv – Poltava – Kharkiv) no looting or any violence against our population was committed by the Allied armies. There were minor misunderstandings between the local population and Allied soldiers, but these misunderstandings arose from a lack of understanding of each other. The Ukrainian people did not speak the German language, and the Germans did not speak Ukrainian either. The German command immediately informed me about this misunderstanding by field telephone (...), I sent a sergeant who knew both languages well (.) and the misunderstanding was resolved” (Shapoval, 2003, p. 54).

Even in cases where it was about involuntary provision of services and goods – requisition, the German military knew how to behave in a way that aroused not condemnation but, on the contrary, respect among the citizens of the UNR who were subjected to coercion. Or even admiration – especially when compared to the soldiers of the Russian army. On March 30, 1918, in his diary, Doctor Oleksandr Nesvitsky, a resident of Poltava, wrote his impressions about the housed Russian and German soldiers: “The Germans occupied one room in our apartment by requisition, our dining room with entrance to the apartment. Several people settled there. They kept quiet, modest, and were very polite. When meeting us: “Guten Morgen, Guten Tag, Guten Abend”. They cleaned the rooms thoroughly every day, swept and mopped the floors, and when they left, they cleaned the entire room thoroughly and handed it over to us in a perfect cleanliness and order, without damaging or dirtying anything. As they

left, they thanked us for the apartment and apologized for the trouble they had caused. What a huge parallel (abyss – *Author*) between cultured people and our “conscious” soldiers!... savages!” (Nesvitskyi, 1995, p. 48).

Where there was no oppression and abuse, where the German military tried not to use requisition at all, good relations developed between them and the local population. While a number of outrageous incidents occurred in the villages near Kyiv, the situation in the city itself did not cause complaints among the majority of its residents. Thus, in his memoirs Professor of the University of St. Volodymyr Mykola Bubnov emphasized the following: “It must be admitted that the German troops, and not only the officers, behaved with dignity, courtesy and calmness in Kyiv. I have not heard any complaints about them” (Bubnov, 2017, p. 259).

Thus, forced property seizure and abuses associated with it were not a common practice. However, they created a general negative impression. Rumors exaggerated them, contributing to the formation of a German-invader image in Ukraine. On March 24, 1918, in a report to the leadership, Admiral Albert Hopman, the head of the Navigational and Technical Commission in Odesa, reported: “Immediately after the Austrians, after the occupation of Odesa (on March 13, 1918 – *Author*), loaded several wagons with food, there was great excitement among the population, incredible rumors about requisitions, about the export of huge amounts of grain spread and, of course, the rumours are considered to be true” (Hopman, 2004, pp. 1096, 1097).

The image of the German oppressor was made convincing by outrageous stories. Among them, undoubtedly, along with real ones, there were also figured out ones. In his memoirs the Ukrainian writer Hryhoriy Hryhoriev described a terrible event that supposedly happened in the village of Tarasivka near Kyiv. During the requisition, the German soldiers took away all the food from the house of an elderly man. The owner asked to leave at least one sack of flour, otherwise he and his grandson would die of hunger. He was refused (“the officer (...) calm and attentive (...) replied: “We are carrying out the command’s order...””), and the old man shouted angrily: “Then kill me on the spot, I will die of hunger anyway!” The officer did not answer, but after the requisition was completed, he ordered the man to be shot, telling the community: “Grandfather received a bullet because he asked for it”. At the same time, two more villagers, invalids of the World War, were executed: one hid half a pound of lard, the other – a rifle (“he explained to the officer that he had brought it from the front, it would be used for hunting”) (Hryhoriev, 1961, pp. 315, 316). Hryhoriy Hryhoriev stated that he learned about this event in the summer of 1918 from the residents of Tarasivka (Hryhoriev, 1961, p. 314). Perhaps this story is true, or perhaps it, like many similar ones that frightened the Ukrainian society at the time, was not a fact, but figured out.

Conclusions. Since February of 1918, the German military group had been stationed on the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic – military assistance forces invited by the Ukrainian government to protect against aggression of Soviet Russia. In Ukraine the German troops had to take care of their own supplies, as well as carry out orders from the command to purchase raw materials and other goods (primarily food) for export to their homeland, and therefore, in addition to performing actual combat missions, they also carried out procurement activities. The main way to obtain what was needed was to buy at market prices (under free trade conditions), but at the same time, the army widely used requisitioning – forced paid withdrawal. When carrying out requisitions, the German military sometimes committed abuses – they paid an incomplete price or did not pay at all, resorted to fraud with receipts, and took away property that was vital to the owners. Disputes between the German military

and the Ukrainian population regarding the seizure of property in a number of cases led to armed clashes. Cases of abuse, having become widely publicized, had an extremely negative impact on the attitude of the Ukrainian society towards the German troops. At the same time, the scale of abuse should not be exaggerated. Judging by the testimonies of the then contemporaries, this was not a general practice, but individual incidents.

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Kostiantyn KURYLYSHYN

PhD (History), Head of the Department of Ukrainian Studies, Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, 2 Stefanyk Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (kurylyshyn_k@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-0104-7292

Mykola HALIV

PhD hab. (Education), Professor, Department of Ukraine's History and Law, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (halivm@yahoo.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-7068-3124

ResearcherID: F-3855-2018

Scopus ID: 57212151942

Костянтин КУРІЛИШИН

кандидат історичних наук, завідувач відділу україніки, Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаника, вул. Стефаника, 2, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (kurylyshyn_k@ukr.net)

Микола ГАЛІВ

доктор педагогічних наук, професор, професор кафедри історії України та правознавства, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (halivm@yahoo.com)

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**RECONSTRUCTION OR DECLINE: THE POSTWAR STATE
OF UKRAINIAN EDUCATION IN GALICIA AS COVERED
IN THE NEWSPAPER “DILO” (1918 – 1923)**

Abstract. The purpose of the study is to identify the peculiarities of the reception by the authors and editorial staff of the newspaper “Dilo” of the reconstruction and transformation issues in Galicia in the first years after the end of the Great War. The chronological framework of the study is determined by the end of World War I in November 1918 and the official recognition by the Council of Ambassadors of the Polish sovereignty over Eastern Galicia in March 1923. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, objectivity, as well as methods of criticism of historical sources, content analysis of media materials. **Scientific novelty.** For the first time in historical science, the coverage of the problems of reconstruction and transformation of education in Galicia 1918 – 1923 in Ukrainian newspaper “Dilo” was analyzed. **Conclusions.** Thus, the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, despite censorship and persecution by the Polish occupation authorities, was one of the most

informative press sources about the daily life of Ukrainian society in Galicia. The issue of education of the Ukrainians was one of the key issues on the newspaper's pages: about 50 publications (articles and short reports) focused on the issues of primary, secondary, vocational and higher education. The leading refrain of publications in the newspaper "Dilo" regarding Ukrainian schooling was the topic of oppression by the Polish authorities, which manifested itself in the closure of the Ukrainian primary and secondary schools, the ban on the use of the Ukrainian language at schools as the language of instruction and administration, the conversion of the Ukrainian schools into the Polish ones, and opposition to the opening of new Ukrainian educational institutions. Reports about successful educational projects of the Ukrainians (for example, about the elementary school in Berezhany, the Commercial School in Lviv, the private Ukrainian gymnasium in Yavoriv) were episodic and gave way to negative descriptions of the oppression of the Ukrainian schooling by the Polish authorities. The newspaper's editorial staff consistently advocated for the national character of the Ukrainian schools and reconstruction of the Ukrainian educational system that existed in Galicia before World War I. At the same time, it noted the deterioration of educational achievements and prospects for the Ukrainians due to Poland's incorporation and assimilation policies. In the newspaper chief focus is on the issue of the Ukrainian University creation in Lviv, the activities of the Petro Mohyla Scientific Lecture Society. We consider the analysis of the articles published in the newspaper "Dilo" on the activities of the Ukrainian educational public organizations that resumed their activities after World War I to be a promising direction of research.

Key words: Newspaper "Dilo", Post-War Reconstruction, Ukrainian education, schooling, educational policy, Polish Republic, Western Ukrainian People's Republic.

ВІДБУДОВА ЧИ ЗАНЕПАД: ПІСЛЯВОЄННИЙ СТАН УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ОСВІТИ НА ГАЛИЧИНІ У ВИСВІТЛЕННІ ГАЗЕТИ "ДІЛО" (1918 – 1923)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – з'ясувати особливості реценції авторами та редакцією газети "Діло" проблем відбудови і трансформації освіти на Галичині у перші роки після закінчення Великої війни. Хронологічні рамки дослідження визначаються завершенням Першої світової війни у листопаді 1918 року і офіційним визнанням Радою Амбасадорів суверенітету Польщі над Східною Галичиною у березні 1923 року. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, а також на методи критики історичних джерел, контент-аналізу пресових матеріалів. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше в історичній науці проаналізовано висвітлення українською газетою "Діло" проблем реконструкції та трансформації освіти на Галичині 1918 – 1923 років. **Висновки.** З'ясовано, що українська щоденна газета "Діло", попри цензуру і переслідування з боку польських окупаційних властей, була одним із найбільш інформативних пресових джерел про щоденне життя українського суспільства Галичини. Питання освіти українців було одним із ключових на шпальтах газети, поступаючи лише матеріалам про геополітичну ситуацію та політику польських властей на окупованих українських землях. Близько 50 публікацій (статей і коротких повідомлень) було присвячено питанням початкового, середнього, професійного і вищого шкільництва. Провідним рефреном публікацій у газеті "Діло" щодо українського шкільництва була тема утисків польської влади, які проявлялися у закритті українських початкових і середніх шкіл, забороні використання української мови у школі як мови навчання і адміністрації, перетворенні українських шкіл на польські. Повідомлення про успішні освітні проекти українців (наприклад, про початкову школу в Бережанах, Торгівельну школу у Львові, приватну українську гімназію в Яворові) були епізодичними і поступалися місцем негативним характеристикам утисків польською владою українського шкільництва. Редакція газети послідовно виступала за національний характер української школи, засуджувала умови, через які українські діти змушені були навчатися у польських освітніх закладах. Значну увагу в газеті присвячено питанню створення українського університету у Львові, діяльності Товариства наукових викладів ім. Петра Могили. Перспективним напрямом досліджень вважаємо аналіз матеріалів газети "Діло", присвячених діяльності українських освітніх громадських організацій, які відновили діяльність після Першої світової війни.

Ключові слова: газета "Діло", повоєнна відбудова, українська освіта, шкільництво, освітня політика, Польська Республіка, Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка.

Problem Statement. The researchers consider the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, published in 1880 – 1939, one of the most informative press sources about a daily life of Ukrainian society in Galicia. After World War I, the newspaper was under extremely difficult conditions due to the Polish occupation of the region. Censorship, confiscation of issues circulations, a ban on publishing, and arrests of editors became an integral part of the newspaper's circulations in 1918 – 1923.

At that time, several important factors influenced the coverage of various aspects of the reconstruction and development of education in the territory of Galicia by the Ukrainian periodicals. Firstly, after the end of World War I, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (hereinafter – the ZUNR) was formed in the territory of Eastern Galicia, the majority of whose population was Ukrainian. From the first days of its existence, the young Ukrainian state found itself at war with Poland, which claimed the territory of all of Galicia, the largest province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. By mid-July 1919, the Polish troops, receiving material support from the Entente, had managed to invade the entire territory of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. Thus, the Polish occupation authority was established in Eastern Galicia, whose representatives sought to integrate the Ukrainian lands into the Polish Republic as soon as possible at the political and international legal level. Secondly, after 1921, Poland's national policy was determined by the idea of incorporation and assimilation of national minorities, primarily the Ukrainians and the Belarusians. Incorporation goals were implemented primarily through the sphere of education, which was manifested in various restrictions on schooling for national minorities. Thirdly, under the conditions of the uncertain international legal status of Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian political forces and public organizations tried to preserve Ukrainian educational institutions, defend the Ukrainian language of instruction, and provide Ukrainian children and youth with opportunities to obtain not only primary, but also secondary, vocational, and higher education. These historical processes often determined the content and main emphases of materials in the Ukrainian press in Eastern Galicia in 1918 – 1923.

The newspaper “Dilo” ceased publication after the invasion of Lviv by the Polish troops at the end of November 1918 due to a ban by the Polish authorities. The publication of the newspaper was resumed in 1920, but under the name “Hromadska Dumka” (a publisher Roman Perfetsky, an editor-in-chief Stepan Charnetsky). For a short time (October-November 1920) the newspaper was called “Ukrainian Dumka” (a publisher Oleksandr Yevhen Kostyk, an editor-in-chief S. Charnetsky), from January 1921 – “Ukrainian Vistnyk” (an editor Mykhailo Strutynsky). In 1922 the newspaper changed its name three times: from February to August – “Hromadsky Vistnyk” (an editor Oleksa Kuzma), from September to November – “Dilo” (the editors Fed' Fedortsiv and Volodymyr Tselevych), from November to December – “Svoboda” (an editor O. Kuzma). From January 1923, the newspaper was called “Hromadsky Vistnyk” again, and only from April 3 of the same year was it returned to its original name – “Dilo”, under which it was published until September 1939, when it was banned by the Russian Soviet occupation authorities (Kurylyshyn, 2022, pp. 5–6). Such frequent changes in name, editors, and publishers were due to persecution by the Polish occupation authorities and the constant struggle of the Ukrainian public for freedom of speech and the right to inform the population of the region about current events.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The state of education in Eastern Galicia after World War I was studied by Klemens Trzebiatowski, Stanislaw Mauersberg, Bohdan Stuparyk, Halyna Zanic, Mykola Halai, Tetiana Zavhorodnia, Lesia Aleksiyevets,

Halyna Bilavych, Mykola Haliv, and the others. Among recent studies, we should single out the monograph by Oksana Ruda, in which the national educational policy of the Polish governments towards the population of Galicia is elucidated during the interwar period (Ruda, 2019). The articles by Mykola Haliv, Vasyl Ilnytskyi, and Ivan Matkovskiy outline the social situation of the Ukrainian and Polish teachers and their views on World War I and post-war reconstruction (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2019; Haliv, Ilnytskyi, & Matkowski, 2025; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2025). Vitaliy Telvak analyzed the views of a historian Myron Korduba on education as a factor in the restoration of the Ukrainian national life after World War I (Telvak, 2024). The newspaper “Dilo” as a source for the history of Ukrainian schooling and Ukrainian public organizations is analyzed in the studies by Vitaliy Vyzdryk, Kostiantyn Kurylyshyn, Mykola Haliv (Vyzdryk, & Kurylyshyn, 2020; Vyzdryk, & Kurylyshyn, 2022; Kurylyshyn, & Haliv, 2024). Materials for biobibliography in the newspaper “Dilo” were analyzed by K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2022). Some methodological aspects of source material analysis are elucidated in the studies by Mykola Haliv and Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022).

The purpose of the study is to identify the peculiarities of the reception by the authors and editorial staff of the newspaper “Dilo” of the reconstruction and transformation issues in Galicia in the first years after the end of the Great War. The chronological framework of the study is determined by the end of World War I in November 1918 and the official recognition by the Council of Ambassadors of the Polish sovereignty over Eastern Galicia in March 1923.

Research Results. The issue of education was one of the key issues in the columns of the newspaper “Dilo”, the second only to materials on the geopolitical situation and the policy of the Polish authorities in the occupied Ukrainian lands. Analyzing and characterizing publications on the state of education on the pages of the newspaper under study, we will highlight the materials on primary, secondary, vocational and higher education.

The leading refrain of publications in the newspaper “Dilo” regarding primary (public) schooling was the topic of oppression by the Polish authorities, which manifested itself in the closure of the Ukrainian schools, the ban on the use of the Ukrainian language at schools as the language of instruction and administration, and the conversion of Ukrainian schools into Polish ones. The headlines “Ukrainian School is Dying” and “Challenging Cynicism” became common to characterize the attitude of the Polish authorities towards the Ukrainian schooling. To convincingly substantiate the thesis about the closure of the Ukrainian schools, the editorial board of “Dilo” operated with statistical information. Thus, in the article “Ukrainian School is Dying” in October 1922, it was noted that in the 1911/1912 academic year there were 2,612 Ukrainian schools in Galicia, and in the 1920/1921 academic year there were 1,930, i.e. 682 fewer educational institutions. During the period under analysis, the Ukrainian schools missed 235 schools in Lviv Voivodeship, 141 schools in Stanislaviv Voivodeship, and 279 schools in Ternopil Voivodeship. Instead, the number of Polish schools increased: 163 Polish schools were founded in Lviv Voivodeship, 122 – in Stanislaviv Voivodeship, and 54 – in Ternopil Voivodeship. Indicators of the decrease in Ukrainian primary school enrollment were also reported in counties. For example, in Brody county 31 Ukrainian schools ceased operations, Turka – 31, Lisko – 30, Stary Sambir – 35, Ternopil – 29, Zalizhchyky – 23, Zbarazh – 21, Zboriv – 22, Zolochiv – 20, Bibrka – 20, Sianok – 28, Borshchiv – 13, Berezhany – 13, Buchach – 19, Chortkiv – 10, Husiatyn – 19, Pidhaitsi – 11, Radekhiv – 15, Skalat – 14, Dolyna – 18, Kalush – 11, Rohatyn – 19, Skole – 12, Stanislaviv – 10, Tovmach – 12, Dobromyl – 12, Yaroslav – 14, Sambir – 12, Sokal – 16, Zhovkva – 12.

At the same time, the number of Polish schools increased significantly, in particular in Stary Sambir district from 9 to 51. According to the author of the article, the consequence of such steps was the loss of the “Ukrainian nature” of some districts, because the number of primary educational institutions with the Ukrainian language of instruction decreased to a critical level. Thus, in Chortkiv, Terebovlia, Brody counties, there are 13 Ukrainian schools left, and in Staryi Sambir county – only 6. Placing some of the blame for this state of affairs on the Ukrainians, the newspaper's editorial board called: “In this case the Ukrainian people must show the greatest possible activity and not dare to allow the right to their own school to be taken away from them. Fighting by all means against the Polish school for Ukrainian children, establishing their own schools with the greatest sacrifice – this is a call that must embrace the entire region” (Ukrainska shkola hyne, 1922a, p. 2).

In addition, the newspaper's editorial staff, using Polish statistical sources, claimed that during the two years of the Polish occupation, approximately a quarter of the Ukrainian schools that had operated before the war disappeared. At the same time, it was emphasized that the situation was much worse, since one should take into account not only the number of schools, but also the number of classes at schools. In total, at the end of 1921, 9,856 classes at primary schools operated in Eastern Galicia, of which 7,211 were at Polish schools and 2,645 – at Ukrainian schools (Ukrainska dytyna bez shkoly i nauky, 1922, p. 1; Krovava budivlia, 1923, p. 7). Having noted such injustice, the newspaper's editorial office emphasized that the Polish schools were mostly multi-class, while the Ukrainian educational centres were one- or two-class, and only rarely schools with more classes occurred. Under such conditions, Ukrainian children lost the opportunity to continue their education at secondary or vocational schools. “And this curse has been weighing on our people ever since the Polish authorities took over the helm of schooling in Ukrainian Galicia”, the article in the newspaper “Dilo” emotionally and sharply stated (Ukrainska dytyna bez shkoly i nauky, 1922, p. 1). Then, information was cited from the study by Mykhailo Halushchynsky, according to which 150,000 Ukrainian children were forced to receive primary education at Polish schools. Approximately the same number of Ukrainian children did not attend school at all in 1920/21 (Ukrainska dytyna bez shkoly i nauky, 1922, p. 2). In February 1923, the newspaper noted that approximately 320,000 Ukrainian children were unable to receive education in the Ukrainian language at their native schools (Krovava budivlia, 1923, p. 7). The newspaper's editors, F. Fedortsiv and V. Tselevych, sharply criticized the policy of the Polish authorities aimed at sending the Ukrainian teachers to teach in the central and western provinces of Poland, i.e. in ethnic Polish lands (Ukrainska shkola hyne, 1922b, p. 3).

The editorial board of the newspaper “Dilo” critically described the changes in the syllabus content of primary education. According to the editorial board, education at primary schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction should have a “thoroughly Ukrainian national character”. The Ukrainian Language, History, Geography, and Nature of Ukraine should constitute the central content of education and upbringing. The teaching staff should consist of the Ukrainians. However, the district school inspectors demanded that the Polish Language and the History of Poland be the main subjects at the Ukrainian schools. The inspectors, with the support of the school authorities, actively changed the teaching staff at the Ukrainian schools, dismissing the Ukrainian teachers and appointing the Poles. Therefore, the article called on the Ukrainian parents to oppose this and have their say. The problem of Ukrainian children going to the Polish schools was raised again (their number this time was 200 thousand), and therefore the editorial board called on the public through the press

and official protests to the authorities to advocate for the establishment of the Ukrainian schools, as well as to collect facts about the abuses of the Polish administration in the field of education. It expressed confidence that each community can achieve the establishment of its own private Ukrainian school (*Yaka nauka v ukrainskykh shkolakh*, 1922, p. 2).

The authors and editorial staff of the newspaper “Dilo” focused on revealing specific facts related to the pressure of the Polish authorities on the Ukrainian school. In particular, during the period of 1920 several publications revealed the situation that developed around the Markiyan Shashkevych four-grade school in Lviv, which was the only Ukrainian educational institution financed by the city budget. The school, as it is known, was intended for boys, but due to the fact that the Ukrainian language was not taught at Polish girls' schools, separate departments for girls were opened at the Markiyan Shashkevych school. However, on December 1, 1919 the Lviv District School Board, which consisted of the Poles, decided to replace five teachers Ukrainians with teachers the Poles. This step caused a protest among parents. At the end of February 1920, they held a meeting and adopted a resolution in which they expressed disagreement with the actions of the District School Board, demanding the inclusion of a Ukrainian representative “with an influential voice” regarding the Ukrainian schools and the appointment of a separate school inspector, a Ukrainian by nationality, for the Ukrainian educational institutions. The parents' demands also concerned the division of the school into two autonomous units (for boys and girls) and the transfer of the educational institution to adapted premises (*Narada ukrainskykh lvivskykh rodychiv*, 1920, p. 5). The protest was also supported by the general Ukrainian population of Lviv, whose representatives repeatedly addressed these issues to various official factors (*Nedolia ukrainskoi shkoly*, 1920, p. 2). The authorities not only did not react at the Ukrainian requests, but also sent Josyf Tanchakovsky, the principal of the Markiyan Shashkevych School, to the Polish educational institution (*Miska Rada Shkil.*, 1920, p. 3).

The newspaper's editorial office did not miss the difficult situation regarding the Ukrainian primary schools in the town of Stryi. Immediately after the occupation of the town by the Polish troops, all Ukrainian schools were closed, and Ukrainian children were forced to go to the Polish schools or, if possible, study at home. In June 1920, the local group of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, with the support of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, appealed to the Regional School Council in Lviv with a request to allow the opening of Ukrainian schools in Stryi. It was emphasized that Ukrainian children's attending Polish schools was undesirable from a pedagogical point of view and unacceptable from a national point of view. The Ukrainians supported their request with an interesting appendix – an order of the Ukrainian political authorities of the Stryi district of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic of January 18, 1919, according to which six Ukrainian and five Polish folk and special (lower and upper primary) schools had the right to operate in the town of Stryi in order to ensure equal access to education for children of both nationalities (*V spravi Ridnoi Shkoly*, 1920, p. 4). Thus, the Ukrainian public activists tried to point out to the Polish administration that the Ukrainian authorities had taken a more democratic approach to meeting the educational needs of national communities in Stryi.

In May 1922, the newspaper under study published the article about the closure of an educational centre in Levandivka, a suburb of Lviv. The story was that local residents, despite financial hardship, were able to organize courses for their children and hire four Ukrainian teachers. However, the Polish authorities banned the courses. The Ukrainian

public made numerous attempts to establish an independent school or at least a branch of the B. Hrinchenko Lviv primary school, and teachers even officially declared their loyalty to the Polish state. However, the authorities did not grant permission for the training and even sent gendarmes who expelled teachers and children, who were then forced to conduct lessons out-of-doors. Emphasizing the injustice of such steps, the unknown author of the article also cited the opinions of individual Polish citizens who reacted to the authorities' actions negatively (Zakryttia shkoly na Levandivtsi, 1922, p. 4). In September 1922, the newspaper "Dilo" reported on the ban on opening the Ukrainian private schools in the town of Sokal. The Polish authorities motivated their actions by the fact that the Polish schools in this town supposedly fully meet the educational needs of local population (Zaborona vidkryttia ukrainskykh shkil, 1922, pp. 3–4).

The newspaper "Dilo" published reports on the opening of the Ukrainian schools quite rarely. One of the few exceptions was the article about the Ukrainian private school in the town of Berezhany, which the local group of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society managed to establish in September 1922 after two years of efforts. Since the school building was transferred to the state police department, the educational process had to be organized in the premises of the "Berezhansky Boyan" society. It was reported about the education of children in two classes, the activities of the principal (Fr. Ivan Korduba) and school teachers (Olha Babiak and Olha Borodaikiv). Traditionally, there was a call to the Ukrainian public to support the school with financial donations (Dopysy z kraiu, 1922, p. 4).

The authors and editorial staff of the newspaper "Dilo" focused on vocational education as well. One of the first Ukrainian vocational educational institutions restored after the Great War was the Trade School of the "Prosvita" society. Already in 1919, 125 people studied there. According to press reports, the school needed a significant financial support, since the expenses amounted to 65 thousand Polish marks, and the students paid only 23 thousand (Do nashykh povitovykh kooperatyv, 1920, p. 4). According to the newspaper "Dilo", in 1921/1922 academic year, 267 people were educated at the educational institution, of whom 194 were men and 73 were women. The school trained specialists for the trade sector under two syllabuses: a two-year and one-year syllabus. However, 46 people left the school during the academic year, mostly for financial reasons. The teaching staff of the trade school consisted of a school principal and 16 teachers, of whom 13 worked part-time. It is important that the newspaper article listed the names of the school principal (a famous historian, educator, and cooperative activist Denys Korenets) and all the teachers, among whom were high school professors, lawyers, judges, and bank employees. It turns out that the principal of the "Narodna Torhivlia" cooperative, Yevstahiy Nahirny, also worked at the school, teaching Commodity Studies. Sylvestra Frenkel led a non-credit English course. In total, 125 people finished the school in the mentioned above academic year (39 – two-year studying curriculum, 86 – one-year studying curriculum), 32 women among them. All of them were given the opportunity to find employment at trade, industrial, and financial enterprises and institutions (Torhovelnna Shkola, 1922, p. 6).

Another professional educational institution of the "Prosvita" Society, the activity of which was highlighted by the "Dilo" newspaper, was the economic and horticultural school in the village of Myluvanny near the town of Stanislaviv. This institution ceased its activities during the war and renewed its activities by members of the "Prosvita" Society only in 1922. The winter five-month course started on December 26. In addition to economic sciences, students were taught such subjects as Botany, Accounting, History and Geography of Ukraine,

and Ukrainian Literature at the economic and horticultural school (Zymovyi hospodarskyi kurs u Myluvaniu, 1922, p. 4).

Only one article in the newspaper under study focused on the issue of professional training of the Ukrainian teachers. This is despite the fact that since 1920 several Ukrainian private teacher training seminaries had been restored or started their activities, including the seminary of the Sisters of St. Basil in Drohobych (Haliv, 2020, p. 54). At the beginning of early September 1922, in the article “Challenging Cynicism”, the editors of the “Dilo” newspaper F. Fedortsiv and V. Tselevych elucidated the state of affairs at the Ukrainian private Seminary courses in Lviv and Przemyśl. The Polish authorities granted permission to conduct such courses, but at the same time limited the number of female students in one course to 40 people and did not agree to the opening of equal departments. At the Seminary courses in Przemyśl, this led to the forced expulsion of 46 female students who had passed the entrance exams and had the full right to study. At the same time, the authorities allowed the Przemyśl Polish Teachers' Seminary to establish three departments (40 students each) for the first year. The authors emphasized that over the past three years, two Ukrainian teachers' seminaries in Lviv and Przemyśl managed to train about 3,000 teachers, to whom the Polish Board of Trustees of the Lviv School District did not provide positions at schools in the region. The authors of the article saw this as the Polish “plan for the spiritual and educational impoverishment of the Ukrainian people”, and therefore called on the Ukrainian public to donate to support the Ukrainian private schools. “A living nation will not allow itself to be killed!” – the newspaper publication pathetically emphasized (Vyzyvaiuchy tsynizm, 1922a, pp. 1–2).

In 1918 – 1923, the editorial board of the newspaper monitored the facts and informed readers about the development of the Ukrainian secondary (state and private) education. First of all, it reported on the work of the oldest Ukrainian secondary school in Lviv – the Academic Gymnasium and its branch. One of the publications reported that the state Academic Gymnasium and its branch were located in the People's House, since the school premises were occupied by the Polish soldiers. However, due to the lack of classrooms in the People's House, it was necessary to transfer the training of Gymnasium students to evening hours, as a result of which it was not possible to conduct classes in optional subjects: Singing, Gymnastics, French. In 1920/21, parents of Gymnasium students appealed to the local school authorities and the relevant ministry twice with a demand to release the Gymnasium building from the military presence and carry out the necessary repair work in its premises immediately (Z pekuchykh sprav, 1921, p. 3; Vpysy do akademichnoi himnazii, 1920, p. 5).

The activities of the Ukrainian private Gymnasium in Yavoriv, which belonged to the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, received positive reviews. At the beginning of January 1923, the newspaper under study described a full eight-grade Gymnasium, to the financing of which the Ukrainian public directed significant resources, since student fees were not enough for its maintenance. More than 200 students were educated at this secondary school, and the teaching staff, led by the principal Bohdan Stavnychy, consisted of 11 teachers. The Yavoriv private Gymnasium had its own two-story building. The high-quality level of education at this school was even recognized by the Polish authorities, who granted it the “right to publicize” (i.e. the right to independently conduct transfer and final exams independently) for Grades 1–6 in the 1922/23 academic year (Yavorivskyi vistnyk, 1923, p. 7). The short messages contained information about state gymnasiums with the Ukrainian language of instruction in Ternopil and Stanislaviv (Dyrektsiia derzhavnoi himnazii, 1920, p. 5; V derzhavnii himnazii,

1920, p. 4). However, such publications about the success of the Ukrainian secondary education were rare.

Usually, the newspaper “Dilo” covered the issues related to the obstacles that the Polish administration created for the development of the Ukrainian secondary schools. The authors and editorial staff of the newspaper focused on the affairs of gymnasiums in Horodenka, Rohatyn, Dobromyl, Stryi, and Dolyna. Thus, in 1919, the Polish authorities confiscated the building of the Ukrainian private Gymnasium in Horodenka for the needs of the army, after which classes were held in the premises of the student dormitory. However, this building was also handed over to the Polish gendarmerie in May 1920, as a result of which students and teachers held classes in the yard out-of-doors. Official appeals to the authorities were unsuccessful, even though other buildings were offered to accommodate the troops. A similar situation occurred in Rohatyn, where the Ukrainian gymnasium was evicted from its own building (Yak ne dovbneiu to palytseiu, 1920, p. 4). A detailed description of all the interrogations related to the Horodenka Ukrainian Gymnasium was published in the newspaper article, which outlined the history of the Gymnasium since 1909 and the multiple destruction of its property by the Polish and Romanian troops during World War I. The appeal of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society to the Polish Ministry of Military Affairs and the Ministry of Public Education yielded no results. As a result of denunciations against teachers and Gymnasium students to the gendarmerie, the county eldership, and the National School Council, the Ukrainian Gymnasium in Horodenka was transformed into “gymnasium courses”, which were soon also banned on the pretext that the teachers did not have the appropriate qualifications. The authors of the article emphasized the injustice of such accusations, since the same teachers worked at the gymnasium as during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and therefore saw the authorities' steps as a manifestation of the Polish chauvinism (Martyrolohiia pryvatnoi himnazii v Horodentsi, 1921, p. 3). Another reason for the ban on the activity of the Gymnasium in Horodenka was the alleged “hostile attitude of the youth towards the Polish nationality” (Horodensku himnaziuu rozviazano, 1921, p. 3). In June 1922, the Ukrainian public of Horodenka district appealed to the newspaper “Dilo” with an appeal to defend the reopening of the Ukrainian Private Gymnasium, despite the fact that the Polish residents of the town protested against it and tried to establish their own secondary school and enroll the Ukrainian children (V spravi ukrainskoi himnazii v Horodentsi, 1922, p. 2).

In the early summer of 1922, the Polish authorities banned the activities of the Ukrainian Private Gymnasium courses in Dobromyl, which was immediately reported by the newspaper “Dilo” (Zamknennia ukrainskykh himnaziinykh kursiv, 1922, p. 5). In September of the same year, the Ukrainians attempted to renew the Gymnasium's activity, but the Polish police dispersed the students and teachers with bayonets (Vyzyvaiuchy tsynizm, 1922b, p. 1). In November 1922, by order of the Polish authorities, the Markiyan Shashkevych Ukrainian Private Gymnasium in the town of Dolyna was closed. At the same time, the gendarmerie arrested four Gymnasium professors (Pokhid proty ukrainskoi shkoly, 1922, p. 7; Prychyny zakryttia, 1922, p. 4). In two Polish gymnasiums in the town of Stryi, school inspector Payonk eliminated the subject “Ukrainian Language”, citing the lack of teachers (V stryiskykh himnaziakh, 1921, p. 3). The contributors to the newspaper “Dilo” also criticized those Ukrainian teachers of the Polish Gymnasium in Stryi who took a loyal position towards Poland, among them the famous Ukrainian writer, literary critic and teacher Denys Lukiyanovych (Zi stryiskoi himnazii, 1921, p. 4).

The reform of education content in real gymnasiums, initiated in 1921, also caused some reflections among the contributors to the "Dilo" newspaper. In June 1922, the newspaper published an appeal of parents of gymnasium students who studied at the Lviv Real Gymnasium with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. In the appeal there was mentioned dissatisfaction with the changes made to the curriculum of real gymnasiums, which consisted, firstly, in removing the subject "Latin" from the first grades and transferring its study to the fourth and subsequent grades, with a sharp increase in the number of hours to the detriment of other subjects; secondly, the German language was kept as compulsory, but French and English were deprived of such importance, which were deemed optional; thirdly, the hours of the abolished the Greek language (which were received quite positively) were not transferred to the study of necessary subjects for high school students, primarily modern languages. Parents of high school students complained that officials of the Lviv School District Board of Trustees promised them to make changes to the new curriculum, calling it experimental, but failed to do so. On the other hand, the parents' appeal cited the example of the private Ukrainian high school in Stanislaviv, where teachers managed to defend their own curriculum, which included: 1) the study of the Ukrainian and German languages from Grade 1; 2) beginning of the study of Latin from Grade 2; 3) beginning of study of French from Grade 3; 4) "real subjects" were also introduced in all primary grades. In addition, the appeal demanded that the Lviv Real Gymnasium be provided with teachers who can teach "real subjects", rather than sending teachers from classical gymnasiums (*V spravi ukrainskoi realnoi himnazii u Lvovi*, 1922, p. 4).

No less painful for the authors and editorial staff of the newspaper "Dilo" were the issues of higher education. World War I prevented the implementation of the decision of the Austrian authorities to establish Ukrainian University in Lviv. Therefore, the only classical University in Eastern Galicia remained the University of Franz I, in which Ukrainian Professors tried to defend the rights of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction and document circulation. In February 1918, the Ukrainian Professors and Associate Professors of the University welcomed the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty, the terms of which, among other things, provided for the accession of Chełm land and Podlasie land to the UNR. The statement of the scholars was a counterbalance to the protest statement of their Polish colleagues and, based on facts, argued that "the historical rights of the Poles to Chełm are much younger than the Ukrainians" (*Zaiava ukrainskykh profesoriv i dotsentiv*, 1918, p. 1). In the summer of the same year, the newspaper "Dilo" reported that the University had problems with the habilitation procedure for the Ukrainians. They were explained by "wartime circumstances", although there were no restrictions to the Poles (*Ukraintsi i lvivskyi universytet*, 1918, pp. 1–2).

The next report in the newspaper "Dilo", which concerned the University, was related to the transfer of the Galician Regional Diet building for the needs of an institution of higher education. The celebrations took place on May 3, 1920, with the participation of representatives of the Polish authorities at various levels, the administration and Polish student youth (*Lvivskyi universytet v soimovim budynku*, 1920, p. 4). The Ukrainians were denied access to the University because, among the conditions for enrollment, it was necessary to submit documents proving the Polish citizenship and service in the Polish army. The Ukrainians did not possess such documents, because, based on international law, they did not have any Polish citizenship and were not obliged to serve in the Polish army. The same restrictions began to be applied at the Higher Technical School in Lviv (*Lvivskyi universytet dalshe*

zamknenyi, 1920, p. 3; Lvivska tekhnika zamknena, 1920, p. 3; Kurylyshyn, 2022, p. 60). In an attempt to resolve the problem, the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee sent a delegation to the Polish Minister of Education. The process of negotiations between the Ukrainian delegation, consisting of Stepan Fedak, Kyrylo Studinsky, and Vasyl Shchurat, and Minister Maciej Rataj, was covered in a separate article in the newspaper "Dilo" (at that time – the "Hromadska Dumka"). It was noted that the Ukrainian delegation demanded the admission of Ukrainian students and professors to the University, but the Minister refused, since this issue, according to him, was related to the problem of international affiliation of Eastern Galicia and obligation of military service for Ukrainian youth. To this, a lawyer S. Fedak objected that women were not allowed to study at the University, although they were not obliged to serve in the Polish army. Therefore, the Minister of Education M. Rataj saw the solution to the problem in the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Stanislaviv or the opening of Ukrainian Private University courses in Lviv. The Ukrainian delegation spoke against the idea of establishing the University in provincial Stanislaviv (*Ukrainska delehatsiia v polskoho ministra prosvity*, 1920, p. 2).

On September 25, 1920, the newspaper's editorial office learned that the Polish government intended to submit to the Sejm for consideration a draft law on the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Kolomyia or Stanislaviv consisting of two faculties: Theology and Law (*Ukrainskyi universytet v Stanislavovi?*, 1920, p. 4). The decision in favour of Stanislaviv was made at a joint meeting of the educational and constitutional commissions of the Sejm in the presence of the Minister of Education in March 1921. This time, it was also about two faculties, but this time – Theological and Natural Sciences (not Law). 10 million Polish marks were allocated for the implementation of the project. Describing such a proposal, the editorial staff of the newspaper "Dilo" (at that time – the "Ukraysky Visnyk" newspaper) made the following observations: 1) there is the Theological Seminary in Stanislaviv, and establishment of Law Courses there will not turn this institution into University; 2) the Ukrainian University can be only located in Lviv as the central city of Ukrainian Galicia; 3) the establishment of University is not certain, since the Poles postpone this issue until the formation of voivodeships in Eastern Galicia; 4) to give Stanislaviv the status of a full-fledged University town, the Polish government planned to establish the Polish Forestry Academy there, thus increasing the number of Polish higher education institutions, while 4 million Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia would have to be content with a small educational institution called a "University" (*"Ruski" universytet u Stanislavovi*, 1921, p. 1). In the next issue, the newspaper's editorial board called the project to establish the Ukrainian University in Stanislaviv a "painful joke", in part because the allocation of 10 million Polish marks is barely enough for the annual maintenance of two four-grade elementary schools. The provincial town, even after its transformation into the centre of the voivodeship, has no appropriate libraries. It was then noted: the Ukrainians always fought for their University in Lviv and consider the division of the Utraquist Lviv University into two higher education institutions: Polish and Ukrainian, a fair decision. The editorial board interpreted such a step as a matter of satisfying cultural, not political, interests of the Ukrainians. At the same time, it was hinted that even the Germans, having occupied central Poland during World War I, founded University and Polytechnic in Warsaw for the Poles (*Boliuchyi zhart*, 1921, p. 1).

Given the unresolved issue of the Ukrainian University by the Polish authorities, the Ukrainian public developed other forms of higher education for young people. The Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Scientific Issues Society in Lviv remained a component of higher education

for the Ukrainians, which resumed its activities in March 1917. Lectures and seminars were conducted by famous Ukrainian scholars in the hall of the M. Lysenko Institute. However, with the arrival of the Polish authorities, the Society suspended its activities. According to the newspaper "Dilo", in October 1919 the Society submitted a request to the Governorate in Lviv for permission to conduct systematic scientific courses, but was refused, based on incorrect documentation. The ban was protested at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but officials were in no hurry to respond (Vazhni dokumenty, 1920, pp. 2–3; Zbory, 1920, p. 4).

The next attempt to start a systematic course of higher education came at the beginning of 1921. At the end of February, the newspaper "Dilo" published information that a systematic course of higher education would begin on March 1, 1921, in the building of the "Ukrainian Conversation" Society (Z Tovarystva, 1921, p. 3). However, the Lviv Police Directorate banned the courses, stating that such systematic presentations belong to University, not scientific or popular science courses. It was recommended to change the Society's charter and approve it in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education. The letter banning the courses was published in the newspaper "Dilo" (Zaborona systematychnykh kursiv, 1921, p. 2). Therefore, the editorial board of the newspaper published an open letter of the Main Council of the Petro Mohyla Society of Ukrainian Scientific Lectures to the General Delegate of the Polish Government for Galicia, Kazimierz Galecki, which emphasized the right of the Society, in accordance with its charter, to conduct systematic scientific and popular science presentations, and also exposed excessive, even absurd restrictions on the part of the Polish police (Rakovskiy, & Strutynskiy, 1921, pp. 1–2). However, these steps did not yield results, so the newspaper's editorial board stated "the horror of the Poles concerning education of the Ukrainians" (Zhakh pered osvitoiu, 1921, p. 5). In October 1922, the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Scientific Society announced the beginning of another series of lectures (Inavhuratsiia vykladiv, 1922, p. 1). However, the Polish police dispersed everyone who had gathered to listen to scientific lectures in the building of the M. Lysenko Music Institute (Politsiia proty, 1922, p. 4; Zaborona inavhuratsii naukovykh vykladiv, 1922, p. 2).

It should be noted that the Ukrainian Secret University in Lviv began operating in July 1921, as a reaction to the liquidation of the Ukrainian departments at the state Lviv University and the admission of only those applicants who had Polish citizenship and served in the Polish army. Despite the restrictions, the Ukrainians nevertheless entered the then Polish University. Criticism of these students was quite harsh. For example, in one of the secret leaflets their names were published and they were called "dead for the Ukrainian people", as reported by the newspaper "Dilo" (Spys "pomershkykh" na taiemnykh klepsydy, 1922, p. 5).

Of course, the activities of Secret Ukrainian University were not covered in the newspaper under study so as not to expose students and teachers to police persecution. Only once did the editorial board of the "Dilo" newspaper openly talk about the activities of the Ukrainian University, telling about the holding of a special meeting (questionnaire) on University affairs in Lviv on February 12, 1923, during which representatives of the Ukrainian political parties, scientific, educational and financial institutions, and some prominent public figures stated that "the development of Ukrainian private higher education institutions in Lviv has advanced... so far that it became necessary to enter from the first stage of secret action onto the path of open action..." (Ukrainskyi Universytet u Lvovi, 1923, p. 1). However, as it is known, the Secret Ukrainian University never became an official educational institution and ceased to operate in 1925.

Conclusions. Thus, the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, despite censorship and persecution by the Polish occupation authorities, was one of the most informative press sources about the daily life of Ukrainian society in Galicia. The issue of education of the Ukrainians was one of the key issues on the newspaper's pages: about 50 publications (articles and short reports) focused on the issues of primary, secondary, vocational and higher education. The leading refrain of publications in the newspaper “Dilo” regarding Ukrainian schooling was the topic of oppression by the Polish authorities, which manifested itself in the closure of the Ukrainian primary and secondary schools, the ban on the use of the Ukrainian language at schools as the language of instruction and administration, the conversion of the Ukrainian schools into the Polish ones, and opposition to the opening of new Ukrainian educational institutions. Reports about successful educational projects of the Ukrainians (for example, about the elementary school in Berezhany, the Commercial School in Lviv, the private Ukrainian gymnasium in Yavoriv) were episodic and gave way to negative descriptions of the oppression of the Ukrainian schooling by the Polish authorities. The newspaper's editorial staff consistently advocated for the national character of the Ukrainian schools and reconstruction of the Ukrainian educational system that existed in Galicia before World War I. At the same time, it noted the deterioration of educational achievements and prospects for the Ukrainians due to Poland's incorporation and assimilation policies. In the newspaper chief focus is on the issue of the Ukrainian University creation in Lviv, the activities of the Petro Mohyla Scientific Lecture Society. We consider the analysis of the articles published in the newspaper “Dilo” on the activities of the Ukrainian educational public organizations that resumed their activities after World War I to be a promising direction of research.

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Oleh RAZYHRAEV

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Department of World History, Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University, 24 Chopin Street, Lutsk, Ukraine, postal code 43000 (razygraev@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0003-0480-6936

Researcher ID: rid7558

Web of Science Researcher ID: HSH-3113-2023

ScopusID: 57810432500

Andrii BOROVYK

PhD hab. (Law), Docent, Vice President of Research, Scientific Research Institute of Public Law, 2A H. Kirpy Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03035 (aborovychok@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-1834-404X

Researcher ID: GQZ-1183-2022

Олег РАЗИГРАЄВ

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії Волинський національний університету імені Лесі Українки, вул. Шопена, 24, м. Луцьк, Україна, індекс 43000 (razygraev@ukr.net)

Андрій БОРОВИК

доктор юридичних наук, доцент, віцепрезидент з наукової роботи, Науково-дослідний інститут публічного права, вул. Г. Кірпи, 2А, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03035 (aborovychok@gmail.com)

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**ORGANIZATION OF ACTIVITIES AND PERSONNEL COMPOSITION
OF THE PRISON IN THE TOWN OF WIŚNICZ, KRAKÓW VOIVODSHIP,
II RZECZPOSPOLITA (SELECTED ASPECTS)**

Abstract. After World War I, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe an integral part of the state-building processes was the formation of penal service (penitentiary system) – an integral component of any state law enforcement system. Interwar Poland – the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (II Rzeczpospolita) was no exception, where even before the declaration of independence restoration, the formation processes of penitentiary system were traced. **The purpose** of the article is to study selected aspects of activities organization and personnel composition of the prison in the town of Wiśnicz, Kraków Voivodeship of II Rzeczpospolita. **The research methodology** is based on the use of general scientific and specifically historical research methods, including problem-chronological,

synchronous, diachronic, comparative and historical, etc. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that the authors attempted, based on unpublished archival materials, to highlight selected aspects of the organization of activities and personnel composition of the prison in the town of Wiśnicz, Kraków Voivodeship in II Rzeczpospolita.

Conclusions. Thus, the prison in Wiśnicz was an integral part of the penitentiary system of II Rzeczpospolita. Between the two world wars, this prison evolved from one of the largest penal institutions of the state to the prison of a new profile – “a prison – a craft institution” with broad resocialization opportunities. The penitentiary institution under study was designed to imprison 580 people, but it was often overcrowded and on the eve of World War II there were almost 860 people.

During the period under analysis this prison was headed by S. Sledzewski, under whose leadership numerous assistants, inspectors, guards, and office employees worked. The prison staff also included auxiliary personnel – doctors, teachers, and clergy. The staffing level of the prison in Wiśnicz was around 90 – 100 people and was insufficient for the proper functioning of this institution due to its constant overcrowding. At the same time, the prison employees tried to perform their duties properly, which is confirmed by the documentary materials we have analyzed.

Key words: Poland, Wiśnicz, prison, penitentiary system, organization, personnel.

ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ТА КАДРОВА СТРУКТУРА В'ЯЗНИЦІ У МІСТІ ВІСЬНИЧ КРАКІВСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА ДРУГОЇ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ (ВИБРАНІ АСПЕКТИ)

Анотація. Постановка проблеми. Складовою частиною державотворчих процесів у країнах Центральної та Східної Європи після Першої світової війни було формування кримінально-виконавчої служби (пенітенціарної системи) – невід'ємного компонента будь-якої державної правоохоронної системи. Не стала тут винятком й міжвоєнна Польща – Друга Річ Посполита, де ще до проголошення відновлення незалежності простежувалися процеси становлення в'язничної служби. **Метою запропонованої статті** є дослідження вибраних аспектів організації діяльності та кадрової структури в'язниці у місті Вісьнич Краківського воєводства Другої Речі Посполитої. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на використанні загальнонаукових та спеціально історичних методів, зокрема, проблемно-хронологічного, синхронного, діяхронного, порівняльно-історичного та ін. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що автори спробували на основі неопублікованих архівних матеріалів висвітлити вибрані аспекти організації діяльності та кадрової структури в'язниці у місті Вісьнич Краківського воєводства Другої Речі Посполитої. **Висновки.** Отже, в'язниця у м. Вісьнич була невід'ємною складовою частиною пенітенціарної системи Другої Речі Посполитої. Між двома світовими війнами ця тюрма пройшла еволюцію від однієї з найбільших кримінально-виконавчих установ держави до в'язниці нового профілю – “тюрма – реміснична установа” з широкими ресоціалізаційними можливостями. Досліджувана пенітенціарна інституція була розрахована на утримання 580 осіб, однак часто була переповненою й напередодні Другої світової війни уміщувала майже 860 осіб.

У досліджуваній час цю тюрму очолював С. Следзевський, під керівництвом якого працювали численні помічники, інспектори, охоронці, службовці канцелярії. До штату в'язниці належав також допоміжний персонал – лікарі, вчителі та духовні особи. Особовий склад в'язниці налічував приблизно 90–100 осіб, однак цього було недостатньо для справного функціонування установи з огляду на її постійну переповненість в'язнями. Водночас службовці в'язниці намагалися належно виконувати свої посадові обов'язки, що підтверджують документальні матеріали, які ми опрацювали.

Ключові слова: Польща, Вісьнич, тюрма, пенітенціарна система, організація, особовий склад.

Problem Statement. The end of the Great War led to the fall of empires in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the emergence of new states on their ruins, which immediately began active state-building processes. A component of these transformations was also the formation of the penal service (penitentiary system) – an integral component of any state

law enforcement system. Interwar Poland – the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (II Rzeczpospolita) – was no exception, where even before the declaration of independence restoration, the processes of prison service formation were traced.

The purpose of the article is to study selected aspects of activities organization and personnel composition of the prison in the town of Wiśnicz, Kraków Voivodeship of II Rzeczpospolita.

Review of Recent Researches and Publications. The history of the prison in Wiśnicz has not been adequately covered in historical and legal scientific literature. In interwar Poland, we find occasional mentions of this penitentiary institution in the specialized magazines “Przegląd Więziennictwa Polskiego” and “W służbie penitencjarnej”, and also in the anniversary edition of the Ministry of Justice of 1929 (Księga jubileuszowa więziennictwa polskiego 1918 – 1928, 1929). In particular, in the pages of the magazine “W służbie penitencjarnej”, M. Czerwicz published the article “Prison Craft Institution in Wiśnicz” in 1939 (Czerwicz, 1939).

Fragmentary information about this prison can be found in the studies of modern Polish researchers K. Pawlak (Pawlak, 1995; 1999) and K. Urbański (Urbański, 1997). Among Ukrainian scholars, the penitentiary system of Poland was studied by O. Razyhrayev (Razyhrayev, 2020a; Razyhrayev, 2020b; Razyhrayev, Rudyanin, & Kunytskyy, 2021; Razyhrayev, 2022a; Razyhrayev, 2022b; Razyhrayev, 2023, etc.), who, in particular studied certain aspects of the prison functioning in the town of Wiśnicz.

The main source base of the presented article is unpublished documents stored in the funds of the National Archives of Poland in Kraków, the State Archives of Volyn Region, and the State Archives of Brest and Grodno Regions (Belarus).

Research Results. *The history of the prison establishment and organization of its activities.* The prison under study was located in the town of Nowy Wiśnicz (modern Małopolskie Voivodeship of the Republic of Poland) in the premises of the ancient monastery of the Order of Discalced Carmelites (Order of the Discalced Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel), which was built on the initiative of the famous Kraków voivode S. Lubomirski in memory of the Battle of Khotyn in 1621. In 1783, the aforementioned order was liquidated by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II. Since then, the aforementioned monastery had been used for judicial and penitentiary purposes. It should be added that this was a typical practice for that time. For example, in the premises of the church and convent of St. Brigid, which was located in the centre of Austrian Lviv, in accordance with the order of the aforementioned eldest son of Empress Maria Theresa Joseph II, in 1782 a men's prison was located, which became known as “Brigidka”. Similarly, another large penitentiary institution in Lviv – the remand prison – was located in the premises of the Carmelite monastery liquidated by the Austrians in 1784. I. Franko was imprisoned there in 1877 – 1878 (Razyhrayev, 2023, p. 218).

During World War I, the staff and prisoners of the Wiśnicz prison were evacuated to the Moravian town of Myrow by the Austrian authorities. After the end of the war, the prison under our research was under the jurisdiction of the Polish Ministry of War Affairs, which transformed it into a central military prison. However, in the early 1920s, this penitentiary unit was part of the Ministry of Justice, and during the interwar period as well (Księga jubileuszowa więziennictwa polskiego 1918 – 1928, p. 55).

The prison in Wiśnicz was one of the largest penitentiary institutions in interwar Poland. This penal structure, like prisons in Warsaw, Fordon, Grudziądz, Koronowo, Rawicz, Wronki

or Drohobych, belonged to Class 1 and over 450 dangerous prisoners sentenced to long terms of imprisonment could be imprisoned there (Rozporządzenie Ministra Sprawiedliwości, 1928, pp. 1475–1476).

The prison under analysis was designed for 580 people, but it was often overcrowded. Thus, at the beginning of March 1936, in the prison there were about 725 prisoners (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, p. 37). As of July 1937, 749 people were imprisoned there (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji). On the eve of World War II, sources record 859 prisoners, which indicated significant overcrowding in the penitentiary institution under study (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, p. 246).

Both criminal and political prisoners served their sentences in Wiśnicz prison. In particular, in 1931, the Ministry of Justice asked the head of this penitentiary institution to provide a list of prisoners (residents of the capital) convicted of political crimes (SABR, f. 1999, d. 1, c. 1, p. 47). In 1934, the Ministry of Justice recommended that prison administrations be required to inform in writing about the release of people who were serving sentences for belonging to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists or the Ukrainian Military Organization (SABR, f. 1999, d. 1, c. 1, p. 280).

In the second half of the 1930s, as part of the policy of reforming the Polish penitentiary system (creating the so-called “progressive system” – *authors*), this prison received a new profile – “a prison – craft institution” and was used to hold male prisoners who were of urban origin, had the first criminal record, and were at the age of 21–30. This was primarily about the broad resocialization opportunities of the reformed institution by involving convicts in labour (Czerwicz, 1939, pp. 3–4).

The architectural complex of the prison in Wiśnicz consisted of three buildings. The first two-story building housed prisoners sentenced to long sentences. The second building, one-story building, was intended for prisoners sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Another building served as a hospital for treatment of general diseases, as well as tuberculosis. Initially, it was designed for 100 beds. However, in the late 1920s there were 75 beds, and in September 1938 only 60 (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 45, brak paginacji; Księga jubileuszowa więziennictwa polskiego 1918 – 1928, p. 102). In the early 1930s, sources record a thorough reconstruction of the prison (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 55, brak paginacji).

The prison housed craft workshops where prisoners worked, including weaving, tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, and metalworking (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 40–41, 47, 54). In general, within the state, the prison in Wiśnicz specialized in mass production of linen products. In addition, raw materials for weaving needs of the aforementioned prison and other penitentiary institutions in Poland were also produced there (Księga jubileuszowa więziennictwa polskiego 1918 – 1928, p. 60, 153). This was due to the operation of a large weaving school, where prisoners could obtain a good theoretical and practical training. The school had modern technical equipment. About 40 students could study the course at the same time (Księga jubileuszowa więziennictwa polskiego 1918 – 1928, pp. 116, 118). It should be noted that the convicts were also involved in agricultural work, road reconstruction, construction and repair work (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, p. 39).

In the prison there was also a museum, where items made by prisoners of bread, glass, cloth, or wood were exhibited. In particular, as of 1937, various types of boxes, wooden frames, human figures, etc. were kept there (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

An inspection of the prison in Wiśnicz, which was conducted at the end of May 1935, noted “exemplary order”: prisoners had water procedures every two weeks, their bed linen

was changed every week, administration respected prisoners' right to a daily one-hour walk, and sick prisoners spent three times as much time in fresh air. In addition, the prison administration implemented prisoners' rights to receive educational, medical, and religious services, and labour department functioned properly (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 27, brak paginacji). At the same time, problems with sewage and drainage were observed, which remained relevant for the prison in Wiśnicz in the second half of the 1930s (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 44, brak paginacji).

Personnel composition. The prison in Wiśnicz was headed by a warden, appointed by the Minister of Justice. The entire staff of the penitentiary institution (an assistant, inspectors, guards, office employees, etc.), as well as prisoners, were directly subordinate to him. The auxiliary staff – doctors, teachers and clergy – also partly depended on the prison warden. The unchanged warden of the prison in Wiśnicz was S. Sledzewski during the interwar period (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 2, p. 5).

The number of personnel of the mentioned penitentiary institution was within the limits of about 90–100 people. In particular, as of 1931, the prison staff, together with its head, amounted to 90 people (SABR, f. 1999, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 3–7). In 1935, 109 people worked there, namely: 10 full-time employees, 5 contract employees, 7 prison guards, 62 guards and senior guards, 24 contract workers and 1 master weaver (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, p. 23).

In March 1936, the prison warden S. Sledzewski noted in his official report to the Ministry of Justice that the number of guards was not sufficient for the normal functioning of this penitentiary institution. First of all, the prison warden emphasized the need for increased security for professional workshops where prisoners worked; 3 spacious school buildings, as well as the playground where prisoners went in for gymnastics. The current staff was overloaded. For example, security guards only had a day off on Sunday once every 5–6 weeks; only about 50% of employees could use their vacation rights (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, p. 37).

On March 16, 1937, the prison staff numbered 102 people (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji). As of January 1, 1938, the Ministry of Justice determined the staff for the prison in Wiśnicz (according to positions) in the amount of 81 people, including: 1 chief commissioner, 4 deputy commissioners, 1 graduate student, 8 assistants, 29 senior guards, 31 guards, 1 chaplain, 2 doctors, 2 orderlies and 2 teachers (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 2, p. 95). The *de facto* staff consisted of at least 20–25 people more. Thus, as of July 1, 1939, the prison staff in Wiśnicz consisted of 106 people, namely: 9 full-time employees (including a doctor and a Roman Catholic priest), 6 contract employees (including 3 teachers and 3 accountants), 7 prison guards, 31 senior guards, 29 guards, 1 contract employee of the economic department and 23 contract employees of the labour department (including 2 foremen) (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, s. 240). On the eve of World War II, the prison staff of the penitentiary institution we studied consisted of 107 people (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 5, p. 244).

During the interwar period, the issue of involving police and military personnel in guarding the prison in Wiśnicz remained relevant. In particular, on June 10, 1931, S. Sledzewski, wrote in a letter to the vice-prosecutor of the Kraków Court of Appeal that even in the event of an emergency, the prison could not count on the help of the military garrison stationed in Bochnia. In addition, the prison warden recalled that a special commission had studied the security situation, which had stated the need to involve the military in the event of a mass uprising of prisoners. According to the head of this penitentiary institution, in reality, in a critical situation, one could only count on “God's grace and self-defense” (SABR, f. 1999, d. 1, c. 1, p. 28).

The decision on admission to prison service was made by the prison warden, after having studied the applicant's biography thoroughly. The head of the Court of Appeal in Kraków, in one of his letters to the head of the Wiśnicz prison, noted that candidates for service in the prison system had to comply with the legal acts on state civil service, including educational level. In addition, each application had to include: a birth certificate, documents confirming Polish citizenship, a school certificate, a medical certificate, a military ID card, as well as a handwritten autobiography. The prison warden also had to contact the Prisoners Registration Department of the Ministry of Justice to obtain confirmation that the applicant for the service had no criminal record (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 7, p. 23).

For example, in December 1936, the warden of the prison in Wiśnicz, S. Sledzewski, addressed the Kraków Grodzkie Starostwo with a secret letter requesting information about the "moral qualifications", general characteristics of K. Gouda, and information about his attitude towards the Polish state, a native and resident of Kraków. In addition, a request regarding the presence of the latter in the register of convicts was sent to the Ministry of Justice. The fact was that the latter had applied to the prison warden with a request for employment as a teacher. Therefore, the warden of the institution had the obligation to collect as much information as possible about this person in order to make a personnel decision. As a result, K. Gouda was denied employment, as it was determined that the latter had previously been detained by the police on suspicion of committing a crime, but he was later released due to the lack of evidence of guilt (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

Prison service was carried out in shifts, in appropriate uniforms and with personal protective equipment. In particular, as of April 1937, the officers of the Wiśnicz prison were armed with 52 German-style carbines (caliber 7.92) and the same number of bayonets (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

The prison warden, S. Sledzewski, focused on the educational level of the employees. Thus, all guards were obliged to complete a local training course, which took place at the place of service. According to the order of the Minister of Justice of May 16, 1923, in the same year, a three-month training of the service personnel began in the prison of the town of Wiśnicz. The students studied in the guards' dining room from 5 till 7 p.m. (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 7, p. 26).

From December 1926 to March 1927, another local training course for guards was held in the Wiśnicz prison. The classes were conducted by the prison staff. In particular, "Prison Science" was taught by the prison warden S. Sledzewski, "Prison Regulations" – by an inspector K. Majewski, "Geography, Arithmetic and Polish" by a chaplain F. Kmecynski, "History of Poland" by an inspector K. Kimila, "Criminal Procedure and Law" by a judge Lazarski, "Hygiene and Rescue Work" by a doctor V. Jablonski, "Rifle, Ballistics and Service Regulations" by an assistant D. Jasinski, etc. In total, the curriculum was mastered by 42 students, who on March 22–23, 1927 were required to pass the relevant exams before an examination commission headed by the head of the Kraków District Criminal Court, Pelc (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 7, p. 87).

In March 1927, the head of the Kraków Court of Appeal informed the prison warden in Wiśnicz that for candidates for the positions of senior guards it was necessary to organize another, additional, training course with a syllabus different from a syllabus for guards. In turn, candidates for the positions of senior guards or current senior guards had the opportunity to improve their qualifications at the Central Prison School of the Ministry of Justice in Warsaw (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 7, pp. 41, 163).

On October 1, 1935, another training course for lower-ranking officials began in the same prison with 42 students. Classes were held mostly on Sundays and holidays. Due to certain personnel changes (transfers, dismissals, etc.), 38 people completed the training on May 31, 1936, of whom 34 passed the exam with a positive grade (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 8, brak paginacji). In the same year, the Ministry of Justice sent textbooks and other school materials to the prison in Wiśnicz, intended for teachers of prison guard training courses. In particular, the works "Near and Far" (Part I, authored by Chervinsky and Szymanovsky), "Collection of Arithmetic Tasks" (Part II, authored by Borovytska), Spelling Dictionary, physical and political maps of Poland by E. Romer (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 7, p. 481).

In the second half of the 1930s, the prison employees in Wiśnicz also improved their qualifications at the Prison Guard School under the Ministry of Justice (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 9, brak paginacji). In particular, in October 1937, the head of this prison delegated several prison guards to this departmental educational institution to master the syllabus of a special two-month training course on security issues. An obligatory condition for participation in such training was the presence of a medical certificate confirming good health of a trainee (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 9, brak paginacji; SAGR, f. 55, d. 1, c. 249, p. 4).

Transfers were an integral part of the life of the prison workers in Wiśnicz (as well as other prisons in Poland – *authors*). In particular, in the autumn of 1938, three employees of this institution joined the ranks of the newly established corps of employees of penal institutions in Zaolzie (Cieszyn Silesia). The fact was that after the annexation of the aforementioned territories by the Poles, the Minister of Justice on October 7, 1938, sent a letter to the warden of the prison in Wiśnicz, as well as to the wardens of other Polish prisons, stating that due to the need to staff the penal institutions of Cieszyn Silesia with Polish prison guards, two candidates for officers should be submitted. It was stated that these should be individuals with good professional qualifications and proper moral standards. In order to save public finances, it was welcomed that such individuals provide for the move at their own expense or receive compensation only to cover transport tickets. Therefore, in October 1938, the warden of the Wiśnicz prison reported to the Ministry of Justice that three employees had submitted reports for transfer to Cieszyn Silesia (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 1, pp. 481–483; Razyhrayev, 2023, p. 84).

While on duty, the prison employees in Wiśnicz sometimes violated discipline, in particular, they slept on duty, did not follow subordination, etc. Another manifestation of violation of discipline was the change in duty hours carried out by prison employees without any consent of the warden (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji). Sources rarely record criminal prosecution of the prison guards. In particular, in 1939, the Kraków District Court considered a case concerning sexual relations between one of the guards of the Wiśnicz prison and a minor who was not 15 years old. During the investigation, it was determined that such actions took place against the will of the girl, who also had a delay in physical development. The suspect initially denied such a relationship, but then confessed. At the same time, he insisted that everything happened by a mutual consent (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

At the same time, excellent service could be a reason for a special award for a prison officer. Thus, on July 26, 1937, the warden of the Wiśnicz prison submitted a suggestion to the Prison Administration Department of the Ministry of Justice to award special awards to two employees of this penitentiary institution, V. Karpiezh and Yu. Danets. The aforementioned document noted that V. Karpiezh began his service in 1924, and was characterized by a high

level of discipline, he had exemplary behaviour, and worked excellently in the administrative department of the prison, as well as in the economic department. His colleague Yu. Danets also began working in the prison system in 1924. In addition to serving as a prison guard, he additionally performed the duties of a master bricklayer in the prison workshop, managing to train many qualified specialists in this field among the prisoners. Moreover, he himself often participated in the repair work of the prison's service premises (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 2, p. 93). In 1938, the prison warden sent a proposal to Warsaw to award the bronze "Cross of Merit" to the employee V. Flak, a contract manager of the weaving workshop and a teacher at the prison weaving school. The prison management noted a high professional level of the latter, his patriotic attitude, as well as a high level of discipline and efficiency (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 2, p. 123).

An integral part of a daily life of the prison workers in Wiśnicz was social and cultural life. For example, sources record the activities of the orchestra in this penitentiary institution. Prison employees were also members of the Maritime and Colonial League and other organizations. In June 1937, celebrations were even to be held in Wiśnicz on the occasion of the holiday, at which a performance by the local prison orchestra was planned (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 11, p. 257).

It was noted above that the auxiliary staff of the prison we studied consisted of doctors, teachers, and clergy. In general, in penitentiaries where district hospitals operated, the medical staff usually included several doctors. For example, on May 27, 1938, the prison warden in Wiśnicz, S. Sledzewski, concluded a fixed-term contract with doctor V. Breitbart. The latter was to perform the functions of an assistant doctor at the district prison hospital, namely: to manage the laboratory and pharmacy, participate in complex surgical operations, visit sick prisoners who received outpatient and inpatient treatment at least once every two days, appear at the prison in urgent situations at any time of the day, etc. (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

The presence of a well-developed educational system in the Wiśnicz prison led to the employment of teachers. For example, in early October 1934, V. Vojas was hired as a teacher of general education subjects. His salary was 2 zł per academic hour (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 3, p. 135). As of April 1937, the position of head of the weaving school remained vacant in the prison. In this regard, the head turned to the Board of Trustees of the school district in Kraków with a request to help find a suitable teacher. In 1939, the prison warden concluded and sent employment contracts with teachers E. Ryl and Ja. Switalski for approval to the Ministry of Justice (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

An integral part of the activities of the prison school teacher in interwar Poland was to improve his own qualifications. In particular, in December 1937, the prison warden in Wiśnicz sent the prison teacher E. Kwietnia to a 10-day course for teachers, which took place at the Central Prison School in Warsaw. Students were provided with free accommodation and meals during the study period (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 9, brak paginacji).

As of 1938, 562 prisoners attended a general education school in the Wiśnicz prison, and 161 studied at vocational schools (carpentry, mechanics, tailoring, and weaving) within the aforementioned penitentiary institution. The school was located in the building of a former hospital and there were five rooms (84 desks and 204 chairs) for the educational process and a teacher's office (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 40, brak paginacji).

In October of the same year, the prison school teachers expressed their dissatisfaction with the prison administration regarding the violation of the training regime by certain

representatives of the prison administration. The point was that during the training process, the prison employees often involved prisoners in carrying out various small tasks, such as receiving packages. Moreover, prison employees who were in charge of the clothing or food warehouse, the labour department, or the boiler room generally refused to let prisoners attend classes at the prison school. According to teachers, such actions hindered the educational process, which took place only three times a week (ANKr., zesp. 480, sygn. 6, brak paginacji).

The task of prison chaplains was to meet the spiritual needs of prisoners. In the prison, a Roman Catholic priest carried out pastoral work on a contractual basis. At the same time, prisoners of other faiths also had access to religious practices. In particular, in 1938, the Polish Ministry of Justice delegated the famous Greek Catholic chaplain J. Kladochny on a long-term mission to 15 prisons in Poland to perform pastoral duties. From May 3 to June 4, he was to visit various prisons with a chaplaincy mission, including the prison in Wiśnicz (SAVR, f. 47, d. 1, c. 8, p. 35; Razyhrayev, 2023, p. 335).

Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research. Thus, the prison in Wiśnicz was an integral part of the penitentiary system of II Rzeczpospolita. Between the two world wars, this prison evolved from one of the largest penal institutions of the state to the prison of a new profile – “a prison – a craft institution” with broad resocialization opportunities. The penitentiary institution under study was designed to imprison 580 people, but it was often overcrowded and on the eve of World War II there were imprisoned almost 860 people.

At the time of the study, this prison was headed by S. Sledzewski, under whose leadership numerous assistants, inspectors, guards, and office employees worked. The prison staff also included auxiliary personnel – doctors, teachers, and clergy. The staffing level of the prison in Wiśnicz was around 90–100 people and was insufficient for the proper functioning of this institution due to its constant overcrowding. At the same time, the prison employees tried to perform their duties properly, which is confirmed by the documentary materials we have analyzed.

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Serhii KORNOVENKO

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Director of the Research Institute of Peasantry and Agrarian History Studies, Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, 81 T. Shevchenko Boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18031 (s-kornovenko@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-6268-2321

Yulia PASICHNA

PhD (History), Head of the Research Department, Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, 81 T. Shevchenko Boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18031 (pasichna_yulia@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-7357-7623

Сергій КОРНОВЕНКО

доктор історичних наук, професор, директор Науково-дослідного інституту селянства та вивчення аграрної історії, Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького, б-р Шевченка, 81, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18031 (s-kornovenko@ukr.net)

Юлія ПАСІЧНА

кандидатка історичних наук, начальниця Науково-дослідної частини, Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького, б-р Шевченка, 81, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18031 (pasichna_yulia@ukr.net)

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**THE VOICE OF TRUTH ABOUT THE HOLODOMOR-GENOCIDE
OF 1932 – 1933 IN UKRAINE. MATERIALS FROM “THE AMERICA”
NEWSPAPER EDITION, 1932**

Abstract. The purpose of the article. The authors of the article **aim at** gaining new knowledge on the subject matter, content, and genre representation of the publications published in the 1932 “The America” newspaper concerning the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. **The scientific novelty** is that the subject matter, content, and genre representation of the publications published in the 1932 America magazine concerning the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine have become the subject of special scientific focus for the first time. **Conclusions.** One of the historical sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine is the Ukrainian diaspora press in the United States – “The America” newspaper. It played a powerful role in informing the world about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. In the information war of that time, it also fulfilled the mission of deconstructing Soviet and pro-Soviet ideologies that denied and/or distorted and manipulated information about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. In 19 issues of

“The America” newspaper from August 30 till December 27, 1932, 31 publications of various genres of materials about the “famine tragedy” in Ukraine were published. In the newspaper, the public could learn about the objective picture of the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine from such diverse materials as: telegrams; analytics; information; eyewitness accounts; reflections; criticism; stories; letters; “reports”; interviews; diverse materials that contain a story, “news,” and analytics in one. All of them are in Ukrainian. They present a holistic and unbiased picture of the famine reality of 1932 in Ukraine. For example, the following issues are covered: executions of starving peasants; punishment of peasants for forced theft; massive fleeing of peasants from villages; food crisis and starvation of peasants; content, implementation and consequences of the implementation of Soviet legislation; reasons for collectivization; causes and artificial nature of the famine; the essence of the Bolshevik regime and its attitude towards peasants; reasons for artificial deviant behaviour of peasants; repressions in the USSR, purging of the party ranks; import of grain by the USSR from abroad; forms of peasant resistance, etc.

Key words: Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine, “The America” newspaper, peasant resistance, forced famine, collectivization.

ГОЛОС ПРАВДИ ПРО ГОЛОДОМОР-ГЕНОЦИД 1932 – 1933 РР. В УКРАЇНІ: МАТЕРІАЛИ ГАЗЕТИ “АМЕРИКА” 1932 Р.

Анотація. Мета статті. Автори статті ставлять за **мету** отримати нові знання з тематики, змісту, жанрового представництва публікацій, розміщених у часописі “Америка” за 1932 рік, що стосуються Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що означена тематика вперше стала предметом спеціальної наукової уваги. **Висновки.** Одним із історичних джерел голосу правди про Голодомор-геноцид 1932 – 1933 років в Україні є українська діаспорна преса США – газета “Америка”. Вона відіграла потужну роль в інформуванні світу щодо Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні. У тогочасній інформаційній війні виконала й місію деконструкції радянських та прорадянських ідеологем, які заперечували чи/або перекручували інформацію про Голодомор-геноцид 1932 – 1933 років в Україні та маніпулювали нею. У 19 числах газети “Америка” за 30 серпня – 27 грудня 1932 року оприлюднено 31 публікацію різножанрових матеріалів про “голодову трагедію” в Україні. Громадськості про об’єктивну картину Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні у часописі могла дізнатися з таких різножанрових матеріалів, як: телеграми; аналітика; інформації; свідчення очевидців; роздуми; критика; оповіді; листи; “звідомлення”; інтерв’ю; різножанрові матеріали, що в одному вміщують оповідь, “вісти”, аналітику. Всі вони україномовні. У них відображено цілісну та незаангажовану картину “голодової” реальності 1932 року в Україні. Наприклад, розкрито такі питання, як: розстріли голодних селян; покарання селян за вимушені крадіжки; масові втечі селян із сіл; продовольча криза і голодування селян; зміст, виконання і наслідки від виконання радянського законодавства; причини колективізації; причини і штучний характер голоду; сутність більшовицького режиму і його ставлення до селян; причини штучної девіантної поведінки селян; репресії в СРСР, чистка партійних лав; імпорт зерна СРСР з-за кордону; форми селянського спротиву тощо.

Ключові слова: Голодомор-геноцид 1932 – 1933 років. в Україні, газета “Америка”, спротив селян, штучний голод, колективізація.

Problem Statement. One of the most tragic pages in the history of the Ukrainian people of the first third of the 20th century is the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933. By it, the Soviet leadership exterminated the generation of the Ukrainian peasantry that had formed as an active subject of history in the era of liberation struggle and national state-building. Stalin's totalitarianism viewed it as a real threat to communist ideology and its existence.

In the information space of the time, the state-party leadership and the Soviet special services launched a large-scale special operation aimed at silencing, non-recognition, ignoring, and distorting the “famine” with the terminology of the time.

Despite all the disinformation efforts of the Soviet leadership and special services in the 1930s, objective reports about the real state of affairs with the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine penetrated the West. The world knew about the real, not mythical, “horrors and terrors” of 1932 – 1933 in “Greater Ukraine”. An important role in publicizing the real situation in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933, in informing the world about the Holodomor-genocide, was played by the Ukrainian-language media, particularly on the North American continent.

Review of Research and Publications. Issues related to the topic we have declared are presented in modern historiography. For example, in the studies by E. Pavlovsky (Pavlovsky, 2016, p. 225), V. Viatrovych (Viatrovych, 2012), A. Kozytskyi (Kozytskyi, 2023), H. Tereshchuk (Tereshchuk, 2024), V. Danylenko (Danylenko, 2011, pp. 63 – 88), T. Boryak (Boryak, 2023, pp. 63–73), V. Hubarets (Hubarets, 2005), O. Kovalchuk (Kovalchuk, 2008, p. 382), and the others.

At the same time, in the modern Ukrainian narrative, there are no special studies on the reflection of the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 on the pages of “The America” newspaper. For example, O. Kovalchuk drew attention to the fact that the 2001 bibliographic index “The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine”, in addition to publications in the journal “Svoboda”, does not contain information about publications from other journals in the United States and Canada. According to V. Hubarets, “the bulk of Ukrainian ethnic periodicals from overseas are still not readily available” (Hubarets, 2005). In view of this, our research is relevant.

The Purpose of the Article. The authors of the article aim at gaining new knowledge on the subject matter, content, and genre representation of publications published in the 1932 “The America” newspaper concerning the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine.

Research Results. One of the sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine is the Ukrainian diaspora press. First of all, we are talking about the Ukrainian diaspora press in the United States, “The America” newspaper.

The Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies interprets “The America” newspaper as the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper in the United States (Philadelphia), the first issue of which was published in 1912, as the organ of the Union of Ukrainian Catholics “Providence”. Initially it was a daily publication, in 1918 – 1950 it was published three times a week, and since 1950 it had been a diary. “Edited since 1914 by Frs. Myron Zalitch, Aptin Tsurkovsky, Dr. Osyp Nazaruk, Volodymyr Lototsky, Dr. Lengyntsevsky, Bohdan Katamay, Dr. Hryhoriy Luzhnytsky, and Yevhen Zyblykevych. Published in our own publishing house” (Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva, 1955, p. 41).

According to H. Savchuk's more precise information, in 1926 – 1927 the editorial board of “The America” newspaper was headed by O. Nazaruk, and after him, until July 1943, by Volodymyr-Bohdan Lototskyi (Savchuk).

The publication positioned itself as the “Ukrainian Periodical. The governmental organ of Providence”. It was published on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Published by the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America (*America*, 1932) or as “A periodical for the Ukrainian people and an organ of the Providence Society. It is published on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. The address of the editorial office is in Philadelphia” (*America*, 1933).

According to the authors' calculations, in 19 issues of “The America” newspaper for August 30 – December 27, 1932, 31 publications of various genres of materials about the “famine tragedy” in Ukraine were published. In the magazine, the public could learn

about the objective picture of the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine from such various genres of materials as: telegrams; analytics; information; eyewitness accounts; reflections; criticism; stories; letters; “reports”; interviews; various genres of materials that contain story, “news”, and analytics in one. All of them are in Ukrainian. For example, about the shootings of hungry peasants, the punishment of peasants for forced theft, mass escapes of peasants from villages, the food crisis and starvation of peasants in 1932 was discussed on the pages of “The America” newspaper from August 30 till October 6, 1932. In No. 100 for August 30, the newspaper's editorial office reported: “... the Bolsheviks shot five peasants in Ukraine for taking a little grain from a “kolkhoz” (collective farm)”. The fact that the editorial office used the term “theft” in quotation marks indicates that these were not illegal actions by the peasants in their classical understanding. Their crime was of a forced nature, caused by the need for biological survival of an individual. The editorial office is on the side of the peasants, sympathizing with their grief: “The peasants “steal” because of the terrible famine” (Bolshevyky rozstriliuiut, 1932, p. 1). In another publication on the same topic, for September 8, 1932, it is stated: “In three days in the Soviet Union, another 50 people were sentenced to death and 20 people were shot. ... All those convicted and executed for stealing various articles of food” (Moskva rozstriliuiue, 1932, p. 1).

The newspaper also draws attention to the unjustified repressive nature of the authorities' actions towards the hungry peasants. The use of the term “authority” in quotation marks indicates the totalitarian regime's inconsistency with the classical understanding of the term “authority” and its anti-people nature. Our judgments are confirmed by the text published in Issue No. 100 of August 30. The editorial staff of “The America” newspaper emphasized that instead of providing Ukrainian peasants suffering from hunger with the necessary food aid, “the communist “authorities” responded with executions, in order to use brutal punishments to deter the hungry from encroaching on the fields that belonged to them before the forcible creation of “collective farms” (Bolshevyky rozstriliuiut, 1932, p. 1).

An impartial analysis of another publication, placed in the same issue of the newspaper, under the eloquent title “Punishment for the Theft in the Soviet Union” testifies that the actions of the totalitarian regime were not aimed at helping the Ukrainian peasants who urgently needed it, but were of a repressive and punitive nature in relation to people driven to despair by famine. In particular, it was said that “the Bolshevik press in moscow announced a decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, which threatens the theft of goods during transport with the death penalty or imprisonment for at least 10 years or confiscation of property” (Kara za kradizh v Sovetskim Soiuzi, 1932, p. 2).

Thus, the soviet regulatory and legal framework legally determined and fixed the methods and terms of punishment of innocent Ukrainian peasants – victims of Stalin's policy in the countryside, primarily the grain procurement campaign. On the nature and essence of the latter, the editorial board of “The America” newspaper wrote on September 3, 1932: “the annual collections (loots) of grain in Ukraine were excessive” (Ukraina vidmovliaietsia, 1932, p. 1).

The same issue of the newspaper also discussed mismanagement and the lack of an appropriate infrastructure that would ensure the repair of agricultural machinery. The result was that “the percentage of broken tractors in Ukraine is high even in industrial centers like Odesa, where 30% are broken, and in Katerynoslav 20%. Also, around the Ukrainian capital, Kharkiv, there is not even 10% of the necessary cleaned seeds for distribution” (Ukraina vidmovliaietsia, 1932, p. 1).

The stalinists' disdain for the Ukrainian peasantry, the targeted policy of its extermination, and excessive grain procurement in 1931 caused, according to materials No. 102 of the newspaper, a shortage of food, and consequently famine and mass migration of the population. The publication in this issue noted that “due to the famine in Soviet Ukraine, people are fleeing en masse to the factory cities of central Russia and the Urals, hoping to get food there. As a result of this migration of the population, the railways are overflowing with displaced people. Thousands of people are besieging the stations. Entire families are fleeing, leaving their little belongings to chance. In the crowded carriages, some are afraid to take out a piece of bread in front of others, lest it be snatched away. Fights often break out. People are also starving in the villages. The authorities have taken that year's harvest. ... The situation in soviet Ukraine is worsening. There are riots and attacks, as happened in Vynnytsia ...” (Na radianskii Ukraini, 1932, p. 1). According to the editorial office, “more than 100 hungry peasants from Ukraine” arrived in moscow every day (Amerykantsi vidvidaly holoduyuchy Kyiv, 1932, p. 1).

The real pictures of the hungry everyday life in Kyiv and its environs, and the shock a group of Americans received from what they saw, were discussed in the publication “AMERICANS VISITED STARVING KYIV”. This was information from Ralph W. Barnes, a correspondent for “The Herald Tribune” accredited in Moscow. From the stories of the US citizens, we learn “about the terrible events from the famine area in Kyiv and its environs. On the streets of Kyiv, they saw children with inscriptions on their backs that their parents had abandoned them because of hunger. In another place they met hungry people in Kyiv who were collecting waste from the garbage and feeding on it. The Americans also visited villages in Kyiv region that people had abandoned and had gone to look for a piece of bread in the city” (Amerykantsi vidvidaly holoduyuchy Kyiv, 1932, p. 1).

The moral and psychological atmosphere of horror and baseness in the Land of the Soviets during the Holodomor-genocide, the psychology of the murderers – the executioners of innocently convicted people, was reflected in the material for September 8, 1932. The most shameful thing, which the editorial board wrote about, was that the shootings of hungry peasants “became such commonplace events of everyday life in the Soviet Union that Moscow calmly sends telegraphic reports about it almost daily abroad, all over the world. Just as calmly as about the weather, congresses, fire or some invention. It is clear that in Moscow and in the Muscovite soul in general, murder for a piece of bread is a completely natural thing. Nothing extraordinary. The matter, they say, is quite clear and self-evident. But in the world of cultured people, not ‘katsaps’, such events are viewed somewhat differently. In cultured people, a person's life is worth a little more than a two-kopeck loaf of bread or a cup of skimmed milk.” (Rozstriliuiut liudyi za artykuly pozhyvy, 1932, p. 2).

In edition #107 of “The America” newspaper for September 17, 1932, a reprint from the Lviv newspaper “Business” was published, the author of which is M. Danko. He qualifies the Holodomor as “the planned, obvious destruction of the Ukrainian people” (Danko, 1932, p. 2). He provides specific arguments in support of his opinion and the planned nature of the famine that took place in Ukraine in 1932: “most of Ukraine suffered a terrible famine in the spring and summer of this year, which completely disorganized the agriculture of the grain-delivering country of the Soviet Union” (Danko, 1932, p. 2). Among them, the contributor singled out the following: 1) “the means by which the Bolsheviks squeezed grain from the “collective farms” already in the fall of last year ...”; 2) “... the Moscow masters not only do not care about the existence of their Ukrainian slaves, but on the contrary: they try first

of all to break their resistance with hunger”; 3) for the Soviet totalitarianism, the Ukrainian peasantry is a class enemy, and the Soviet agrarian policy of the 1930s is “the Bolshevik campaign against the “class enemy” in the “collectivized” economy in Ukraine...” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

M. Danko, as the fourth argument of his judgments, identified another tool of the Holodomor, which was actively used by the totalitarian system – information pressure from the authorities on the peasantry. In the interpretation of the author of the post, “coercion”. He wrote about this: “All spring and summer, “The Izvestia” published in Moscow, and then the entire Soviet press, waged a frenzied campaign against the Ukrainian countryside, in comparison with which the pogrom agitation of the tsarist Black Hundreds against foreigners was child’s play...” (Danko, 1932, p. 2). Such an anti-peasant information campaign by the authorities had clear results – “persecution”.

The fifth piece of evidence in M. Danko’s system of evidence regarding the Holodomor as a genocide – specially organized by the authorities was information about the excessive exploitation of the Ukrainian peasantry. He stated that something unheard of in the history of the exploitation of slave labour is now being done in Ukraine...” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

The sixth argument was the author’s long-standing strategy of the Muscovite region in relation to Ukraine. According to it, according to M. Danko, “the Ukrainian independence movement has always been and is the greatest obstacle to the development of Moscow imperialism, and the exploitation of Ukraine by Muscovy is the material basis of Muscovy imperialism. Therefore, the modern development of Soviet imperialism with the independence of the Ukrainian state can never be reconciled under any circumstances. The idea of a Ukrainian-Muscovy federative imperialism is completely unrealistic. To think that Muscovy can renounce Ukraine in order to share with it domination over the Asian expanses means not only the lack of knowing the greediness of the essence of national imperialism. The natural development of Ukrainian-Muscovy relations goes in exactly the opposite direction. Muscovy not only does not intend to share power over other colonies with Ukraine, but on the contrary: it is trying by all means to weaken the Ukrainian colony” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

According to M. Danko, the consequence of such a deliberate strategy of the totalitarian system was the destruction of the “Ukrainian people”. It manifested itself, firstly, in the artificial starvation of peasants, which began in 1932; secondly, in the deformation of moral and ethical imperatives in people driven to despair by hunger, in forced illegal actions that were not really such, since it was a matter of basic biological survival: “under the threat of execution and slow death in exile, as indicated in the latest charges about the protection of ‘state property,’ Ukrainian peasants ‘steal’ their grain at night, secretly cut off ears of grain and grind empty straw against their eyes, take grain from the field in the vessel in which they bring food, in their pockets and halters, steal it from trains and warehouses, and wherever they can” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

In an editorial entitled “The Greatest Crime”, published in the October 1 edition of America, the famine in the Ukrainian SSR in 1932 was defined as “the greatest crime in the history of peoples and nations-the present destruction of the peasantry in the Soviet Union” (Naibilshyi zlochyn, 1932, p. 2). The explanation of this definition is original. It is based on the axiom that the peasantry as the foundation of the Ukrainian nation is interconnected with its success. “The peasantry is the basic class of every nation. It has kept the nation alive, healthy and capable of fighting and created strength, tradition and character for the future. Whenever a nation exists today, alive, healthy, and capable, it owes it only to the peasantry.

Without the village, “there is no nation”, the editorial board wrote frankly (Naibilshyi zlochyn, 1932, p. 2). In view of this, the Ukrainian peasantry is a danger to the totalitarian system, as it is the source of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, according to the editorial board, “the peasants in the Soviet Union are now as if condemned to death, to mass death” (Naibilshyi zlochyn, 1932, p. 2).

The forms of peasant resistance to the repressive Soviet grain procurement campaign, which was openly predatory in nature, were discussed in another article published on the pages of issue 103 of the America magazine. The editorial reported on two types of fraud. The first was double-entry bookkeeping. In this way, collective farm management tried to “hide the true state of the harvest”. This was done in order to indicate “ten times less than the amount of harvest. Collectives divide the rest of the harvest among their members” (Zahnalysia, 1932, p. 4). The second was “mass protests and explicit actions against the arable collectives” (Zahnalysia, 1932, p. 4).

The totalitarian authorities, as the editorial board reported, branded the peasant resistance as a bugbear, spreading disinformation in the Soviet press that “the boyish counterrevolution in Ukraine is clearly rearing its head”. Accordingly, the reaction of the totalitarian system was ruthless. Trials became an instrument of its realization: “The number of trials is so large that the prosecutor's office and judiciary staff cannot cope. Judicial reprisals... take place one after another at an accelerated pace. Every day, an average of 80 sentences are issued, and most of them are death sentences. Judges who dare to issue a lenient sentence are subjected to reprisals by the authorities” (Zahnalysia, 1932, p. 4).

The editorial staff also informed readers about the forms of the “defensive struggle” of the Ukrainian village “against Bolshevik captivity” in Issue #115 of October 6, 1932:

- 1) “numerous arsons in the countryside”;
- 2) secret threshing of grain;
- 3) “theft of grain” (Oboronna borotba sela proty bolshevytskoi nevoli, 1932, p. 1).

Based on the analysis of the above materials, a holistic picture of peasant resistance is formed. It clearly dissonates with the materials of the Soviet press of the time, reproducing its objective causes and the inadequate reaction of the totalitarian government.

The October 25th edition of ‘The America’ newspaper published an article titled “A LETTER FROM UKRAINE”. The latter is dated June 1932. Based on the results of the linguistic analysis of the text of the letter, its author is a woman. This opinion is confirmed by the beginning of the letter: “Forgive me for having the courage to write to you...” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2). In the letter, the eyewitness recreates the situation that took place in Ukraine in 1932 in Kyiv region. She emphasized that Kyiv region was starving, and there was a lack of food in the countryside. According to the text, the peasants of Kyiv region had not had any bread since February 1932: “We have not had bread since the month of February and all the time until Easter we were eating potatoes and husks and everything we could find. ... We are experiencing the horrors of the famine and are waiting for a change. We are tired of waiting. People go to work on Sundays to get a pound of bread and hot water with peas. Yesterday they gave us borscht with oil. So you can hear the workers screaming when it rains. There is no work in the field, but they want to eat, but they don't give them anything, and there is nothing at home. Crying and gnashing of teeth” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

The daily diet of the villagers did not fully provide the body with the necessary calories: “The food is very poor: one pound of bread in the morning, and in the evening, soup with peas, with 50 grams of peas floating in a full bowl, and for lunch, borscht without potatoes,

with 50 grams of worker peas or beans and greens floating in a full bowl” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

Under such terrible conditions, peasant parents tried and took care of their children. In the “Letter...” there is also mentioned about the peasants' survival strategies: “Whoever did not eat his pound of bread in the morning when he got it, dines on borsch with bread, but more often dines without bread. Because not everyone here eats their bread in the morning, but waits until the second morning. Then he gets a second pound of bread, and another man or woman does not taste the bread, but carries his ration home and gets fat or thin from hunger, because he has a family of 5 to 6 people at home, not able to work, and only those who work get the ration” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

The famine of 1932 was the main reason why, in order to survive, hungry people violated traditional values established in the peasant world. As a result, as the letter said, “a strong theft broke out. Everyone steals day and night, whoever has a horse, a cow, or a pig, chickens, they take them to the hut for the night so that they don’t steal. But it also happened that they were chopped down with an axe in order to rob. All the vegetables are destroyed. They tear everything up day and night; potatoes, onions, garlic, and potatoes with a bush are pulled out as young ones, although there is nothing to tear off, they tear up the planted old ones” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

One of the sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932–1933. In Ukraine, there were impressions of eyewitnesses who were in the USSR during the tragedy, returned to the USA and published their testimonies on the pages of American newspapers. In the magazine “The America” newspaper on November 29, 1932, articles by Dr. Toton and Walter Duranty were published. They said that “there is a terrible famine in the Soviet Union. As it was last year, so is the rest of us. Ukraine, rich in grain, was starving the worst. Entire villages were dying out, or were setting off on a journey in search of bread. This winter, an even worse famine catastrophe is promised in Russia and Ukraine. The Bolsheviks are “feeding” the people with the “five-year plan” and empty promises that things will be better someday” (Rosiia vymyraie, 1932, p. 2). In their opinion, “reality says that 100 million people are doomed to starvation this winter. The world is again wondering whether people will survive that famine. The peoples in Soviet captivity have already endured and endured so much that the world is ready to believe in a new improbability. They say that people in the Soviet Union no longer live, but only survive. As if they are hopelessly awaiting the end, a sad mass death (Rosiia vymyraie, 1932, p. 2).

In 1932 publications, other issues of “The America” newspaper were similar in content to those mentioned above. In terms of information and themes, they all covered the following issues:

1. the executions of hungry peasants;
2. the punishment of peasants for forced theft;
3. the massive escapes of peasants from villages;
4. the food crisis and starvation of peasants;
5. the content, implementation and consequences of the implementation of Soviet legislation;
6. the reasons for collectivization;
7. the causes and artificial nature of the famine;
8. the essence of the Bolshevik regime and its attitude to the peasants;
9. the causes of forced deviant behaviour of peasants;

10. the repressions in the USSR, purging of party ranks;
11. the import of grain from abroad;
12. the forms of peasant resistance, etc.

Conclusions. Thus, one of the historical sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine is the Ukrainian diaspora press in the United States, “The America” newspaper. It played a powerful role in informing the world about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932–1933 in Ukraine. In the information war of that time, it also fulfilled the mission of deconstructing the Soviet and pro-Soviet ideologies that denied and/or distorted and manipulated information about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine.

In 19 issues of “The America” newspaper for the period of August 30, 1932 – December 27, 1932, 31 publications of various genres of materials about the “famine tragedy” in Ukraine were published. In the newspaper, the public could learn about the objective picture of the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine from such diverse materials as: telegrams; analytics; information; eyewitness accounts; reflections; criticism; stories; letters; “reports”; interviews; diverse materials that contain a story, “news,” and analytics in one. All of them are in Ukrainian. They present a holistic and unbiased picture of the “famine” reality of 1932 in Ukraine.

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Andrii SHCHEHLOV

PhD (History), Doctoral Student, Hetman Petro Sagaidachny National Army Academy, 32 Heroiv Maidanu Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79012 (deep_in_faith@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0002-6484-0864
ResearcherID: ABF-7217-2020
Scopus-Author ID: 58679298000

Андрій ШЕГЛОВ

кандидат історичних наук, докторант, Національна академія сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, Львів, Україна, індекс 79012 (deep_in_faith@ukr.net)

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PECULIARITIES OF THE SOVIET UNDERGROUND AND PARTISAN MOVEMENT IN “GALICIA” DISTRICT (1941 – 1944)

Abstract. *The purpose* of the research is to determine the ethnic composition of the Soviet self-organized underground organizations and partisan detachments in “Galicia” district during the Nazi occupation and to clarify the participation of the Polish population in the underground organizations and partisan detachments. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of systematicity, scientificity, historicism and comprehensiveness. In the research, historical comparative, problem-chronological, retrospective methods, and the method of criticism of historical sources have been used. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time the author, based on a critical analysis of the Ukrainian historiography and information sources, has determined the role of the “Polish” factor in the formation and activity of underground and partisan organizations and groups in the region. In the **conclusions**, the author proceeds from the fact that the Soviet underground and partisan movement in the district “Galicia” was small and relatively weak. It is also quite debatable to apply to it such definitions as “partisan” or “resistance movement”. The reason for this is the lack of a critical mass of the local population in its ranks and a clear organization of efforts to resist the Nazi occupation authorities. The predominantly Ukrainian population of the region did not support such a movement.

Considering the above mentioned facts of the archival sources analysis and the results of previous research, we should determine a significant role of the “Polish” influence on the organization and activities of the Soviet underground and partisan cells in the district. This significant role was manifested both in the active participation of the Polish anti-Hitler underground of the pro-Soviet leftist orientation, and the local Polish ethnic population, which, not always willingly, but under the power of circumstances, began its cooperation with non-local organizers of local groups of underground partisan struggle – the Soviet soldiers and communists. An additional factor in such cooperation was the peak of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Western Ukrainian lands during World War II.

In every way the Soviet and pro-Soviet historiography tried to conceal the fact of a significant Polish influence on the above mentioned forms of struggle. The aim of such activity was to support the myth of “people’s Soviet avengers”, “nationwide struggle against fascism under the Soviet power leadership”, etc.

Key words: district “Galicia”, the Poles, the Soviet partisans, the Soviet underground, occupation.

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ РАДЯНСЬКОГО ПІДПІЛЬНОГО Й ПАРТИЗАНСЬКОГО РУХУ В ДИСТРИКТІ “ГАЛИЧИНА” (1941 – 1944)

Анотація. *Мета* роботи полягає у встановленні етнічного складу радянських самоорганізованих партизанських загонів та підпільних організацій дистрикту “Галичина” під час нацистської окупації та участі у них польського населення. **Методологічна база** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах системності, науковості, історизму та всебічності. Під час написання розвідки використані історико-порівняльний, проблемно-хронологічний, ретроспективний методи, а також метод змістовної критики історичних джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що автор вперше на основі критичного аналізу української історіографії та інформаційних джерел встановлює роль “польського” фактора у формуванні та функціонуванні підпільних та партизанських організацій і груп на теренах регіону. **У висновках** автор виходить з того, що радянський підпільний та партизанський рух у дистрикті “Галичина” був малочисельним та відносно слабким. Також є доволі дискусійним застосування до нього таких визначень як “партизанський” або ж “рух опору”. Причина цього – відсутність критичної маси місцевого населення у його лавах та чіткої організації зусиль щодо опору нацистській окупаційній владі. Українське населення, що переважало у регіоні, такий рух не підтримало, однак це не дає підстав залишати його поза увагою.

Зважаючи на аналіз архівних джерел та результатів попередніх досліджень, можемо стверджувати про вагомий роль “польського” впливу на організацію та діяльність радянського підпілля і партизанських осередків на території дистрикту. Це виявлялось як в активній участі польського антигітлерівського підпілля прорадянської лівої орієнтації, так і місцевого польського етнічного населення, яке не завжди охоче, але під владою обставин розпочало свою співпрацю із немісцевими організаторами локальних груп підпільно-партизанської боротьби – радянськими військовиками та комуністами. Додатковим фактором такої співпраці був пік українсько-польського конфлікту на західноукраїнських землях у роки Другої світової війни.

Радянська та прорадянська історіографія намагалася усіляко приховати факт вагомого польського впливу на зазначені форми боротьби. Метою такої діяльності була підтримка міфу про “народних радянських месників”, “всенародної боротьби проти фашизму під проводом радянської влади” тощо.

Ключові слова: дистрикт “Галичина”, поляки, радянські партизани, радянські підпільники, окупація.

Problem Statement. The aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine causes an urgent need to cover the events of World War II on the territory of our state in general and Western Ukrainian lands in particular. One of the varieties of that war is the partisan and underground struggle in the “Galicia” district, which was waged, among others, by the Soviet groups. Objective analysis of World War II events will lead to a more effective counteraction to the Russian technologies of using myths and stereotypes to manipulate the historical memory of the Ukrainian citizens, and will make it possible to resist the Russian aggression in its historical informational and psychological dimensions more actively.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Given the small scale of the local Soviet partisan and underground movement in the territory of “Galicia” district, it is mentioned superficially by the leading Ukrainian researchers of the partisan movement during the German-Soviet war.

In independent Ukraine the first significant research, which concerns this issue, is the monograph by A. Chaikovskiy “Unknown War: (Partisan Movement in Ukraine in 1941 – 1944 in the Language of Documents, through the Eyes of a Historian)” (Chaikovskiy, 1994). One chapter of the monograph focuses on the Western Ukrainian lands. The author justifies the “late appearance” of the Soviet partisan movement there by “serious miscalculations and political clumsiness of the Soviet government”, which brought the Stalinist totalitarian

regime. At the same time, the author does not cite any facts of the Polish influence or the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the activities of the Soviet partisans.

In Volume 12 "Ukraine in World War II and the Great Patriotic War" (Koval, 1999) of the 15-volume edition of "Ukraine through the Ages" by M. Koval there is analyzed, among other things, the underground partisan "second front". The author, it seems to us, is the first Ukrainian scholar to come to the conclusion about the nature of the pro-Soviet resistance movement unfolding in Ukraine. He attributes the driving force of the partisan movement not to the "guiding role of the bolshevik party", but to the Red Army soldiers who remained in the territory occupied by the Wehrmacht and continued the struggle using partisan methods. The author also counts among the active participants military escapees from the German captivity (almost half of the Soviet army fell into escapees during the first period of the war) and civilians escapees from forced labour. Later, in more favourable circumstances, members of the former communist party joined the underground in the occupied territories. These theses of the author, which were almost revolutionary at the time, for the first time allowed us to look at the problem of the Soviet resistance movement in a different way. At the same time, nowadays, M. Koval's research on the partisan movement is rather superficial and does not contain any ethno-political context.

The first comprehensive historiographical study of the resistance movement in Ukraine was the research by of M. Slobodianiuk "The Anti-Fascist Resistance Movement in Ukraine during World War II in Domestic Historiography" (Slobodianiuk, 2018). In addition to analyzing the studies on the anti-fascist resistance movement by domestic authors, the author analyzed the resistance movement as a phenomenon and comprehensively presented his own vision of the anti-fascist resistance movement in Ukraine.

A. Kentii made a significant contribution to the development of research on the Soviet partisan movement in Ukraine. In particular, his research with A. Gogun under the title "... To Create Unbearable Conditions for the Enemy and all his Accomplices...". Red Partisans of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944: Little-studied Pages of History. Documents and Materials" (Gogun, & Kentii, 2006) highlights unexplored and mostly negative, and during the Soviet period – actually prohibited facts about the partisan movement. In cooperation with V. Lozyskyi, A. Kentii published the study entitled "War without Mercy and Compassion: the Partisan Movement in the Wehrmacht Rear in Ukraine (1941 – 1944)" (Kentii, & Lozyskyi, 2005b). Later, the popular study of the above-mentioned historians "Soviet Partisans in 1941 – 1944: Light and Shadows" was published (Kentii, & Lozyskyi, 2005a). The study focuses on the organization and struggle of the Soviet resistance movement on the territory of Ukraine, emphasizing its ideological function.

In his research D. Viedenieiev points out that in the Soviet times, the past of partisanship became perhaps the most idealized, the "varnished" page of the war. In particular, a complete taboo was imposed on certain aspects of the partisan underground movement (miscalculations in the organization of partisanship, the problem of partisan relations with the local population and the Ukrainian anti-communist insurgent movement, manifestations of betrayal, an exaggerated representation of the ruling party and special services role in the organization of partisanship, statistical additions in determining the number of partisans and their combat results) (Viedenieiev, 2011, p. 214).

The image and status of the Soviet "people's avengers" formed (largely by the bolshevik propaganda) de facto secured a position for them that was often interpreted as permissiveness and impunity for any actions. One of the little-studied areas is elucidated by V. Ginda and

O. Lysenko in the recent publication of the domestic historiography of the Soviet partisan and underground movement (Ginda, & Lysenko, 2024).

However, the above mentioned studies omit the issues of the Soviet underground partisan struggle in “Galicia” district mostly, given its weakness, providing only superficial remarks concerning the Polish-Soviet cooperation in the ranks of pro-Soviet partisans and the underground.

V. Starka is almost the only researcher of the resistance movement in Galicia during the Nazi occupation in the context of the issues under research. In the mid-2000s, V. Starka published a number of studies on the issues of interaction and relations between national partisan movements in the region (Starka, 2003; Starka, 2004; Starka, 2012).

To some extent the issues of the Polish-Soviet cooperation within the pro-Soviet underground are also covered in the studies by V. Hulay. Thus, his publication “Communication Mechanisms and Scale of Propaganda Influence of Soviet Partisans and Underground on Lviv Region Population during the Years of the Nazi Occupation” (2014) contains some facts of the “Polish” influence on the emergence and changes in the organizational structure of the Soviet underground and partisan movement in Lviv region in 1941 – 1944, which require further verification based on archival materials and historiography. In particular, the broader context of the armed confrontation in Galicia, with the participation of the Soviet underground fighters and partisans, is elucidated in the article published in the thorough publication “Eastern European Historical Bulletin” (Hulay, & Maksymets, 2021).

The confrontation between supporters of the Ukrainian nationalist and Soviet-communist ideologies in Zhytomyr region is highlighted in the research by I. Kovalchuk. The research is significant for involving a wide base of archival documents (Kovalchuk, 2020).

The preparation, conduct of agitation and propaganda by the Soviet underground groups and partisan detachments in Lviv region was analyzed in the authored publication (Shchehlov, 2025).

A review of the latest Western historiography on the problems of organization and effectiveness of the partisan movement in Ukraine in 1941 – 1942 was carried out in the research by L. Prylutska (Prylutska, 2025). In it, the author highlights the critical attitude of historians towards the Soviet myths about the Soviet partisans and the lack of mass support for the movement by the local population.

The Russian Federation's use of historical memory of World War II, including the Soviet partisan movement, to legitimize its own dominance in the post-Soviet space is analyzed in the article by O. Lysenko and T. Pastushenko (Lysenko, & Pastushenko, 2025).

In general, we observe the loss of the Ukrainian historians' interest in the issues of the Soviet partisan movement in Western Ukrainian lands. Although, such studies could be useful in modern realities, partially explaining the aggressive subversive and propaganda actions of the Russian Federation in the occupied territories and the rear of the Ukrainian state.

The purpose of the research is to determine the ethnic composition of the Soviet self-organized underground organizations and partisan detachments in “Galicia” district during the Nazi occupation and to clarify the participation of the Polish population in the underground organizations and partisan detachments.

Research Results. First of all, speaking about the Soviet partisan movement in “Galicia” district, it is worth mentioning its spontaneity. We agree to the statements of I. Kapas, who emphasizes that in parallel with the organization of a centralized structure of leadership of the Soviet partisan movement, a spontaneous resistance movement developed “unauthorized” in

the occupied territories, which was caused by both voluntary factors (primarily the patriotism of that part of the citizens who were distinguished by an active socio-political position and could not accept the inhumane policy of the enemy) and forced ones (danger to one's own life, emanating from the Nazi occupation authorities; fear of the bolsheviks' return and concerns about further possible repressions against a particular citizen or his family for staying in the occupied territory) (Kapas, 2016, p. 126).

Regarding the ethnic origin of the participants in the Soviet underground, we should partially agree with V. Starka's remarks that a significant part of the participants in the Soviet partisan underground formations were ethnic Ukrainians in the western regions of Ukraine. However, they were united primarily by a sense of belonging to the USSR. Awareness of themselves as "Soviet people", and only then as the Ukrainians. Representatives of this movement considered Ukraine as nothing other than a component of the Soviet Union. It is also important to remember that representatives of the Polish national and pro-communist underground were active in the western regions of Ukraine. For the former, the term "Polish National Underground" should be used, for the latter, the "Pro-Soviet Polish Resistance Movement" (Starka, 2003, p. 289).

In our opinion, it is necessary to do the research on the ethnic composition of the Soviet self-organized underground organizations and partisan detachments, since the formations controlled by the Ukrainian Headquarters of the partisan movement began entering the district's territory by raiding only in the summer of 1943 and were quickly defeated by the German occupation forces, fighting their way mainly into Volyn and especially Polissia. From the end of June 1941, these territories were part of the general districts "Volyn-Podillia" (the centre was in Lutsk) and "Zhytomyr" (the centre was in Zhytomyr) of the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine".

However, the Soviet political and military leadership persistently sought to establish geographical affiliation to Eastern Galicia, at least in the name of these formations, a striking example of which is the foundation and combat path of the M. S. Khrushchev Ternopil partisan unit under the command of Ivan Shytov (Ukraina partyzanska, 2001, pp. 69–70). During the period of January 27–30, 1944, the attempts of this partisan unit to break through to the south of Volyn and reach Ternopil region due to the concentration of enemy troops were unsuccessful. The units of this formation continued to interact in Polissia with the units of Army 13 until reaching the Soviet rear (Ukraina partyzanska, 2001, pp. 69–70).

In general, we can agree with D. Chobit that "in Ukraine the Soviet partisan movement did not do harm to the Nazis as much as the local population, creating unbearable living conditions for them. Sabotage, terror, and deliberate provocations caused repressions by the occupiers. Constant looting of peasants by partisans and punitive actions by the German troops generated fear, anger, and uncertainty" (Chobit, 2019, p. 127), especially in the "Galicia" district.

No matter how the Soviet historians tried to hide the dominant Polish nature of the Soviet underground in Lviv as the administrative centre of the "Galicia" district, however, a critical analysis of their publications gives reason to state the opposite. Thus, as a result of meetings in Lviv in May of 1942 between the representative of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party (PWP) S. Ziaia and his colleagues with the Lviv communists, the agreement was reached that "the Lviv underground will act as an autonomous combat-ready underground partisan organization until it establishes contact (looking ahead, such a connection was established in March of 1944 with the partisan unit "Death to Fascism" under the leadership

of Mykola Naumov – a note by *A. Shchekhov*), with the centre, and the Central Committee of the Polish People's Party will provide it with all kinds of assistance. Former members of the Communist Party of Poland (CPP) will participate in the fight against fascism in the Lviv organization as members of the Polish People's Party" (*Borotba trudiashchykh*, 1984, p. 93).

The Polish People's Party was created underground in Warsaw on January 5, 1942, when representatives of the Union of Liberation Struggle, the "Proletary" group, the "Society of Friends of the USSR" and the "Hammer and Sickle" group decided to establish it, electing a temporary leadership headed by the "troika": M. Nowotko, P. Finder and B. Molojec (Malinovskii, Pavlovich, Poteranskii, Pshegonskii. & Vilyush, 1968, p. 93).

The external influence on the initial organization of the Soviet underground and partisan movement in Nazi-occupied Eastern Galicia is unambiguously indicated by the authors of that period, for example, separately highlighting the fact that "in the spring of 1942, a group of Polish communists under the leadership of Antoni Chmielewski ("Colonel Dyar") landed by parachute in the Lviv area. The other group was led by the paratrooper Zbigniew Hollianek, a former soldier of the Polish army. Both commanders joined the underground struggle and died in this struggle. Chmielewski – in Warsaw, Hollianek – in Lviv" (Brechak, 1974, p. 81).

As it is known, the largest Soviet underground organization was "The People's Guard" Lviv region. After the end of the hostilities and the establishment of the Soviet Union (the authenticity of participation in the partisan movement was verified by special commissions), it was recognized as the Ivan Franko Lviv Regional Underground Organization by the Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. "The People's Guard" began its activities in the autumn of 1942 – the first underground group was established in Lviv by the communists and Komsomol members who did not have time to evacuate before the German occupation of the region (including those who worked underground during the times of the Polish rule in the region – until 1939) and members of the Polish Workers' Party. Then, the leadership centre of the underground organization was established – the regional command. The network included previously disparate groups – combat detachments and sabotage groups operating in the districts of the region. These regional groups were headed by regional commandants. The city of Lviv was divided into four districts. The group of the Zaliznychny district included 12 underground fighters (according to other archival data – 13), the Chervonoarmiysky district – 31 (22), the Stalinsky district – 28 (31), the Shevchenkovsky district – 22 (Central State Archive of Public Organizations and Ukrainica, f. 1, d. 22, c. 151, pp. 1–2; State Archive of Lviv Region, f. 183, d. 2, c. 2, p. 152).

Returning to the establishment of the organization, it is worth noting that in June–July of 1942, a member of the Polish People's Party Wisenberg "Yanka" and other Polish communists arrived in Lviv. Together with them, local activists were involved in the work on creating the organization: Seleshchuk, Chaihin, Khinchinsky, Leschinsky, Navloka, Haievsky and the others. Other underground organizers – Zhukovsky and Genek (the former members of the CPSU) – left for Warsaw during the terror of the Jewish population in the city, but on their instructions, the aforementioned "Ziaia" was sent from Warsaw to organize the activity, and he was familiar with former Lviv communists. "Ziaia" organized the delivery of literature and instructions for underground activity from Warsaw from the Polish People's Party. By the way, the Polish People's Party press included more than 165 titles, more than 50 "military" publications, the main ones being the central organs of the party – "Trybuna Wolności" and the armed forces – "Gwardzista", and later – "Armia Ludowa" (Parsadanova, 1973, p. 172). The use of publications by the Soviet underground in Lviv region will be discussed

later. The newspaper "Gwardzista" was of an instructional and informational nature and promoted armed actions against the occupiers, while at the same time containing information from the partisan front of the struggle systematically (Malinovskii, Pavlovich, Poteranskii, Pshegoniskii, & Vilyush, 1968, p. 195).

Thus, the disparate groups of the Polish and Ukrainian Communist Party members managed to unite into one organization and elect a leadership centre of Lviv underground members (Leschinsky, Mateishyn, Berezin, Perchynsky). According to archival data, the organization was initially called "The Polish People's Party Organization" – as the name of the party, and only later "People's Guard". In late 1943 and early 1944, the organization was given the name "Partisan Movement of Western Regions of Ukraine". The newspaper "Partisan" became its printed organ (SALR, f. 183, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 50–51).

Returning to the "Polish" participation in the Soviet underground partisan movement, it is worth recalling that in 1943, on the instructions of the Polish People's Party, Kurylovych Ivan Prokofievych arrived in Lviv under the pseudonym "Ryszard" with the aim of leading the partisan movement in the city, including recruiting and joining the units. According to the testimony of the head of the sabotage activities Vovk, "Ryszard" was also connected with General Naumov and the headquarters of the partisan movement subordinate to him (SALR, f. 183, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 33, 51).

But it is worth noting that only in the summer of 1943, due to unexpectedly strong resistance of the UPA, S. Kovpak's unit entered the territory of Galicia for a short period of time, and the rest of the partisan formations were not even able to break through to the borders of this German district (Kentii, & Lozytskyi, 2005a, pp. 3–16).

Therefore, it is worth talking specifically about the Polish left-wing political nature of the underground movement in Lviv region in the absence of relevant contacts with formations directly subordinate to the Ukrainian Headquarters of the partisan movement.

In particular, a significant role in the organizational strengthening of the Soviet underground in Lviv was played by one of the leaders of the Polish People's Party, "Franek," who came to Warsaw from Moscow and from whom the leaders of "The People's Guard of the Avengers" received instructions, literature, and funds for their activities (Hulai, 2014, p. 109).

The ideological leadership of "The People's Guard" was headed by the political department. Archival materials indicate that it disseminated ideas that contradicted the beliefs of the Ukrainian and Polish nationalists (SALR, f. 183, d. 1, c. 3, p. 80). The goal of "The People's Guard" was to "assist the Red Army, to wage the struggle with all available means against the German-fascist invaders and Ukrainian-German and Polish nationalists for the restoration of Soviet power" (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 151, p. 152). The areas of the organization's partisan activities were Lviv, Zolochiv, Horodok, Vynnyky, Rava-Ruska, Kamianka-Buzka, Buzk and other districts of the region (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, pp. 118–124).

In turn, A. Kozytskyi claims that during the German occupation of 1941–1944, there was no bolshevik underground in Lviv. This fact denied one of the fundamental Soviet mythologies of World War II about the "organizing and directing" role of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) in the fight against Nazism. The city was home to Ukrainian and Polish underground structures, and quite separately, a small group of Polish socialists and communists who used the name "People's Guard of the Avengers", and from August of 1943, the "Partisan Council of the Western Regions of Ukraine", mainly the Poles and Polonized Jews, a few Russians and Ukrainians, but none of them knew how to write Ukrainian correctly (Kozytskyi, 2021, p. 272).

To some extent, we can find confirmation of A. Kozytskyi's statement expressed above in the Soviet publications, that "underground newspapers and leaflets published in Polish were edited by Yanina Ber, Karol Kuryliuk, Jakub Slyvka, Andrzej Weber, Stanislav Ziaia, in Ukrainian – by a journalist Kuzma Pelekhaty, Mykola Berezin, a former member of the CPSU Stepan Makivka, and the others" (Brechak, 1974, p. 87).

For ideological reasons, the Soviet historiography focuses on the influence of local Polish People's Party activists. The role of party leaders from Warsaw in the organizational formation of the communist underground in Lviv and its surroundings is mentioned much less. This is due to the actual state of affairs, when the city was primarily Polish in terms of national composition and politically represented the Polish party – the Polish People's Party (Variahina, & Vakulenko, 1979, pp. 28–31).

On June 15, 1943, in the telegram, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish People's Party, P. Finder, wrote to the head of the Comintern Executive Committee, H. Dymytrov, as if boasting, unambiguously indicating the Polish nature of the Soviet underground in Lviv: "A year ago, comrades from Lviv turned to us with a request to organize work for them. Considering that they have no connection with the CP(b)U and that at the same time various reactionary Ukrainian and Polish organizations are beginning to become more active there, we provided them with assistance in people, materials, and money, declaring that before they establish contact with the CP(b)U, we will organize the struggle of the Ukrainian and Polish masses against the Hitlerite invaders, for the restoration of free Soviet Ukraine" (Brechak, 1974, p. 83).

On March 7, 1944, in Huta Brodivska, one of the leaders of the operational headquarters of the partisan movement of the western regions of Ukraine, established in 1943, Ivan Kurylovych (an operational pseudonym "Ryszard") met with the commander of the Soviet partisan unit "Death to Fascism", General M. Naumov. On the same day, he informed the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and the Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Committee by radiogram about establishing contact with the Military Council of the organization "Partisan Movement of the Western Regions of Ukraine" ("People's Guard"). Mykola Darmohray was sent to Lviv as General Naumov's personal representative, and on March 11 he took part in a meeting of the Military Council (Brechak, 1974, p. 164).

However, in the last decade of April 1944, the Gestapo arrested about 50 members of "The Partisan Council of the Western Regions of Ukraine", after which the organization ceased to exist. During the post-war period, the surviving Lviv communists were convinced that they had been exposed by Leon Lapinskyi "Voroniak" (a member of the OUN Security Service – a note by A. Kozytskyi). Working in the underground structures of "The People's Guard", "Voroniak" gathered information about the network of conspiratorial, active Lviv communists. At the appropriate moment, L. Lapinskyi scheduled several meetings at these apartments, at the same time giving information about them to the Germans. As a result, within a few days, almost all members of the communist underground in Lviv fell into the hands of the Gestapo (Kozytskyi, 2021, p. 273).

Among those who escaped arrest there was also the aforementioned I. Kurylovych "Ryszard", who within a few months became the head of the reconnaissance group of the reconnaissance department of the Ukrainian Front 1, which on June 17, 1944 was thrown into the German rear near Lviv and operated until July 27, 1944 (Bulavin, 2017, p. 62).

After conducting an investigation, the Gestapo admitted that the propaganda activities of "The Partisan Council of Western Regions of Ukraine" did not cause any particular harm,

so the majority of the detained communists were not shot, but sent to concentration camps. Many of them survived the war (Kozytskyi, 2021, p. 273).

"The People's Guard" established the publication of printed agitation and propaganda products. The Inform Bureau's reports were received via radio. They were printed, translated into Ukrainian and Polish, reproduced using a glass plate printer, and distributed among the population and German soldiers. The newspapers "Borotba" (in Ukrainian), "Holos Svobody" (in Polish), "Novyny Dnia" (in Ukrainian and Polish) and leaflets were published, copies of which were distributed in Lviv and the region. In August 1943, the organization founded the publication of the newspaper "Partyzan" (the latter substituted the newspapers "Borotba" and "Holos Svobody", published in Polish and Ukrainian), which contained a column "Partizan Movements of the Western Regions of Ukraine". The newspaper "Partyzan" was published twice a month with a circulation of 1,200 copies (SALR, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 78, pp. 159–161).

The Soviet historiography does not deny the influence of the Polish left-wing press on the Soviet underground in Lviv, writing that "the newspapers "Trybuna Wolności" (the organ of the Polish Workers' Party) and "Gwardzista" (the organ of the People's Guard) played a certain role in the development of the anti-fascist movement and had some influence on the formation of the "People's Guard of the Western Regions of Ukraine". Following Bulletins No. 1 and 2, which contained materials about the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution, in December 1942 the first issue of the newspaper "Głos Wolności" was published in a larger circulation, and special leaflets began to be issued (Variuhina, & Vakulenko, 1979, p. 40).

In August 1943, the renamed organization "Partisan Council of Western Regions of Ukraine" began publishing the newspaper "Partyzan" in Ukrainian and Polish and the leaflets "News of the Day" in Ukrainian and Polish (SALR, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 78, pp. 160–161).

The newspapers "Partyzan" and "Borotba" were actually militant leaflets that included calls to fight against the fascist occupiers and the Ukrainian underground movement. It also published information about the successful actions of the Red Army and promoted the living conditions in the settlements liberated by it, as well as the measures taken by the Soviet government and the party. Reports and orders of J. Stalin were distributed (SALR, f. 183, d. 1, c. 3, p. 34).

During the post-war period, the communist authorities retroactively began to rename "The People's Guard of the Avengers" into the "Ivan Franko People's Guard" and to obscure its predominantly Polish nature. Bolshevik propagandists were tasked with covering the history of this group as if it had been international in composition and exclusively communist in its political nature from the moment of its formation. The Communist party historians began to write that the "Ivan Franko People's Guard" allegedly included not only the Poles, but also numerous Russians, Ukrainians, and representatives of other nations. The underground members were given a false history of their combat activities, which became more and more epic year by year (Kozytskyi, 2021, p. 274).

In addition to "The People's Guard", other small underground partisan groups operated in Lviv region. In Busk and Kamianko-Buzky districts, there was a partisan group called "Patriots of the Slavs". In fact, it was established with the help of members of the aforementioned "The People's Guard". In December 1942, the underground members of "The Guard" established contact with the junior lieutenant of the Navy V. Popov. The latter was seriously wounded in Novorossiysk area, on September 8, 1942, where he was captured by the Germans and transported to Lviv. Owing to the "guardsmen", 15 Red Army soldiers, led by Popov, escaped from the German military hospital. Contacting representatives of "The People's Guard",

Popov organized a partisan group in Kamianko-Buzky district, which included the Red Army soldiers who escaped from the German captivity and civilians who managed to escape from forced labour. It is noteworthy that the majority of members and the so-called “skeletons” of the group were non-local residents: Makarov V. P. (Kursk region), Hrishin V. I. (Gorky city), Yuriev V. I. (Novorossiysk city), Klepikov P. S. (Voronezh region), Liubicheva M. E. (Krasnodar region). All were escapees from captivity. The group was headed by V. Popov, and the chief of staff was Tadeusz Majewski (a Pole by nationality). It consisted of three departments, 10 people each. One of the departments consisted of the Poles. On December 25, 1944, V. Popov's partisan group joined the partisan detachment “Death to Fascism” of the partisan unit under the leadership of Naumov (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, pp. 118–124).

Archival materials contain data on the number of partisans – 32 people. It is also possible to trace the national composition. As of March 25, 1944, it included 25 people: 7 Russians, 2 non-local Ukrainians, 1 Tatar, 1 Azerbaijani and 14 Poles of a local origin (SALR, f. 183, d. 1, c. 118, pp. 19–20). In other words, the partisan group increased exclusively at the expense of the Poles, led by the aforementioned Majewski (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, p. 120). It is known that the group lost 8 partisans. Among them were the Poles Surma Józef and Supczynski Władysław. Also, after the disbandment of the partisan group, 9 people were mobilized for the Polish army specifically (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, p. 123).

Another group of underground fighters consisting of 6 people was organized in November 1941 by a military doctor, bolshevik P. Kundius after his escape from the Soviet prisoner of war camp in the village of Sasiv (Zolochiv district, Lviv region). At the beginning of its activities, the group was engaged in assisting in the transportation of Soviet soldiers and civilians who had escaped from captivity to the territory controlled by the USSR. In May 1942, the group consisted of 21 partisans. The duties of the chief of staff were performed by H. Stanovsky (a native of Pervomaisk, Mykolaiv region, an escapee from the German captivity). The detachment carried out sabotage actions in the area near Zolochiv, mostly on the railway (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, p. 92).

According to the Soviet publications, in January 1943, P. Kundius's detachment numbered 23 people, and in November of the same year, it numbered 204 fighters. Almost ninety percent of the detachment's personnel were the Poles. However, based on statistical data, which may have been influenced by the party historians, we cannot help but notice such a sharp increase in numbers, which primarily can be explained by the echoes in the “Galicia” district of the escalation of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Volyn, the escape of some Poles to the border regions of Galicia, and a gradual aggravation of this confrontation on Galician territory (Brechak, 1974, p. 113).

We also find allegations that P. Kundius's detachment maintained contact with the Polish anti-fascist organizations operating under the leadership of the Polish People's Party (V boiakh za Lvovshchinu, 1965, p. 212). What is obvious, regardless of the origin of the commander P. Kundius, that is the Polish organized nature of this partisan detachment and, characteristically, and the very fact is mentioned in the book “In the Battles for Lviv Region” (V boiakh za Lvovshchinu, 1965). There are no specific mentions about the “leading role” of “The People's Guard” and “The Council of the Partisan Movement of the Western Regions of Ukraine”. Such statements appeared in the future Soviet historiography.

Thus, in the study by I. Berchak we find an ideologically motivated statement, so to speak, that “although the detachment under the command of P. Kundius was formed and acted independently, from time to time it received both instructions and assistance from

Brody cell of "The People's Guard". It was from there that 7,000 zlotys were sent, and from there the People's Guard newspapers and leaflets were sent to the detachment, and from there they were advised: "not to divide into Polish and Russian partisans, but to act together" (Brechak, 1974, pp. 115–116).

Another reference to the Soviet-era publication: "A characteristic feature of this detachment, compared to many others that fought the invaders in the western part of Ukraine, was that it consisted of nine-tenths of fighters of the Polish nationality" (Brechak, 1974, p. 23).

In November 1942, the Polish self-defense group led by S. I. Kaliciński joined the detachment. P. Kundius appointed S. I. Kalitsynsky the chief of the detachment's armament. The report on the detachment's activities also mentions other Polish groups: "there were also the Polish self-defense groups with the nationalistic orientation. They had to agree to unite with P. Kundius, because they were convinced that separate actions would lead to heavy losses. All Polish groups were commanded by Lypa Mieczysław. After the unification, Lypa took up the position of assistant to the detachment commander and commander of all Polish groups". Thus, the above-mentioned number of 204 people was observed (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, pp. 97–114).

The detachment consisted of one military group in the number of four platoons with three squads in each. Command functions were performed by the Poles mostly: "a deputy commander and head of the Polish self-defense groups – Mieczysław Lypa ("Whirlwind"), his assistant – Michał Horvath, a chief of the detachment staff – Stanowski, an assistant chief of staff – Józef Hawryliuk, a chief of supply – Stanisław Kaliciński, the platoon commanders and their deputies – Józef Kszak, Otmar Stokas, Tomasz Lenczuk, Jan Klak, Józef Mor, Tadeusz Friedel, Jan Żuczkowski, Józef Krupa" (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, p. 106; Brechak, 1974, p. 114).

The detachment's actions were actively assisted by the Polish local population of the villages of Guta-Peniatska, Guta-Verhobużka (the villages were destroyed and not rebuilt), Guta-Oleska (nowadays – Hutyshche), Kręgi, etc. The local residents were influenced by a clergyman, Kazimierz Wałkow, a Polish priest. While in these and other villages of Olesko district, he "organized" activity there – he campaigned to help the partisan detachment, worked as a liaison. Information is preserved about the most active residents in terms of helping the partisans: Zieliński Franek (Guta-Verhobużka), Biletski Franek – he hid and provided medical care to the sick and wounded, Brojanovski Florian (Guta-Oleska, starosta) issued fictitious documents to partisans and escapees from the German captivity, etc. (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, pp. 110–111).

After the detachment was disbanded on July 27, 1944, 63 people were sent to the fighter battalions of Zolochovsky, Pomoriensky, Krasniansky and Olesky districts, the rest of its members were mobilized into the Red Army (53 people) and 57 people were enrolled in the Soviet apparatus (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, pp. 110–111).

The Zolochiv underground sabotage detachment did not produce agitation and propaganda materials. It maintained rare contacts with representatives of the "People's Guard" in the town of Brody. The "Guardsmen" handed them agitation and propaganda materials – "Partyzan", "Borotba", "Novyny Dnia", leaflets, etc., and gave instructions and directives to the detachment. According to the conclusion of the Ukrainian Headquarters of the Partisan Movement, the detachment was not sufficiently combat-ready and inactive, in particular in agitation and propaganda activity. Despite the presence of communists and

komsomol members in its composition, the party and komsomol work was not carried out, and not everyone read the publications of the “People’s Guard” (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 415, p. 114).

It is worth noting the small underground organization “Liberation of Fatherland” led by Dorozhko and Holovchenko, which operated in Permyshliansky and Hlyniansky districts of Lviv region. It is difficult to reliably identify individuals of the Polish origin among the members of the underground organization. However, given that the underground members were members of the former party activists, “scattered” one by one or several people in the villages of the districts, it is reasonable to assume that there were few ethnic Poles. These include, perhaps, Kazimierz Matiasz (the village of Turkotyn), who made propaganda issues on a typewriter with the Polish script, and Zygizmund Liavr (the village of Zhydovychi), who died in January 1944 in the town of Hlyniany in a shootout with the German police (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 416, pp. 43–45).

We also find an episodic mention of a small partisan detachment commanded by Bolesław Gidzik (“Cybulski”, “Chorny”), formed in the autumn of 1943 in Brody region. The majority of this detachment personnel were the Poles. In the spirit of the party propaganda, the patronage of this detachment and the local underground, led by Brody locksmith I. Burachko, was carried out by one of its leaders, I. Kurylovych (“Ryszard Sliwinski”), on behalf of the Military Council of the “People’s Guard” (Brechak, 1974, p. 161).

It is also worth critically analyzing the approaches to ideological constructions about the “switching to the side of the “People’s Guard” of the pro-London Polish underground members, who had lost faith in their leaders and sought to join the active struggle against the occupiers”, in particular the mention about the Polish “Home Army” detachment (AK) led by Captain Tadeusz Bomba, which operated in the western regions of Lviv region, and later in Poland, in Rzeszów region (Brechak, 1974, p. 167).

In February 1944, in the north-eastern territories of Lviv region – in the village of Palykorovy near the town of Pidkamin, there was established the Soviet partisan local detachment “mainly consisted of the Polish population”, numbering 40 people named after Chkalov, raiding from Zhytomyr region, under the command of B. Korenevsky. In a newly formed detachment Zhombra became the commander, and Kostenko – the commissar (Brechak, 1974, p. 161).

In Ternopil region one of the few centres of the Soviet underground there were the villages of Nastasiv and Veselivka in Mykulynetsky district, where in 1940 the Ukrainian immigrants from Lemko region were resettled and one of the first collective farms in the region was established (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 571, pp. 4–5).

On June 1, 1943, in Stanislaviv region, members of the Soviet underground organization under the leadership of I. Holubtsov, the former first secretary of Zabolotiv district committee of the komsomol, killed M. Volansky, the parish priest of the village of Ilintsi, for calling on local residents to go to work in Germany and join the “Galicia” division (CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 22, c. 538, p. 18). From the information carefully selected by the party members, it is difficult to determine the national composition of the participants of this Soviet underground organization.

There is even less information about Dolyna partisan detachment led by Eustachius Babi, which, according to modern Ukrainian historians, operated from August 1941 till July 1944, when the combat group was defeated by the enemy, and the underground group operated until the liberation of the region by the Red Army units (Ukraina partyzanska, 2001, p. 177).

In Ivano-Frankivsk region, the authorities carried out a large-scale falsification concerning the participants of the Soviet partisan movement. According to the relevant information, between 1960 and 1973, the number of Soviet partisans in the region was just a zero. However, in 1975, the number of partisans "increased" to 1,043 people (Lozytskyi, 2011, p. 166).

Through the prism of regional history, it is worth looking at the neighbouring Stryi district, which was previously part of Drohobych region of the Ukrainian SSR. According to the researcher L. Savytska, during the years of "the war, in Ukraine the communist partisan and underground movement became more active, and its activity also spread in Stryi district. This movement was relatively local and small in number. There is no sufficient source base that would testify to the activities of the movement, all data are based mainly on the memories of its participants" (Savytska, w. y.).

In Drohobych region, the People's Guards detachment "Orlyk" – led by Józef Ważynski (65 people) – operated side by side with the Soviet parachute landing in the summer of 1944. As for the "Orlyk" detachment, it was formed back in October 1942 in the village of Chernykhiv. It operated in Boryslav and Sambir area. Initially it numbered 28 people. Its first commander was the Soviet soldier (surname unknown), who died in the battle (Brechak, 1974, p. 167).

Summing up the research, it is important to emphasize the manipulative and propaganda context of the increase in the number of Soviet partisans in the western regions of Ukraine, when, for example, in Lviv region (since May 1959, the neighbouring Drohobych region was included in its composition – a note by *A. Shcheglov*), from 1960 till 1975 the number of registered partisans increased from 3483 people to 6781, primarily due to the so-called raids of the Soviet units and formations in the spring-summer of 1944 on the territory of the region (Lozytskyi, 2011, p. 166), a critical analysis of which should be done in a separate source study.

Conclusions.

1. The Soviet underground and partisan movement in the district "Galicia" was small and relatively weak. It is also quite debatable to apply such definitions to it as "partisan" or "resistance movement". The reason for this is the lack of a critical mass of the local population in its ranks and a clear organization of efforts to resist the Nazi occupation authorities. The majority of the Ukrainian population of the region did not support such a movement. However, this fact does not give reason to omit it in the research focus.

2. Considering the above mentioned facts of the archival sources analysis and the results of previous research, we should determine a significant role of the "Polish" influence on the organization and activities of the Soviet underground and partisan cells in the district. This significant role was manifested both in the active participation of the Polish anti-Hitler underground of the pro-Soviet leftist orientation, and the local Polish ethnic population, which, not always willingly, but under the power of circumstances, began its cooperation with non-local organizers of local groups of underground partisan struggle – the Soviet soldiers and communists. An additional factor in such cooperation was the peak of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Western Ukrainian lands during World War II.

3. In every way the Soviet and pro-Soviet historiography tried to conceal the fact of a significant Polish influence on the above mentioned forms of struggle. The aim of such activity was to support the myth of "people's Soviet avengers", "nationwide struggle against fascism under the Soviet power leadership", etc.

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Vadym PROKOPOV

PhD (History), Senior Lecturer at the Department of Philosophy, Sociology and History, Dnipro State Agrarian and Economic University, 25 Serhii Efremov Street, Dnipro, Ukraine, postal code 49008 (prokopov.v.yu@dsau.dp.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0001-5120-9419

Вадим ПРОКОПОВ

кандидат історичних наук, старший викладач кафедри філософії, соціології та історії, Дніпровський державний аграрно-економічний університет, вул. Сергія Єфремова, 25, м. Дніпро, Україна, індекс 49009 (prokopov.v.yu@dsau.dp.ua)

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THE ROLE OF SONGS AND SINGING IN THE EVERYDAY PRACTICES OF THE UPA AND OUN SOLDIERS IN ZAKERZONNIA

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to elucidate and characterize the everyday military practices related to singing and the use of music among the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia region in 1944 – 1947. **Research Methodology.** The study is based on an interdisciplinary approach that combines the analysis of memoir sources and insurgent documents with theoretical developments in military anthropology, social psychology, and musicology. In the research musicological approaches and concepts have been applied that explain the role of a collective singing in shaping group identity and in combat situations. **Scientific Novelty.** This article represents the first attempt to explore the anthropological dimension of the use of songs and singing in daily lives of the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia. The research expands the understanding of musical practices in military environments and opens new perspectives for studying the impact of a song on the psychological state and combat effectiveness of military formations. **Conclusions.** Thus, the role of a song and singing in everyday practices of the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia was multidimensional. The analysis of the sources shows that music served not only an entertainment or emotional function but also acted as a powerful tool for psychological adaptation, group identification, and even tactical influence on the enemy. This study identifies the functions that singing and songs played in the daily lives of the Ukrainian combatants. In particular, singing and songs served as a means of rest and leisure; accompaniment for celebrations and rituals; a tool for unity and communication; emotional support and stress relief; a marker of national identity and the distinction between “us” and “them”; an instrument of ideological influence and propaganda; support in combat situations; and the final act before death. Collective singing contributed to the formation of group identity and the maintenance of morale. Singing practices united combatants and civilians, becoming a kind of ritual that strengthened camaraderie and mutual understanding. Singing played a crucial role in regulating emotional states, alleviating anxiety, and improving mood. The article argues that the phenomenon of “combat singing” was used as a means of influencing the enemy. By analyzing these aspects, we not only gain a deeper understanding of the psychology and culture of the Ukrainian underground but also acquire a broader perspective on the role of music in military conflicts in general.

Key words: Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Zakerzonnia, combat singing, everyday life, military anthropology.

РОЛЬ ПІСЕНЬ І СПІВУ В ПОВСЯКДЕННИХ ПРАКТИКАХ ВОЯКІВ УПА Й ОУН НА ЗАКЕРЗОННІ

Анотація. *Мета роботи* – розкрити і охарактеризувати військові повсякденні практики, пов’язані зі співом пісень і використанням музики, вояків УПА й ОУН на Закерзонні в 1944 – 1947 роках. **Методологія дослідження** базується на міждисциплінарному підході, що поєднує аналіз мемуарних джерел, повстанських документів із теоретичними напрацюваннями військової антропології, соціальної психології та музикознавства. Дослідження застосовує підходи й концепції музикології, які пояснюють роль колективного співу у формуванні групової ідентичності та в бойових ситуаціях. **Наукова новизна.** Стаття є першою спробою дослідження антропологічного виміру використання пісень і співу в повсякденному житті вояків УПА й ОУН на Закерзонні. Дослідження розширює уявлення про музичні практики у військовому середовищі й відкриває нові перспективи для вивчення впливу пісні на психологічний стан і бойову ефективність військових формувань. **Висновки.** Отже, роль пісні та співу в повсякденних практиках вояків УПА й ОУН на Закерзонні мала багатовимірний характер. Аналіз джерел показує, що музика виконувала не лише розважальне чи емоційне завдання, але й була потужним інструментом психологічної адаптації, групової ідентифікації та навіть тактичного впливу на супротивника. У дослідженні виділені функції, які відігравали спів і пісня у повсякденному житті українських комбатантів. Зокрема, це був засіб відпочинку й дозвілля; супровід святкувань та обрядовості; засіб єднання і комунікації; емоційна підтримка й подолання стресу; маркер національної ідентичності й розрізнення “свій” / “чужий”; інструмент ідеологічного впливу та пропаганди; підтримка в бойових ситуаціях; остання практика перед загибеллю. Спільне виконання пісень сприяло формуванню колективної ідентичності й підтримки морального духу. Співочі практики об’єднували комбатантів і цивільне населення, стаючи своєрідним ритуалом, що зміцнював товариські зв’язки та взаєморозуміння. Спів відігравав важливу роль у регулюванні емоційного стану для зняття тривожності й поліпшення настрою. У статті автор доводить, що фактор “бойового співу” використовувався як засіб впливу на ворога. Аналізуючи перелічені аспекти, ми не лише глибше розуміємо психологію та культуру українського підпілля, а й отримуємо ширшу перспективу для ролі музики у військових конфліктах загалом.

Ключові слова: Українська повстанська армія, Організація українських націоналістів, Закерзоння, бойовий спів, повсякдення, військова антропологія.

Problem Statement. Music always accompanied a person in moments of triumph and sorrow, during work and rest, during peace and periods of war. War is not only a clash of armies and strategic operations, but also a special socio-cultural space in which unique practices of behaviour and communication are formed. The study of war phenomenon goes beyond purely military history and belongs to military anthropology. This field of knowledge is multidisciplinary and touches on the vast field of applied, social, cultural and historical anthropology (Boroch, 2021, pp. 63–73). One of the important topics of military anthropology is music, singing, and songs, which play a significant role in the lives of combatants. The Ukrainian liberation movement of the 1940s – 1950s left a noticeable mark on the folk art – primarily in songs. The insurgent and underground members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) were creators and performers of these songs, the experience of which requires its own interpretation, especially in the context of the modern Russo-Ukrainian war.

Review of Sources and Recent Research. In Ukrainian historiography and folklore studies, there are quite a few researches that study, systematize, and analyze the Ukrainian song heritage of the insurgent struggle during and after World War II. Famous collectors and researchers of folklore and insurgent songs – Hryhoriy Demian (Demian, 2003), Yevhen Hishchynskyi (Hishchynskyi, 2007), Yevhen Luno (Luno, 2014) – made a significant

contribution to the preservation of this heritage and made the first attempts at its systematization and analysis.

A large number of the UPA songs are presented in Volume 25 of the UPA Chronicle. The editor Zenoviy Lavryshyn conducted a significant research: he identified the main themes of the songs, elucidated the images used in the texts, and provided a generalized musicological description (Lavryshyn, 1996). Volodymyr Kobylanskyi (Kobylanskyi, 2013), V. Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 2011), Hanna Sokil (Sokil, 2023), and Dahmara Turchyn-Duvirak (Turchyn-Duvirak, 2011) focused on a detailed analysis of the songs, determining their authorship and subject matter. The researchers show how the UPA songs not only preserved traditional images and motifs, but also transformed them, reflecting new ideas and historical circumstances, which make songs a significant material for understanding national identity and cultural continuity.

However, none of the above mentioned studies takes into account the “anthropological” aspect of the use of songs, music, and singing during the insurgent war. The questions arise: What did the UPA and OUN insurgents feel and do when singing songs? Why did they sing songs? What were their everyday practices?

In the article, we make the attempt to do the research using the example of Zakerzonnia. The choice of this particular region is determined by the clear chronological boundaries of the nationalist underground and insurgent units operation there, as well as a significant representation of the source base we need – memoirs. Our research is primarily based on the analysis of about a hundred memoirs and recollections of combatants of the Ukrainian insurgent formations from Zakerzonnia region. This sample is sufficiently representative to draw conclusions about the entire insurgent-underground community. We supplemented the narrative sources with documents of insurgent, less often the Polish or Soviet origin. After all, in the process of researching everyday life and anthropological dimensions of war, it is ego-documents that come to the fore, in which a person can write more frankly about his experiences, emotions, and practices. Although these sources are worthy of historical criticism, in the realm of everyday wartime they are more informative than official documents, as they reveal the inner worlds and daily realities of people more deeply.

The methodological component of the research is based on the studies of Joseph Jordania, who is known for his model of the origins of a human singing (including choral singing) in a broader context of a human evolution. He analyzes music and singing from the perspective of social and cultural anthropology. J. Jordania sees music and singing as a means of promoting collective identity, trust, and commitment within a group, which is crucial for survival and success in conflicts (Jordania, 2011). The biological foundations of music make it a powerful factor in community cohesion, in particular, Isabelle Peretz singles out the archaic origins of people's musical abilities, which in turn had an impact on the survival and effectiveness of the group (Peretz, 2006). The psychological functions of music have been studied by a group of researchers who identify three main dimensions of music: conveying feelings and emotional comfort; social bonding; and entertainment and distraction. (Schafer, Sedlmeier, Stadler, & Huron, 2013). Other Western musicologists and anthropologists note that music and songs at war are peculiar rituals that give meaning to combat and become important psychological responses to the war trauma of war (Grant, 2020). Another perspective concerns the ability of music to promote integration and empathy among people, to be a kind of centre of psychological comfort, which is so lacking at war (Grant, Möllemann, Morlandstö, Münz, & Nuxoll, 2010, pp. 190–191). The British researcher Janine Natalia Clark develops the

thesis that at war music essentially forms a familiar soundscape in contrast to the hostile and violent surroundings of the war sounds. The author argues that music-making becomes an expression of resilience and resistance during military conflicts. In general, music can have many roles as an emotional release, a setting for battle and killing at war. Or it can be a means of influencing the enemy and even torture (Clark, 2023). In our opinion, Nicole Wegner's article is overloaded with contradictory discourses in its criticism of the military as a community, but is nevertheless interesting in its critical approaches to insurgents' rituals, which, in particular, are a collective performance of songs and music, or rituals of honouring the dead, which fill the participants with deep emotions (Wegner, 2021).

The purpose of the research is to elucidate and characterize the daily military practices associated with singing songs and using music by the UPA and OUN insurgents in Zakerzonnia, in 1944 – 1947.

Research Results. Usually songs are sung and listened to during free time, when there is time, opportunity and inspiration to relax. The insurgents were no exception, there is a lot of evidence that in addition to military duties they found time to sing songs (Kmet, 2000, pp. 95, 210; Yovyk, 1995, p. 35; Kordan, 2006, pp. 85, 107; Ivanyk, & Bokhno, 2012, p. 193). Under favourable conditions, during stops in villages and forest camps, songs were performed in groups, with civilians, and without them as well. In winter, in hiding places, when there was more free time, songs were also an attribute of rest: “A song was also a favourite pastime for the insurgents” (Savchyn, 1995, pp. 168–169, 196; Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001a, p. 608; Potichnyi, 2003, p. 105).

A song was also heard during various holidays. In the insurgent hundreds, in Zakerzonnia there were choirs of singers, and there were musical instruments and musicians who played the musical instruments during national, religious and personal holidays. They performed folk or popular melodies (Harasymiv, 1999, pp. 8, 116–117, 134). In some settlements, you could listen to music from gramophones and dance to the “Lviv tango” with local girls or women underground members (Harasymiv, 1999, p. 190). National holidays or memorable dates of liberation struggles (Pokrova, Second Winter Campaign, Ukrainian Unity Day (Den' Sobornosti), Heroes' Day, June 30) were also accompanied by songs whenever possible: “After the opening speeches, the choir sang the song “When You Were Dying”” (Ivanyk, & Bokhno, 2012, pp. 160, 220).

Musicians played the musical instruments and songs were sung at both peasant and insurgent weddings, and Maria Savchyn recalled her own wedding in particular: “What a powerful singing it was! I haven't heard such a lot in my life for many years” (Savchyn, 1995, p. 90). The soldiers of the hundreds, with the permission of their commanders, also did not miss the opportunity to attend such celebrations: “Dancing takes place with a fairly modest orchestra. We have fun until 2 o'clock in the morning” (Shtendera, 1987, p. 71).

During the celebration of Easter, Christmas, or during church services, soldiers could perform a religious prayer song, or a national patriotic song that suited the moment (Karvanska-Bailiak, 2000, p. 164; Potichnyi, & Viatrovykh, 2003, p. 351; Yovyk, 1995, pp. 174, 295). During the Easter holidays, “they sang insurgent songs that even small children knew the texts of songs: “Oh, There, under the Forest” (Kordan, 2006, pp. 67, 156). Carol singing according to folk tradition was inherent in the insurgent Christmas cycle. The song and carol accompanied the insurgents throughout all times of the struggle: “the melody of the Ukrainian carol “God the Eternal...” resounds from hundreds of chests” (Kmet, 2000, pp. 91–92; Potichnyi, 2003, pp. 86, 154; Tsiapka, 1975, pp. 66, 148, 254).

A song was used as an emotional shock absorber in times of sadness and upheaval associated with war, loss, separation, and farewell. For the soldiers, the song was actually a means of overcoming stress: "Songs were our consolation. We sang songs, and our hearts would rest" (Potichnyi, & Viatrovych, 2003, p. 278). To more sensitive and emotional natures, like underground member Maria Savchyn, it sometimes seemed that a song could even relieve physical pain: "...Tender songs were my only and, perhaps, the best medicine than all others" (Savchyn, 1995, p. 79). When the combatants said goodbye and set off on a campaign, there were brief moments of farewell with civilians: "...The peasants and insurgents gathered in a circle, and an insurgent song echoed through the forest in a low voice" (Yovyk, 1995, p. 160; Hromenko, 2000, p. 41). Or when saying goodbye to their brothers, relatives or friends: "Khrin suggested singing together as a farewell. He really loved to sing songs" (Savchyn, 1995, p. 168; Lenko, 1999, p. 36).

Often a song made us think about the fate of a person at war, and sometimes it brought a certain sentimentality and sadness (Lyko, 2002, pp. 80–81; Savchyn, 1995, p. 166). Although, it was this aspect that caused criticism of commanders, because a song should be "combat" and "the enemy must die, not the Ukrainian insurgent", as it was often said in the songs (Kmet, 2000, pp. 113–114).

This vivid genre of folk art was essentially a marker of Ukrainian identity, especially in the context of the struggle for statehood and survival in Zakerzonnia region. This marker concerned not only combatants, but also the Ukrainian civilian adults and children (Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001b, p. 254). A song was essentially perceived as a calling card of the Ukrainians to foreigners. During propaganda raids in Slovakia and Poland, in order to make a good impression, as well as for tactical reasons to demonstrate the larger number of personnel, hundreds of the UPA performed choral songs (Lyko, 2002, p. 537; Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001a, pp. 616, 618). Later, while in the American camp in Germany after the "big raid", hundreds from Zakerzonnia also performed songs in their own choir (Yovyk, 1995, p. 303).

It should be said that the performance of a certain repertoire was a means of distinguishing in the dichotomy of "one's own"/"alien." A Polish or Russian song precisely captured this situation, when the sound atmosphere changed (Savchyn, 1995, p. 471). The insurgents felt a certain tension and hostility when they heard Russian songs: "I felt a Ukrainian night, littered with Moscow ditties (chastushka) and the suffering "Katiusha" song (Harasymiv, 1999, p. 127; Savchyn, 1995, p. 326). There was more loyalty to the Polish songs, because contact with the Polish culture and people was closer. The line of hostility was blurred, especially under the conditions of the Polish-Ukrainian ethnic borderlands, which were the lands of Lemko, Nadsiania, Chełm and Pidliashshia regions. The Polish songs were used to make a good impression and befriend the population during marches through the Polish villages (Kmet, 2000, p. 179; Shtendera, 1987, p. 63; Huk, 1994, p. 143).

In the Polish environment the Ukrainian women underground members used the ability to perform Polish repertoire as an additional means of conspiracy (Labunka, 2015, pp. 151–153). In general, women underground members, according to their recollections, were more inclined to sing songs. They describe their associations with songs about specific situations, people, thoughts, moods and feelings, memories of childhood and adolescence (Savchyn, 1995, pp. 255, 359; Labunka, 2015, pp. 70, 139–140, 186; Tymochko, 2005, pp. 36, 253).

A song was an important element of unity between combatants and civilians, the culmination of celebrations, gatherings and meetings, and acted as a kind of emotional communication (Savchyn, 1995, pp. 91–92). In the insurgent memoirs, there are quite a few

testimonies about such meetings: “It happened that we became hoarse because of singing. Everywhere we were warmly welcomed... The friendly singing of the national anthem “Ukraine is not Dead yet” moved the insurgents and peasants” (Kmet, 2000, pp. 94, 184; Dmytryk, 1992, p. 88).

Singing was often used to unite the underground insurgent community. Singing songs became a kind of a ritual that created an atmosphere of camaraderie and mutual understanding: “These minutes warmed us for a long time and remained unforgettable for a lifetime” (Potichnyi, & Viatrovych, 2003, p. 349; Karvanska-Bailiak, 2000, p. 91).

Many memoirs of the UPA soldiers mention the performance of marching songs while moving through Zakerzonnia region (Yovyk, 1995, p. 76; Shtendera, 1986, p. 21; Shtendera, 1987, p. 73; Harasymiv, 1999, pp. 29, 52; Potichnyi, 2003, p. 151). It is obvious that this happened under favourable conditions, when strict secrecy was not required. As many studies have shown, based on the examples of other armies (Reed, 2016), marching songs helped soldiers be in a cheerful mood, promoted group unity and joint efforts. This aspect was also a kind of manifestation of one's presence and control over the territory. This was used to emphasize one's own strength both to civilian population and opponents.

A song was also a convenient means for the ideological education of people. As ordinary soldiers from Lemko region noted: “Our songs often spoke louder than the most passionate speeches” (Dmytryk, 1992, p. 12). Under the conditions of the virtual absence of mass media, insurgent songs conveyed the main emotional and informative messages to the population, served the purposes of propaganda and spreading ideas: “Even little boys ran and sang the song: – Bandera will show us the way to freedom!” (Yovyk, 1995, p. 72).

During the research, we also revealed purely combatant practices of using songs in the UPA and OUN community. In particular, during the preparation for the battle, the necessary mood was achieved by singing marching songs: “... An elevated mood prevailed, humour appeared, jokes were cracked, and some of the insurgents even sang cheerful songs” (Kmet, 2000, p. 42). Victorious actions were also celebrated with singing songs, especially in honour of beloved commanders: “We are not afraid of attack, when “Burlaka” is with us” (Huk, 1994, p. 337).

A song played an important role in the event of the death of a comrade. First of all, as an aid in overcoming the pain of loss (Savchyn, 1995, p. 163; Huk, 1998, p. 228; Labunka, 2015, p. 131). Music became a means of perpetuating the feat of the military. Soldiers sang songs during funerals and in memory of fallen comrades: “We believed that our fallen friend hears them. This is for him. This is a holiday (Heroes' Day – honouring those who fell for Ukraine. – *Author*), “a song united us spiritually. Everyone knew that we were not the first and, probably, not the last, ready to give our lives for Ukraine” (Potichnyi, & Viatrovych, 2003, pp. 271, 284; Karvanska-Bailiak, 2000, p. 143; Hromenko, 2000, p. 98; Harasymiv, 1999, p. 156; Tymochko, 2005, p. 117). The people could dedicate a song to certain important, difficult and tragic battles, which was performed to honour the memory of the dead. Such, for example, was the battle in March of 1945 near the village of Mryholody (nowadays – part of the village of Wierchrata, Podkarpatie Voivodeship, the Republic of Poland) with heavy losses for the UPA (Lenko, 1999, pp. 44, 121). In the reports and diaries of the hundreds, we see a widespread ritual of memorial service – singing songs (Ivanyk, & Bokhno, 2012, p. 218). A song is a kind of emotional outlet that reduced the stress during the “turmoil” and the war in general. Conversely, when soldiers experienced losses too acutely, a song was not sung, because the words and melodies were simply superfluous (Shtendera, 1987, p. 76; Kmet, 2000, pp. 35–36, 160).

In the insurgent environment, we find evidence from various sources about the special performance of songs before apparent death. When, under conditions of encirclement or blockade in hiding places, soldiers-nationalists were aware of no way out and the last battle had come, they sang national anthems: "While searching for a hiding place (kryivka), friends sang revolutionary songs" (Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001b, p. 553). We should assume that this was done to reduce fear, to prepare for the last moment emotionally, in which the goal and ideological component of the sacrificial struggle were expressed. In part, singing revolutionary songs served as a means of intimidating enemies and creating a national legend of resistance for the population. In particular, when the leader of the OUN underground in Zakerzonnia, Yaroslav Starukh "Stiah", died: "...The whole group, having sung the anthem "Ukraine is not Dead yet", and blew up the mines" (Halasa, 2005, pp. 104, 137).

The UPA and OUN soldiers sang songs directly during the battle. On the one hand, this was done to intimidate the enemy, and on the other hand, to create a soundscape to maintain a fighting spirit, enthusiasm, and courage. But at the same time, to reduce fear and stress (Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001a, pp. 59, 69; Huk, 1996, p. 115). The sotennyi "Hromenko", who wrote his memoirs almost immediately after the battles in Zakerzonnia, described his actions during the battle: "...I order the musicians and the rest of the insurgents to play the musical instruments and sing our favourite song at the top of their voices" (Hromenko, 2000, p. 19).

A rather interesting case is recorded in several insurgent diaries and memoirs – the performance of a "combat song" by soldiers of the hundreds "Burlaka" and "Krylacha". During Operation "Vistula" they were surrounded by superior forces of the Polish army, the situation was quite hopeless. However, the psycho-emotional factor of the song was clearly manifested in it: "Everyone is determined to fight and defend to the penultimate bullet, to keep the last one for oneself. The guys shout to the Poles: "We are not afraid of death!" We begin to sing "Evening is already falling..." – the whole line picks up the song. Everyone seems to be happy, cheerful, forgetting about the enemy, danger, hunger, overstrain. Only from time to time do they fire on the enemy, who, as if enchanted, has somewhat quieted down. We continue to sing "Wake up, Mighty Ukraine!", "The Winds are Blowing", "Gdy narod w Warszawie" and "Hey-ha, Hey-ha" (Shtendera, 1986, pp. 58–59; Shtendera, 1987, p. 184; Tsiapka, 1975, p. 343; Huk, 1994, p. 26; Huk, 1996, p. 124).

The soldiers were aware of the fact that this could be the last battle and its ending would be death or terrible captivity. However, just after the insurgents sang desperately, the Polish unit retreated for some reason. This situation of hopelessness and a special fervor of the "combat song" together with the fact of the enemy's retreat and, ultimately, the successful breakthrough of the hundred from the encirclement, precisely correlates with the research of Joseph Jordania. He describes the phenomenon of a "combat trance" that occurs under the influence of rhythmic collective actions, such as singing in a group, and it can cause an altered state of consciousness in which people cease to feel fear and pain, lose their individual identity, where everyone feels part of a greater whole, ready to fight to the end and, at the same time, intimidate the opponent (Jordania, 2011, pp. 98–102).

Conclusions. Summing up the research, several conclusions should be drawn. The role of a song and singing in the everyday practices of the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia was multidimensional. The analysis of the sources shows that music performed not only an entertaining or emotional role, but was also a powerful tool for psychological adaptation, group identification, and even a tactical influence on the enemy. The study highlights the functions that singing and a song played in the everyday life of the Ukrainian combatants.

In particular, it was a means of recreation and leisure; an accompaniment to celebrations and rituals; a means of unity and communication; emotional support and stress relief; a marker of national identity and the distinction between “one’s own” and “alien”; a tool of ideological influence and propaganda; support in combat situations; and the last practice before death.

The joint performance of songs contributed to the formation of a collective identity and support of morale. Under the difficult conditions of the underground struggle, singing served as a way of uniting insurgents, strengthening the sense of a common goal and readiness for self-sacrifice. Singing practices united combatants and civilians, becoming a kind of ritual that strengthened comradeship and mutual understanding.

Singing played an important role in regulating emotional states. Songs helped insurgents cope with trauma, loss of comrades, psychological and physical exhaustion. It can be said that collective music making is an effective mechanism for relieving anxiety and improving mood. A song for insurgents was an opportunity to vent emotions, soothe pain, and calm the stress response. This is a kind of “a cry of the soul”, because, as the saying goes: when a man sings, his soul cries. In a male collective, tears and emotional reactions are usually a taboo, but singing was an acceptable practice.

According to the results of the study, we can talk about the factor of a “combat singing”, which was used as a means of influencing the enemy. At critical moments, the insurgents sang songs, which could contribute to entering a special psychological state, when fear and pain were not felt, the soldiers acted as a single organism, and singing could intimidate the enemy, creating the impression of psychological superiority.

Songs were an important means of ideological education and propaganda. Under conditions of limited access to the media, it was music that served the function of spreading national ideas, shaping public sentiment, and transmitting historical memory.

By analyzing this aspect, we not only gain a deeper understanding of the psychology and culture of the Ukrainian underground, but also gain a broader perspective on the role of music in military conflicts in general.

It is worth noting that modern generation sometimes finds it difficult to understand the necessity and importance of singing songs in chorus, because everyone has gadgets and their own musical preferences, and surfing the Internet you can hear any melody. However, collective singing, especially in times of trials of the full-scale war, is quite relevant and can be useful for modern defenders of Ukraine.

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Ayman A. MAHAMOUD

PhD (History), Associate Professor, History Department, College of Arts, Humanities & Social Sciences, University of Khorfakkan, Sharjah, Khor Fakkan, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, postal code 18119, (ayman.mahmoud@ukf.ac.ae)

ORCID: 0009-0001-2473-8240

Researcher ID: JRY-6946-2023

Scopus ID: 5939614240

Айман А. МАХАМУД

доктор філософії (історія), доцент історичного факультету коледжу мистецтв, гуманітарних і соціальних наук, Університет Хорфаккан, Шарджа, м. Хор Факкан, Шарджа, Об'єднані Арабські Емірати, індекс 18119 (ayman.mahmoud@ukf.ac.ae)

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THE JORDANIAN POLITICAL STANCE ON THE RHODES AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL 1949 – 1950: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND ARAB–INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

Abstract. The political stance of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the Rhodes Agreement with Israel (1949) remains a subject of analytical and documentary interest, especially considering the complex Arab-Israeli dynamics in the post-1948 war era. While several Arab states accused Jordan of pursuing a separate peace, the available diplomatic and press records demonstrate a more nuanced and cautious approach adopted by the Jordanian leadership. **The purpose of this research** is to investigate Jordan's negotiating strategy during the Rhodes Armistice talks, its interactions with Arab and Western powers, and the media discourse surrounding the agreement. **The methodology of this research** is based on a historical documentary approach that combines official U.S. and British documents with Egyptian and Jordanian newspaper accounts, in addition to scholarly interpretations from Israeli and Western historians. **The scientific novelty** consists in the reinterpretation of Jordan's motives and goals during the negotiations, shifting the analysis away from nationalist rhetoric toward a more balanced reading grounded in primary sources. The findings indicate that King Abdullah I pursued the armistice to secure political leverage over Jerusalem and the West Bank, while maintaining an Arab consensus to the extent possible. Both strategic calculations and pressure from Britain, the Arab League, and internal constraints shaped the Jordanian position. Despite accusations of unilateralism, Jordan neither aimed to conclude a full peace treaty nor acted independently of the Arab context but sought instead to consolidate its territorial gains without fully detaching from the broader Arab cause. **The conclusion of the study** shows that the Rhodes Agreement inaugurated a new phase of legal and political contestation over Palestine, reflecting the interplay between diplomacy, war outcomes, and regional rivalries.

Keywords: Rhodes Agreement, Jordan, Israel, 1949 Armistice, Arab League, Egyptian Press, American Documents.

ПОЛІТИЧНА ПОЗИЦІЯ ЙОРДАНІЇ ЩОДО РОДОСЬКОЇ УГОДИ З ІЗРАЇЛЕМ 1949 – 1950 РР.: ІСТОРИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ І РЕАКЦІЯ АРАБСЬКИХ ТА МІЖНАРОДНИХ КІЛ

Анотація. Політична позиція Йорданського Хашимітського Королівства щодо Родоської угоди з Ізраїлем (1949 р.) залишається предметом аналітичного та документального інтересу, особливо враховуючи складну арабо-ізраїльську динаміку післявоєнного періоду 1948 р. Хоча низка арабських держав звинувачували Йорданію у прагненні до сепаратного миру, наявні дипломатичні та прес-матеріали демонструють більш тонкий та обережний підхід йорданського керівництва. **Мета цього дослідження** – вивчити переговорну стратегію Йорданії під час переговорів про Родоське перемир'я, її взаємодію з арабськими і західними державами, та медійний дискурс навколо цієї угоди. **Методологія дослідження** заснована на історико-документальному підході, що поєднує офіційні документи США та Великобританії з публікаціями єгипетських і йорданських газет, а також з науковими інтерпретаціями ізраїльських і західних істориків. **Наукова новизна** полягає у переосмисленні мотивів і цілей Йорданії у ході переговорів, що дає підставу змістити аналіз з націоналістичної риторики на більш збалансоване прочитання, засноване на періодджерелах. Результати свідчать, що король Абдалла I прагнув до перемир'я, щоб забезпечити собі політичний вплив на Єрусалим і Західний берег, зберігаючи при цьому арабський консенсус, наскільки це було можливо. Позиція Йорданії визначалася як стратегічними розрахунками, так і тиском з боку Великобританії, Ліги арабських держав, і навіть внутрішніми обмеженнями. Незважаючи на звинувачення в односторонності, Йорданія не прагнула до укладання повноцінного мирного договору і не діяла незалежно від арабського контексту, а прагнула закріпити свої територіальні придбання, не відриваючись повністю від ширшого арабського питання. **Висновки** дослідження показують, що Родоська угода започаткувала новий етап правової та політичної суперечки про Палестину, відображаючи взаємодію дипломатії, результатів війни та регіонального суперництва.

Ключові слова: Родоська угода, Йорданія, Ізраїль, перемир'я 1949 р., Ліга арабських держав, єгипетська преса, американські документи.

Problem Statement: Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan found itself navigating an increasingly complex regional and international landscape. The urgent drive to secure territorial and political gains especially in Jerusalem and the West Bank, collided with rising expectations of Arab unity and resistance to separate arrangements with Israel. Several Arab media outlets, particularly in Egypt, accused Jordan of pursuing individual peace, fuelling widespread public suspicion and diplomatic tension (Al-Balagh, 1949, April 4, p. 1). However, archival British records suggest that Jordan's leadership, under King Abdullah I, was acting under calculated pressure from both London and the Arab League to manage a fragile balance between national interest and Arab consensus (FO 371/75436, March 1949). These contradictions between accusation and intention, between ideology and pragmatism form the central problem this study seeks to address by reexamining the motives, pressures, and strategic objectives behind Jordan's political conduct during the Rhodes negotiations.

Review of Recent Researches and Publications. Western academic studies have shown significant interest in the armistice agreements concluded after the 1948 Palestine War, especially the Rhodes Agreement between Jordan and Israel. Being a pivotal point in Arab- Israeli relations, this agreement induced multifarious analyses exploring the political and military aspects it entailed. Israeli historian Benny Morris, stated in his book *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*, that the Rhodes negotiations between Jordan and Israel were not the result of a military defeat for Jordan but reflected the geographic and political realities imposed by the war. The Jordanian army-maintained control over vast areas of the West Bank, which gave it a negotiating leverage allowing it to enter the armistice agreement

with relative confidence) Morris, 2008, pp. 371–385). Meanwhile, Avi Shlaim, in his seminal work *Collusion Across the Jordan*, presented a critical narrative of Jordan's role, arguing that King Abdullah had expansionist ambitions in Palestine and that his prior understandings with the Zionist movement helped define Jordanian influence after the war. However, Shlaim emphasizes that the Rhodes negotiations were not a separate peace as accused by some Arab states but a political move in the post-war context (Shlaim, 1988, pp. 407–421).

Tom Segev, in *The First Israelis: 1949*, further provided an insider view of Israeli society, explaining how the Tel Aviv government was divided over relations with Jordan. Some leaders preferred a pragmatic settlement with King Abdullah I, while others believed Israel should impose facts on the ground by force, especially in Jerusalem and adjacent areas (Segev, 1986, pp. 265–272).

Additionally, in his study on the Palestinian refugee issue, Yoav Gelber noted that the armistice agreements, including Rhodes, deliberately ignored resolving this issue, which upset the Jordanian leadership as the kingdom hosted increasing numbers of refugees and demanded their return or compensation within any settlement (Gelber, 2006, pp. 213–220). Meanwhile, Charles Smith, highlighted in his text-book *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, that the Rhodes Agreement exemplified arrangements imposed by the balance of power rather than political will, and that King Abdullah's position, despite its independence, remained subject to the will of major powers, especially Britain (Smith, 2013, pp. 239–245). Moreover, in the renowned study *Peace Process*, William Quandt provided an analytical background on the beginnings of American diplomacy in the region and viewed the armistice negotiations with Jordan as the first instance where the U.S. sought to manage the Arab-Israeli conflict through “calming without a fundamental solution” (Quandt, 2005, pp. 14–18).

Last but not least, Gudrun Krämer dedicated chapters in her book *A History of Palestine* to the positions of Arab states after 1948, emphasizing that Jordan was the only Arab country to emerge from the war with additional territory, which put it in political confrontation with Arab parties that saw its position as a form of unilateralism (Krämer, 2008, pp. 328–334). The collection *The War for Palestine*, edited by Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim, combines analytical and documentary narratives, offering a comprehensive study of Arab states' positions and showing that the media attack on Jordan after the agreement was motivated not only by nationalist reasons but also by political competition among elites in Cairo, Damascus, and Amman (Rogan, 2001, pp. 172–190).

Based on the above, it appears that the Rhodes Agreement was a pivotal moment in modern Jordanian history, revealing a complex interplay between realpolitik and nationalist positions, regional calculations, and international balances. This article seeks to analyze these dynamics based on original documents and contemporary press coverage, which serve as a rich source for monitoring political interactions and Arab positions on the negotiations. The article also contributes by uncovering understudied dimensions in Arab media discourse, especially Egyptian, which reflected internal contradictions between nationalist slogans and regional interests. By tracing editorials, news reports, and commentary in major Egyptian newspapers, the article redraws the map of Arab reception of the armistice agreement and highlights how the media helped shape a nationalist narrative of the event, sometimes detached from military and political realities.

The purpose of the research is to analyze Jordan's political stance during the Rhodes negotiations with Israel in 1949, and to uncover the strategic motives behind its engagement. It seeks to determine whether Jordan pursued a unilateral path or acted within the bounds of

Arab consensus. The study further examines the influence of Arab, British, and international pressures on Jordan's decisions. It draws on original diplomatic documents and contemporary media to reconstruct an objective narrative.

Source Base of Research. The study relies primarily on original diplomatic documents issued by the British Foreign Office (FO 371/75436; FO 800/489) and American Department of State records (FRUS, 1949, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa). It also draws on contemporary Arab press sources, especially Egyptian and Jordanian newspapers such as *Al-Balagh* and *Al-Misri*, which closely covered the Rhodes negotiations. Supplementary insights were derived from memoirs and speeches by key figures, including King Abdullah I and UN mediator Dr. Ralph Bunche. The research additionally incorporates scholarly interpretations from Western and Israeli historiography to provide a broader analytical context. This diverse source base allows for a balanced reconstruction of the Jordanian position during the armistice process.

Research Results. Abdullah Al-Tal, the Jordanian commander in Jerusalem, was a friend of Colonel Moshe Dayan, the Jewish commander in Jerusalem. Although Abdullah Al-Tal was not authorized for diplomatic negotiations, the informal contacts between him and Moshe Dayan, the Israeli military governor in Jerusalem, helped pave the way for direct talks under the auspices of the UN mediator Dr. Ralph Bunche. These talks began in late February 1949 in Shuna and were completed on the island of Rhodes (CIA, 1949, pp. 5–7).

The Egyptian newspaper *Al-Muqattam* reported through its correspondent in Jerusalem that a spokesperson for the Israeli government stated that Colonel Moshe Dayan informed Colonel Abdullah Al-Tal that Israel intended to conduct talks with Jordan through the United Nations. Dayan told Al-Tal that any future talks between the two states should aim at a permanent armistice leading to lasting peace. Since Al-Tal was not authorized to discuss diplomatic matters, he referred the issue to King Abdullah and the Jordanian government. (Al-Muqattam, December 13, 1948, p. 2).

Also, Dr. Bunche, the international mediator, announced that negotiations between the Jordanian and Jewish delegations to effectuate an armistice in Palestine would take place by the end of February 1948. The International Supervisory Commission stated that the Jordanian government had decided that Colonel Abdullah Al-Tal, the military governor in Jerusalem, would head the Jordanian delegation. In response, the Israeli government decided that if the Jordanian delegation was formed in this way, the Jewish delegation would be headed by Colonel Moshe Dayan, the military governor of the Jewish areas in Palestine. Dr. Bunche told the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC): "I am keen that negotiations with the Jordanian government begin by the middle of next week". (Al-Balagh, February 17, 1949, p. 1).

Obviously, the UN representative wanted both parties to agree informally on the terms of the armistice before the Rhodes talks. Therefore, the international representative saw the necessity of holding an informal joint meeting to present the final details to both delegations. The success of the Rhodes negotiations depended on the outcome of the direct talks between the Jews and Jordanians in Shuna, the winter residence of His Majesty King Abdullah. The Jews viewed the armistice as a step toward a permanent peace treaty between the Jews and the Jordanians within weeks, a position rejected by King Abdullah. *Al-Muqattam* quoted a United Press correspondent that Transjordan and Israel had reached a preliminary agreement in principle to reduce their forces in the Aqaba area. Dr. Ralph Bunche expected the armistice agreement to be completed within days, as both sides had agreed on border lines in most areas, including southern Negev and Jerusalem (Al-Muqattam, March 29, 1949, p. 1).

However, direct talks stalled. A UN official noted that if the parties quickly reached agreement in Shuna, it would accelerate the Rhodes negotiations. The main obstacle in the negotiations was the problem of the Arab Triangle in Palestine, occupied by Iraqi forces, which the Jordanians would oppose at Rhodes. Therefore, the international mediator formulated the final draft of the permanent armistice agreement between the Jews and Transjordan at the first informal meeting between the two delegations, chaired by Dr. Ralph Bunche. It was expected that the two states would sign the armistice. The drafting of the agreement took two days, indicating that private meetings between the delegations successfully arranged the details of the armistice lines and the reduction of forces behind those lines. This agreement would be the third signed between the Jews and Arab countries after Egypt (Al-Muqattam, March 29, 1949, p. 1).

Likely, that King Abdullah wanted to emerge from the armistice negotiations with Israel with many political and strategic gains benefiting Jordan, Palestine, and the Palestinian people. The most important of these were recognition of Jordan's role in Jerusalem and the West Bank, securing the return of refugees, and guaranteeing freedom of access to holy sites. This stance put him in conflict with Britain and some Arab states, which accused him of attempting to make a separate peace with Israel (F.O. 371/75493, 1949, pp. 147–159). This led to disagreements between King Abdullah's views and those of the British government. Attempts were made to resolve these disagreements through contact by the Transjordanian minister plenipotentiary in London, but these efforts did not succeed. It seems the reason was that King Abdullah would only change his position through direct negotiations with the British government. Therefore, the Transjordanian government prepared a seven-point program to serve as the basis for negotiations with Israel. However, this program differed from the British government's views on two points of great importance. The seven points included in the program are: The Jordanian government proposed a seven-point program as the basis for negotiations with Israel, focusing primarily on the final status of Jerusalem and securing a peaceful settlement. The program called for resolving the Latrun issue, regulating the operation of the Rutenberg power stations, and ensuring freedom of movement on key roads such as the Jaffa–Jerusalem route, along with Jordan's access to Jaffa port and the restoration of Ramla and Lydda to Arab control. It also emphasized the right of access to Jerusalem's holy sites, the return of Arab refugees to their homes, and compensation for those unable or unwilling to return (Al-Balagh, 1949, p. 1).

A fundamental question arises here regarding the nature of the disagreement between King Abdullah I and the British government. The main points of discord centered on two pivotal issues: Jerusalem and the Palestinian refugees' fate. King Abdullah maintained a clear position, believing that the interests of Transjordan lay in insisting on the return of the refugees to the Arab cities and areas occupied by Israel in Palestine, while at the same time allowing those who wished to settle in Jordanian territory to do so without government objection. The King affirmed that if this option were realized, the population of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would double to about one and a quarter million people, compared to around 350,000 at the time. However, he stressed that the settlement of these refugees in Jordan should be accompanied by their receiving financial compensation paid by Israel as a legitimate right resulting from their forced displacement. The British perspective on this issue was that the common factor among the Arab states at the time regarding the Palestine problem was the insistence on the return of the refugees, whether their return was to areas occupied by the Arabs or the Jews. The second point, the issue of Jerusalem, was that the British opposed resolving it through direct negotiations between the Jews and Jordan, because

Britain feared that such an agreement would provoke the Arab states against British policy in the region (Al-Balagh, April 3, 1949, p. 2).

The permanent armistice agreement between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Israel was eventually signed on the evening of April 3rd, 1949, following intensive negotiations on April 2 during which unresolved issues were addressed (Al-Balagh, April 4th, 1949, p. 1). An *Al-Muqattam* correspondent cited a United Press report from Rhodes: "The former enemies sat around a round table with Dr. Ralph Bunche, the international mediator, and signed the agreement at 7:30 p.m. on April 3, 1949. With this signing, the culmination of weeks of negotiations, Dr. Bunche's mission in the Middle East is nearly complete." Key provisions of the agreement included:

First: The agreement established between Transjordan and the Jews during the first armistice stipulated the formation of the Jordanian-Jewish committee to resolve disputes over contested lands, such as the coastal areas on the Dead Sea. The agreement did not mention the Eilat Peninsula the coast on the Gulf of Aqaba, although the Jewish occupation of it at one point threatened to halt the negotiations. The committee will be chaired by one of the United Nations representatives and will consist of three Arabs and three Jews. Its headquarters will be in Jerusalem, and the committee will hold its first meeting within no more than a week after the signing of the agreement (Al-Balagh, April 4, 1949, p. 2).

Second: The agreement stipulated that the decisions of the joint committee would be based, as far as possible, on the principle of consensus. If consensus could not be reached, the committee would make decisions by a majority of the members present at the meeting. If the committee failed to reach a decision and a dispute arose, each party would have the right to raise the issue to the Security Council to seek a solution. Dr. Ralph Bunche told the delegates of the two states that "they have signed two agreements in the form of one agreement because this agreement included the issue of areas occupied by the Jordanians as well as those occupied by the Iraqis." He added: "This agreement constitutes a non-aggression pact between Transjordan and Israel" (Al-Balagh, 1949, p. 1).

Third: Jordanian forces will be present in the Arab third in central Palestine, including Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm, which are the areas where Iraqi forces used to be (Al-Balagh, 1949, p. 1), on the condition that the Jordanian forces allow Israel to establish a transportation line between Tel Aviv and Haifa. On the other hand, Israel agreed to pay the costs of constructing a first-class paved road, twenty kilometers long, for Transjordan, and Israel also ceded certain privileges to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in the Dead Sea area.

Fourth: The lines stipulated by the armistice largely reflect the borders established during the ceasefire order issued on November 30, 1948. As for the Negev area, these borders matched the state of war as set by the United Nations in the previous March. Thus, Israel obtained freedom of movement on the Tulkarm-Qalqilya road, and in return, there was a change in the borders in favor of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Hebron.

Fifth: The forces will be designated as defensive forces within ten days after the demarcation of the dividing borders, and the Jordanian forces will replace the Iraqi forces in the central area for a period ranging from five weeks to fifteen weeks. The Jordanian government accepted full responsibility for all Iraqi units. Sixth: The special committee will work to make the necessary arrangements to grant the right of entry to all holy places, ensure freedom of movement and passage on all vital roads, and allow hospitals to resume their work on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem (Al-Muqattam, April 4, 1949, p. 2).

The upcoming section analyzes the prudent and pragmatic approaches of Jordan and Israel toward the 1949 Rhodes Agreement, emphasizing Jordan's limited negotiation strategy

to safeguard Jerusalem and Israel's focus on territorial consolidation. Drawing on U.S. and British sources, it highlights the divergence in priorities and the absence of unified Arab coordination. This divergence is further illustrated by a secret telegram sent by the U.S. Vice Consul in Amman, Wells Stapler, dated February 24, 1949, reveals that the Jordanian government was cautious in its approach to the Rhodes armistice negotiations. It instructed its delegation not to engage in a comprehensive settlement but to limit negotiations to technical matters related to the ceasefire. The document also indicates that Amman preferred a gradual approach toward a final settlement under the auspices of the International Conciliation Commission (PCC) and considered rushing into comprehensive peace talks a "mistake." The telegram further notes that the Jordanian delegation was prepared to verbally inform Israel that the agreement would also apply to Iraqi-held areas, despite lacking written authorization from Baghdad, reflecting weak Arab coordination and absence of a joint official commitment. The document conveys a pessimistic Jordanian assessment of upcoming Arab meetings in Beirut and Cairo, with Amman placing little hope in the effectiveness of a collective Arab stance at that stage (F.R.U.S., 1949, pp. 768–769).

Al-Muqattam newspaper cited a political analysis from the British Times regarding King Abdullah's desire to implement the Rhodes armistice agreement. The Times noted that King Abdullah understood that the understanding with Israel under the Rhodes Agreement did not mean a permanent peace treaty but viewed it as necessary for Jordan, the Arab world in general, and the entire political and economic future of the Middle East. The newspaper explained that King Abdullah's vision stemmed from his strong desire for Jerusalem to remain under his rule rather than under international trusteeship, thereby preventing Israeli control. Consequently, both sides would benefit from a non-aggression pact that would make the Rhodes armistice a practical, lasting solution (Al-Muqattam, April 25, 1950, p. 1).

To gain a broader understanding of the nature of the negotiations, it is also important to consider the Israeli position as reflected in U.S. documents, which reveal diplomatic and strategic orientations different from the prevailing stereotype. U.S. State Department documents show that the Israeli negotiator at Rhodes handled the armistice file with limited flexibility but with a strategic determination to consolidate the military situation after the war 1948. Diplomatic memoranda from the American negotiating team indicate that then Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett described the agreement with Jordan as a "strategic turning point in Israel's foreign policy" (F.R.U.S., 1949, pp. 928–930). Both Moshe Dayan and Reuven Shiloah played pivotal roles in the negotiations under the supervision of UN envoy Ralph Bunche, with Israel considering fixing the status quo through a bilateral agreement with Jordan preferable to facing collective Arab diplomatic opposition (Bunche, 1948–1949, pp. 212–219).

A report from the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv to the State Department further stated that "the Israeli position was firm on some points but did not reject engagement, recognizing the importance of ending regional isolation" (F.R.U.S., 1949, pp. 935–937). This reflects a pragmatic Israeli stance at the time, with the new government seeking to consolidate military gains through a partial settlement that secured implicit recognition without making concessions on refugees or Jerusalem. Notably, this approach was not unanimously supported within Israel; some U.S. diplomatic reports showed that the military establishment pressured against accepting permanent border understandings, while the Foreign Ministry sought to cement regional recognition, even if indirectly (F.R.U.S., 1949, pp. 921–924).

Egypt was inevitably among the first Arab countries to sign an armistice agreement, yet it incited the Arab League states against Jordan through a media campaign led by the

Egyptian press targeting Jordanian policy. This campaign was fueled by reports alleging that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was preparing to sign a separate peace agreement with Israel. Evidence of this can be seen in what was published by the newspaper *Al-Balagh*, which ran an article titled “Al-Ayyam Investigates a Secret Document Published by *Al-Balagh* on March 7, 1948”. The document contained a classified letter from Brigadier Charles Clayton, the head of the British intelligence at the British Embassy in Cairo, dated December 14, 1947, regarding Jordan’s approval of the partition of Palestine into two states and its intention to conclude a permanent peace with Israel (*Al-Balagh*, April 30, 1950, p. 2). Notably, Egypt and some Arab countries, such as Syria and Saudi Arabia, used this document as a pretext for political and media attacks against the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan within the Arab League.

Since Jordan considered the media reports about direct negotiations with Israel to be mere false claims and malicious propaganda, King Abdullah I convened a meeting with members of the Jordanian government and Bahā’ al-Dīn Ṭūqān, the Jordanian minister plenipotentiary to Egypt, to clarify the facts and respond to these allegations from an official perspective. Following the meeting, Ṭūqān returned to Cairo and held a press conference attended by several Egyptian journalists. He was asked about the truth of rumors regarding secret negotiations between Jordan and Israel for a separate peace. Ṭūqān categorically denied these reports, noting that the Jordanian government had previously issued an official statement refuting such claims. He affirmed: “I once again strongly deny these reports and confirm that there are no negotiations between us and Israel, except for what takes place through the United Nations Conciliation Commission in Geneva”. When asked by a journalist from *Al-Masri* newspaper about efforts to persuade Jordan to change its opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem so as not to diverge from the Arab consensus on the need for internationalization, Ṭūqān responded: “I am not aware of such efforts, and our position on the internationalization of Jerusalem remains as it is opposition to internationalization”. He added, “We have previously presented our position to the Arab League’s political committee, and they did not object. As for Jerusalem, by which we mean that part of Palestine containing the holy sites, if Transjordan were to accept the internationalization of Jerusalem, the United Nations might then say: since Israel insists on opposing internationalization, we will give it New Jerusalem and place Arab Jerusalem under guardianship. This is precisely what the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan does not want” (*Al-Masri*, February 9, 1950, p. 2). When asked if the Jordanian army could defend Jerusalem, Ṭūqān replied that this question should be directed to military men, but added: “In any case, the Jordanians are always ready to shed every drop of their blood in defense of Jerusalem” (*Al-Masri*, February 5, 1950, p. 3).

At the request of Syria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, the Arab League’s political committee convened to discuss what they called “the Transjordan issue” and to consider taking action against Jordan regarding rumors of a separate peace with Israel. However, some countries, such as Iraq and Lebanon, suggested that no decision be taken before the arrival of the Jordanian delegation to the League. When a journalist from *Al-Masri* asked Riyadh Al-Solh about the issue of Palestine’s representation in the League and Jordan’s position, Al-Solh replied: “I say that the issue of Palestine’s representation, despite its importance, comes second. The first issue for me is East Jordan’s position in the League. Before the League discusses this or any other topic, it must resolve the East Jordan issue in light of what has been broadcast, rumored, and published, and find a correct and clear solution. I sincerely hope that the Jordanian delegation comes to Cairo to properly explain all these issues that

have been broadcast and rumored and published, and which Mr. Ṭūqān has previously denied completely” (Al-Masri, March 27, 1950, p. 1).

Although some countries requested the political committee to postpone any decisions, Egypt insisted on a resolution stating: “The Palestine issue concerns all Arab League member states, not just one, and any harm caused by Israel affects all Arabs. Therefore, any separate peace negotiations by a League member state are outside the Arab League and must result in immediate expulsion. The resolution also stipulates that no negotiations of any kind regarding the Palestinian issue may take place except by agreement of all member states” (Al-Masri, March 27, 1950, p. 2).

Accordingly, *Al-Masri* newspaper predicted that if relations between Jordan and Israel were a fundamental cause of strong conflict between Jordan and the Arab League, the League’s decision to impose sanctions on any state violating the Charter by negotiating a separate peace with Israel made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to consider a peace agreement between Israel and Jordan at that time (Al-Balagh, April 17, 1950, p. 1). In light of the reports circulated by the Egyptian press on this matter despite Israel’s official denial through its foreign minister and before its parliament (Al-Masri, March 18, 1950, p. 3).

Despite these two denials, as well as the denial issued by Ṭūqān, the Jordanian minister plenipotentiary in Cairo, political circles within the Arab League continued to believe the story was true. Syria and Saudi Arabia adopted this position when Khalid al-Azm raised the issue before the League Council, considering Jordan’s move to conclude an agreement with Israel a violation of the Arab League Charter. At the same time, there were armistice negotiations scheduled to take place between Syria and Israel (Al-Muqattam, March 29, 1949, p. 1), which were expected to address the exchange of prisoners, reduction of forces, and border demarcation. For this reason, Brigadier William Riley, Chief of Staff of the United Nations, and Monsieur Henri Vigier, assistant to Dr. Bunche, the UN mediator, traveled from Haifa to Damascus to conduct negotiations between Syria and Israel.

The Syrian delegate to the Arab League insisted strongly on affirming these falsehoods, giving a special statement to the Egyptian newspaper Al-Masri in which he said: “The Syrian government will support all joint measures taken by Arab governments regarding Transjordan, and I have already declared from Damascus that my government cannot stand idly by in the face of any peace treaty signed between Israel and Transjordan, because national duty requires us to strengthen Arab solidarity against Israel” (Al-Masri, March 27, 1950, p. 1).

Saudi Arabia adopted similar stances, working behind the scenes to provoke a political crisis in the Jordanian Foreign Ministry. This was evident when Jordan’s minister plenipotentiary to Saudi Arabia, Muhammad Fahmi Hashem, who had previously served as chief judge, sought political asylum, leaving his post without notifying his government. Strikingly, Egypt granted him asylum. When asked about his reasons, Hashem stated: “I left my post because King Abdullah negotiated with the Jews, information I obtained from diplomatic sources in Saudi Arabia and from reports in the Egyptian press” (Al-Masri, 1950, March 27, p. 1).

In summary, the media and political campaign against Jordan within the Arab League was largely based on unsubstantiated information. Despite official denials from Jordan and some Arab and foreign parties, some states continued to escalate tensions rather than seek Arab consensus. The Egyptian press played a central role in fueling the dispute, complicating Jordan’s relations with the Arab League. British documents suggest that ongoing Arab pressure on Jordan had strategic consequences for Arab unity, making this crisis a real test of

the Arab League's ability to manage internal disagreements away from rumors and political strife amid this Arab tension, U.S. State Department documents revealed that Washington was closely monitoring King Abdullah's moves during the Rhodes negotiations. A telegram dated March 3, 1949, indicated that "the Jordanian leadership is acting cautiously but is prepared to enter into a comprehensive armistice if it obtains guarantees regarding Jerusalem and the refugees". Other American reports noted that King Abdullah was regarded in Western circles as a more reliable partner compared to other Arab leaders (F.R.U.S., 1976, p. 1239).

Therefore, the U.S. administration was closely following the developments of the armistice between Jordan and Israel, considering that the success of these negotiations could establish a model applicable to the rest of the Arab states. In a telegram sent by the American ambassador in Amman on March 3, 1949, it was stated that "King Abdullah seems inclined toward a settlement that keeps Jordan in a position of strength in the West Bank, provided the arrangements include guarantees regarding Jerusalem and the refugees". Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Loy W. Henderson, also indicated that Washington viewed King Abdullah as a more pragmatic leader compared to other Arab leaders, and that "Jordan could represent a conduit for quiet American influence in the region" (F.R.U.S., 1976, pp. 1238–1240).

A secret political document issued by the U.S. State Department on April 17, 1950, also revealed a comprehensive assessment of Jordan's position on the armistice agreement with Israel. The document considered Jordan to be one of the Arab states most ready to accept a realistic settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It noted that King Abdullah began the annexation of the West Bank at the beginning of 1949 with the British support, and that Washington cautiously encouraged his stance. The document recorded that Jordan conducted bilateral talks with Israel from November 1949 to March 1950, resulting in a preliminary agreement that included a ceasefire for five years and a free trade zone in Haifa. However, it was not implemented due to objections within the Jordanian government and Palestinian pressure. The U.S. State Department considered that supporting Jordan in this direction carried political risks for its relations with Arab states, as a separate peace could lead to further Arab isolation for Jordan. Nevertheless, it remained a realistic option that could help reduce regional tensions in light of the prevailing Arab rigidity at the time. Washington also saw Jordan's economic stability through refugee integration and cooperation with UNRWA as a strategic priority to limit Soviet influence in the region (F.R.U.S., 1950, pp. 1095–1097).

As for the British assessment, it is clear from a secret telegram sent by the American chargé d'affaires in London to the U.S. State Department on January 3, 1950, that the British Foreign Office, despite announcing a policy of "non-intervention" in the Jordanian-Israeli negotiations in Rhodes, was closely monitoring the negotiations. It provided its envoy in Amman, Sir Alec Kirkbride, with secret instructions if his advice was sought. These instructions included undisclosed British strategic advice, the most important of which were: taking advantage of Israel's desire for a settlement, especially regarding Jerusalem; avoiding hasty concessions; rejecting unrealistic corridors such as those proposed by Israel toward Gaza; demanding direct access to the Mediterranean north of Gaza; and proposing the annexation of Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem to strengthen the agreement diplomatically and facilitate refugee resettlement. Although the Jordanian government did not officially request London's advice, this British perspective reflects a high level of monitoring and indirect influence on the course of negotiations, at a time when London was keen to maintain its influence in the region without appearing as a direct mediator (F.R.U.S., 1950, p. 677).

Political circles in the British government, meanwhile, believed that Arab states could reach agreements with Israel; they did not expect friendship or affection between the disputing parties, but they wanted stability in the Middle East. These circles also believed that the Arab states were losing more from continued hostility with Israel than they were gaining. It was also common in London's political circles that Egypt, which opposed any understandings with Israel, had powerful elements inclined toward this approach understanding with Israel but they also believed that Egypt's shift in this direction would be slow and that Egypt, which opposed Jordan in the Arab League, would be encouraged to take a similar step if it saw any Arab state reaching an understanding with Israel (Al-Masri, 1950, April 22, p. 1).

Certain political factions within the British Foreign Office, responding to accusations made by some Arab League member states against the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan – accusations stemming from a negative press campaign in Egypt – stated that the British government favored any Middle East agreement to be made between Israel and a unified Arab front, represented by the Arab League. This approach was considered preferable to Israel reaching separate agreements with individual Arab states. They added: "For this reason, it cannot be said that Britain encouraged King Abdullah and Israel to enter into direct negotiations, nor can it be said that King Abdullah would have entered those negotiations if Britain had objected" (Al-Muqattam, 1950, April 25, p. 1).

Britain's view was that bilateral agreements might increase tensions rather than ease them, and it expected increased agitation and anger among Arab peoples if a peace treaty between Jordan and Israel (Al-Masri, 1950, March 18, p. 2) were signed. In this context, British Foreign Office documents showed a pragmatic view of Jordan's position. A secret memorandum dated April 10, 1949, stated that "the accusations of a separate peace directed at Jordan are not based on conclusive evidence, and continued Arab pressure on Amman by other Arab states could push King Abdullah toward a policy closer to the Western powers". The memorandum also included a warning that "ignoring Jordan's interests will increase divisions within the Arab ranks and weaken the Arab League's position in confronting Israel". The British Foreign Office emphasized the importance of stable Jordanian-Israeli relations for its interests in Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean (F.O. 371/75493, 1949, pp. 150–151).

On the other hand, the idea of concluding a non-aggression pact between the two states emerged as one of the arrangements resulting from the Rhodes Armistice Agreement. Al-Masri newspaper, quoting *The New York Times*, reported that the latter had learned from diplomatic sources in Washington that a meeting was held between the delegations of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan at King Abdullah's private palace in Ash-Shuneh. King Abdullah himself chaired this meeting, which was intended to conclude a non-aggression pact and resolve all outstanding issues. The two delegations spent six hours without reaching an understanding, leading King Abdullah to leave after instructing the Jordanian delegation to reach an agreement. After further discussions, the head of the Israeli delegation declared it impossible to reach an agreement, and the Israeli delegation returned to Tel Aviv (Al-Masri, March 18, 1950, p. 2).

Thus, the negotiations failed at their first stage due to King Abdullah's and the Jordanian delegation's insistence on achieving the objectives of this agreement.

The second stage of negotiations came when fifty Jordanian and Israeli officers met in the demilitarized zone in Jerusalem to discuss proposals presented by General Riley, the chief armistice observer, aimed at strengthening cooperation between the two sides in dealing

with border incidents such as looting and shooting. The aim was to exchange views to select the most effective means to improve conditions in the border area, organize communication between the parties' posts, and facilitate joint patrols with armistice observers. Indeed, a conference was held at the United Nations observers' headquarters in Jerusalem, attended by the commanders-in-chief of the Jordanian and Israeli forces, as stipulated by the armistice agreement. General Baden represented Israel, and General Glubb Pasha represented Jordan. Both sides attempted to implement measures to combat border theft, infiltration across the armistice lines, and smuggling, but these efforts also failed due to the Jordanian delegation's objections to the Jewish conditions (Al-Balagh, 1950, April 20, p. 2).

Israel denied signing any agreements or treaties with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. When the Israeli parliament convened on March 14, 1950, to discuss a request by members of the Herut Party (one of the opposition parties in Israel) to address rumors of peace negotiations between Jordan and Israel (Al-Muqattam, March 15, 1950, p. 4), Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett stated in parliament that no non-aggression pact had been signed between Israel and any other state and that Israel was not prepared to enter negotiations with the Arabs. No draft agreement had been submitted to the cabinet. Sharett emphasized: "The agreement with Transjordan has existed for a year; it is the armistice agreement signed on the island of Rhodes and strictly and amicably implemented by both contracting countries". An opposition member from the Herut Party responded to Sharett, asking: "Does this mean that the Israeli government does not intend to reach an agreement with Jordan or work toward such an agreement?" Sharett pledged that the Israeli government would not sign any agreement before consulting the parliament and also pointed to the difficulty of negotiating with King Abdullah, who insisted on preserving Jerusalem and Palestine before any agreement. After Sharett's statement, both opposition proposals were put to a vote and rejected by a majority of 54 to 29 (Al-Muqattam, March 15, 1950, p. 1).

Due to the failure of the Jordanian-Israeli negotiations to sign a non-aggression pact following the Rhodes Agreement in their previous stages in Shunah and Jerusalem, General William Riley, the chief United Nations observer, attempted to start the third stage of these talks. He met in Jerusalem with the commander of the Jewish army and planned to travel to Amman to meet Brigadier Glubb Pasha, commander of the Arab Legion. The aim of these talks with senior officials in both countries was to put an end to border incidents, which had recently claimed lives on both sides. (Al-Balagh, 1950, April 27, pp. 1–2).

The two parties agreed to meet on May 2, 1950, for this purpose. It is worth noting that the Jordanian-Israeli Joint Armistice Commission met before the May 2 talks to discuss border incidents at Beit Jibrin, west of Hebron, due to a landmine explosion that killed some Israeli soldiers. An official statement regarding this incident announced that local commanders from both sides in the border area between Tiberias and Aqaba would meet to discuss border incidents in general to prevent their recurrence in the future and reinforce the armistice framework (Al-Balagh, April 27, 1950, p. 2). *Al-Masri* newspaper, quoting *News Chronicle*, reported that the latter published a political analysis of these talks, attempting to link the approval of the representatives of the two states Jewish and Jordanian to these discussions with Britain's recognition of the annexation of the Arab parts of Palestine and its legal recognition of Israel. The newspaper stated that this British recognition paved the way for the meeting between King Abdullah's representatives and those of David Ben-Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister, to lay out the main lines for demarcating the border between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Jewish state (Al-Masri, May 2, 1950, p. 1).

Al-Masri also reported, quoting *The Times* of London, that Britain's recognition of the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine to Transjordan and its legal recognition of Israel was a step the British government could not avoid. The newspaper welcomed the British Foreign Office's understanding of the true situation in the Middle East, noting that the situation in the region may not be exaggerated, but that Britain had clarified its position. There was no doubt, however, that many problems remained to be resolved before tensions could be eased, not least among them the issue of supervision over the holy places and the dispute between Jordan and the Arab League.

Obviously, the Jews were not serious in the recent talks regarding border demarcation and non-aggression but rather sought to bargain with King Abdullah and the Jordanian government and to enter into final talks with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. *Al-Masri* commented on the repeated border incidents by quoting a memo from its correspondent there: "Border incidents continue to increase, and there is no reason to believe they will stop simply by having joint patrols guard the border". The memo suggested that Israel was trying to force Jordan to achieve its goal of concluding a permanent peace with Jordan, arguing that all these border arrangements were insufficient and that there was an urgent need to replace the armistice agreement with a permanent, final peace settlement – something King Abdullah always refused.

Moreover, the Jordanian government lodged a protest with international observers over Israel's violation of the sanctity of the Mamilla Islamic Cemetery in the heart of Jerusalem. The sacred cemetery is respected by Muslims as it contains the remains of religious figures and the graves of martyrs who fought in the Crusades in the 12th century. In its official protest to the chief observer, the Jordanian government stated that Israel was building a road through the cemetery, contradicting previous Israeli statements about respecting holy places. Radio Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan reported after this protest was submitted to international monitors that a recent Jewish attack had occurred on a village in the Hebron area near the village of Jibril (*Al-Masri*, May 2, 1950, p. 2).

Meanwhile, the Israeli government has repeatedly declared its desire to enter into peace negotiations with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, but King Abdullah considered this a danger, as it would mean separating from the other Arab countries and concluding a separate peace – unless he was prepared to sever his ties with the Arab League, which King Abdullah always refused. At the same time, he believed he could conclude a non-aggression pact based on the Rhodes Armistice Agreement, which could bring significant economic and social benefits and serve the interests of annexing the West Bank to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (*Al-Muqattam*, 1950, March 25, p. 1).

It is noteworthy that Israel was insistent on violating the Rhodes Armistice and the recent talks regarding the implementation of this agreement and the non-aggression pact between the two parties. It seems that Israel wanted to force King Abdullah to sign a permanent peace agreement, which he refused. Thus, a Jewish military detachment attempted to kidnap several residents of the Arab Turi area on the pretext that they had killed an Israeli soldier, but the Jordanian patrols stationed there prevented this, forcing the Jews to withdraw from their positions after the Jordanian forces arrested an Israeli corporal from the detachment. For this reason, the Jordanian government submitted a protest to General Riley, the chief international armistice observer in Palestine, regarding the Jews' violations of the terms of the Rhodes Armistice Agreement. According to a correspondent for the Arab Agency, the Jordanian protest memorandum referred to the Jewish mobilizations on the Jordanian border

and repeated attacks on those borders and the inhabitants of neighbouring areas (Al-Balagh, 1950, May 27, p. 2).

Yet, the Jews did not stop at violating the terms of the Rhodes Armistice by continuing to attack the inhabitants of the border areas. They also resorted to forging the map agreed upon in the armistice agreement signed by both parties. According to a statement broadcast by the Jordanian government, there was an Israeli attack on a strip of land along the Jordan River. The statement considered this aggression a severe blow to stability throughout the Middle East. The area of this strip is about one square kilometer and is located at the confluence of the Yarmouk and Jordan rivers. The Israeli government occupied it on August 28, claiming that the United Nations map authorized it to seize the land.

According to the terms of the Rhodes Armistice Agreement, if either party breaches the armistice, the other party should refer the matter to the United Nations. Initially, Dr. Youssef Heikal, Jordan's Minister Plenipotentiary, submitted a memorandum to the U.S. State Department and met with the official in charge of Middle Eastern affairs. The memorandum did not mention Israel by name because Jordan does not recognize it as a state. The memorandum stated that the Jewish actions continued to raise Arab fears that the Jews were pursuing a policy of expansion at the expense of the Arabs. The New York Times documented a direct breach of this armistice in August 1950, noting that Israeli forces penetrated a border area near the Jordan River, claiming that the armistice map entitled them to control the land. In response, the Jordanian government accused Israel of forging the official maps signed at Rhodes and informed the United Nations that Israeli actions "involve an intentional aggressive intent to impose a new fait accompli on the ground" (The New York Times, 1950, August 29, p. 3).

Therefore, their recent actions threaten the security and stability of the entire Middle East at a time when all people should be mobilizing their efforts to coordinate international relations and foster harmony and concord. It is worth mentioning that Jordan had previously submitted a memorandum to the United Nations. The Jordanian Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington reported that he came to present his government's perspective on the aggressive act orchestrated by the Jews on August 25, 1950, and their occupation of Jordanian territory (Al-Muqattam, October 5, 1950, p. 1).

The Jordanian legation, however, stated that the Jews claimed their seizure of these lands was based on a map drawn in Rhodes under the terms of the armistice to end the fighting between the Arabs and the Jews. In reality, however, the Jews had forged the map and did not use the genuine original. The question remains: How did the Jews use a forged map? Jordan protested Israel's use of a forged version of the armistice map, accusing it of altering agreed boundaries to justify new territorial claims. In the end, the Jordanian minister in Washington asked the United Nations not to recognize the reduced map that the Jews had forged and to rely on the original, first map (Al-Muqattam, October 5, 1950, p. 2).

In reality, Israel had a different position from Britain regarding the annexation of Arab Palestine to Jordan, as it linked recognition of this annexation and its non-objection to the conclusion of a peace agreement between it and Jordan. This was evident when an Israeli government spokesperson indicated that his government considered the annexation of East Palestine to Jordan a hostile act unless the Hashemite Kingdom established a peace settlement with Israel, and that this annexation was a unilateral act that did not bind Israel in any way nor imposed any legal obligations on it in this regard, stating: "We signed the armistice agreement with the Hashemite Jordan and we are determined to adhere to it. However,

this agreement does not require a final settlement, and establishing such a settlement is not impossible without entering into negotiations and approving a peace treaty between the two parties; therefore, it should be clear that the status of the Arab areas west of the Jordan is a matter open to negotiation as far as Israel is concerned” (Al-Muqattam, 1950, April 25, p. 1).

Al-Muqattam newspaper published an analytical article on this matter, noting that Israel was keen to retain full freedom of action regarding the incorporation of the Arab part of Palestine into East Jordan, and that it neither rejected nor accepted this incorporation (Al-Muqattam, 1950, April 28, p. 1). It is clear from this that the Israeli government believes that King Abdullah’s step cannot become legitimate except within the framework of a general peace settlement between the two states and the signing of a non-aggression pact, which was under negotiation. Otherwise, Israel may consider the annexation of Palestine a hostile act against it.

Al-Balagh newspaper ran that the statement by the Jewish spokesperson was interpreted as meaning that Israel might demand some of the lands allocated to Jordan under the armistice agreement, and that what was said in the Jewish statement about the status of the Arab areas west of the Jordan being negotiable indicates Israel’s intention to exert pressure on Jordan (Al-Balagh, 1950, April 25, p. 1).

On the domestic level, the Herut Party, formerly known as the Irgun Zvai Leumi organization, distributed leaflets in Tel Aviv denouncing Jordan’s annexation of the Arab section, which the party called the Jewish homeland. The party urged the residents of Israel not to give up any part of their heritage, as they claimed. The party’s leaflets also accused the British government of supporting the king in establishing his kingdom on both banks of the Jordan, as they alleged (Al-Balagh, 1950, April 25, p. 1).

Besides, the Israeli spokesperson added that the Jewish objection to the annexation of Arab Palestine to Jordan was not merely about Jordan’s supervision over Arab Palestine, as the Jews preferred its official annexation to Jordan rather than entrusting its fate to Hajj Amin al-Husseini. However, Israel’s main concern was that the extension of Jordanian rule over Arab Palestine would facilitate the entry of the British military forces into it under the joint defense agreement annexed to the Jordanian-British treaty (Al-Balagh, 1950, April 25, p. 3).

Israel’s position came after the British Parliament warmly welcomed and fully recognized both union of the two banks of the Jordan and the State of Israel. The spokesman for the House of Commons, Mr. Kenneth Younger, added: “The Jordanian-British treaty concluded in 1948 now applies to that part of Palestine that was united with Jordan; this means that any Israeli attempt to undermine Jordanian authority in East Palestine by force will immediately lead to the use of the British forces in support of Jordan”. This led the Israeli government spokesperson to express his astonishment that the eastern part of Palestine had entered the scope of the British-Jordanian treaty (Al-Balagh, 1950, April 28, p. 1).

From the above, it is concluded that Israel’s rejection of Jordan’s annexation of Arab Palestine reflects its expansionist intentions, which led King Abdullah to pursue Arab League support as a defensive response. Western sources confirm that Jordan adopted a pragmatic approach aimed at safeguarding its military gains without seeking a separate peace. Meanwhile, Israel relied on legal reinterpretations of the armistice terms, turning the Rhodes Agreement into the starting point of a prolonged diplomatic struggle rather than a final resolution.

Conclusion. This study shows that the Rhodes Agreement between Jordan and Israel was not merely a military ceasefire, but a turning point that reflected the complex balance between

political pragmatism and national sensitivities in the region. While King Abdullah sought to consolidate Jordan's control over the West Bank through negotiation, he also aimed to preserve a degree of Arab coordination to avoid regional isolation. In contrast, Israel viewed the agreement as a strategic tool to formalize territorial gains without addressing key issues such as Jerusalem and refugees, with backing from global powers like the U.S. and Britain.

The analysis of American and British documents, alongside Arab media discourse particularly from Egypt reveals a discrepancy between public rhetoric and actual political dynamics. The Egyptian campaign against Jordan fuelled regional tensions and distorted receptions of its intentions. Ultimately, the study concludes that the Rhodes Agreement marked the start of a prolonged diplomatic struggle, as Jordan navigated between defending its strategic interests and responding to accusations of unilateralism. This research highlights the need to reassess Jordan's position through primary sources and press coverage that expose the realities behind the negotiations.

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Oleh MALIARCHUK

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of Social Sciences, Interpreting and Translation, Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas, 15 Karpatska Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76019 (oleg.malyarchuk@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-3019-9028

ResearcherID: 3020886

Mykhailo PALAHNIUK

PhD (Philosophy), Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Social Studies, Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas, Ukraine, 15 Karpatska Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76019 (palahniuk@nung.edu.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0002-2512-075X

Олег МАЛЯРЧУК

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри суспільних наук, Івано-Франківський національний технічний університет нафти і газу, вул. Карпатська, 15, Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76019 (oleg.malyarchuk@gmail.com)

Михайло ПАЛАГНЮК

кандидат філософських наук, доцент, завідувач кафедри суспільних наук, Івано-Франківський національний технічний університет нафти і газу, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76019 (palahniuk@nung.edu.ua)

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**FOUNDATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST “RUKH” CELL
IN UKRAINE (1987 – 1991)**

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to elucidate, based on scientific literature, periodicals, memoirs, and archival documents, the process of creating the very first “informal” public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR in 1987 – 1991, to characterize their contribution to the creation of the NRU and state development using the example of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh”. **The research methodology** is based on heuristics, reconstruction, and interpretation in order to create a holistic picture of historical events using critical analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that, based on “express-information” from special issues of the socio-political centre of The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the memoirs and diaries of Oksana Olshanska and Oleh Maliarchuk, the process of forming the most influential socio-political organization of a new type at that time – The People’s Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika (NRU, Rukh) – has been elucidated, and the experience gained in the field of national patriotic education has been highlighted. Using the example of The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society

“Rukh”, established de facto on December 19, 1987, and legally – on June 22, 1988, the activity process from the first cultural and educational events to political actions has been studied. **Conclusions.** In the history of Ukraine, the “Rukh” (NRU) embodies the Ukrainian patriotism during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of independent states. Owing to it, we have prominent political and state figures, and leaders of local communities. The youth educated in the NRU were preparing to take up arms to fight for the independence of Ukraine and against a spiritual, occupational enslavement by Russia. The forms and methods of work of “informal” organizations activists of Ukraine, tempered by generations of patriots, must develop in accordance with the challenges of today, adapt and modernize with the latest technologies. During the large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, they fight with weapons in their hands in the ranks of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and are engaged in volunteer activities. Many Ukrainian patriots joined them, hoping to use their example and initiatives to involve as many citizens of our country as possible in building a powerful Ukrainian world as a counterweight to the “Rusky mir”. It is necessary to consolidate the Ukrainians around the national state idea in order to survive the war and build a strong state. And this will be facilitated by knowledge of history, the printed Ukrainian word, the use of the Ukrainian state language and, without any doubt, the patriotic spirit of people. In fact, from the very beginning of its creation, The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” is a legal political organization. The main historical merit of the “Rukh” was and remains the creation of an environment for educating people in a national patriotic spirit for the realization of themselves as the Ukrainians. The historical mission has been accomplished, and our duty is to preserve the memory of the outstanding sons of Ukraine and their selfless work.

Key words: national idea, revival of Ukraine, People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU), Rukh.

СТВОРЕННЯ ТА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПЕРШОГО ОСЕРЕДКУ “РУХУ” В УКРАЇНІ (1987 – 1991)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі наукової літератури, періодики, спогадів, архівних документів розкрити процес створення найперших “неформальних” громадських організацій Української РСР 1987–1991 років, охарактеризувати їх вклад у створення НРУ та державну розбудову на прикладі Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства “Рух”. **Методологія дослідження** – евристика, реконструкція та інтерпретація, щоби критичним аналізом створити цілісну картину історичних подій. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі “експрес-інформації” зі спеціальних випусків громадсько-політичного центру Івано-Франківського обкому компартії України, доповнених спогадами зі щоденників Оксани Ольшанської “Все це пишу на колінах” та Олега Малярчука, розкрито процес формування найвпливовішої на той час громадсько-політичної організації нового типу – Народного Руху України за перебудову (НРУ) та виокремлено напрацьований досвід у справі національно-патріотичного виховання. На прикладі Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства “Рух”, створеного фактично 19 грудня 1987 року, а юридично – 22 червня 1988 року, досліджено процес діяльності від проведення перших культурно-освітніх заходів до політичних акцій. **Висновки.** Отже, в історії України “Рух” (НРУ) символізує український патріотизм у часи розпаду Радянського Союзу та проголошення незалежних держав. Завдяки йому маємо видатних політичних, державних діячів, очільників місцевих громад. Вихована НРУ молодь готувалася взяти до рук зброю для боротьби за незалежність України та супроти духовного, окупаційного поневолення з боку Росії. Форми та методи роботи активістів “неформальних” організацій України, загартовані поколіннями патріотів, мусять розвиватися відповідно до викликів сьогодення, адаптуватися та модернізуватися новітніми технологіями. У час широкомасштабного вторгнення Росії в Україну вони зі зброєю в руках воюють у лавах Збройних Сил України, займаються волонтерською діяльністю. До їхнього складу долучилися чимало українських патріотів, аби своїм прикладом та ініціативами залучити якомога більше громадян нашої держави будувати потужний український світ на противагу “руському міру”. Необхідно консолідувати український народ навколо національної державницької ідеї, щоб вистояти у війні та побудувати міцну державу. Фактично від початку створення Івано-Франківське обласне культурно-наукове товариство “Рух” було легальною політичною організацією.

Основна історична заслуга КНТ "Рух" – виховання народу в національно-патріотичному дусі для усвідомлення себе українцями. Свою історичну місію вони виконали, а наш обов'язок – зберегти пам'ять про видатних синів України та їхню подвижницьку працю.

Ключові слова: національна ідея, відродження України, Народний Рух України.

The Problem Statement. The political opposition associations and societies were the harbingers of independence in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR) in mid-1988. In the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, there were the following political opposition associations: the Ukrainian Culturological Club, the Ukrainian faction of the Democratic Association, and the People's Union for the Promotion of Perestroika, which, according to the organizers' plan, were to unite on one platform the amateur associations "Hromada", "Zelenyi Svit", and "Spadshchyna". In the cities of the Ukrainian SSR, nonconformist associations became increasingly popular and widespread, acquiring a political colour. Thus, in Kharkiv there was founded "The Association for the Protection of Free Labour", in Poltava – "The Rally Committee", in Sumy – "The Sumy Regional Committee for the Promotion of Democratization", in Kamianets-Podilskyi – "Tvorchist" ("Creativity"); in Vinnytsia – "Istyna" ("Truth"); in Odesa – "The Democratic Association for the Promotion of Perestroika", in Yalta – "The Association of Good Will", etc. In the all-Ukrainian political environment, the western region of the Republic stood out, where Lviv deservedly took the lead – the Ukrainian Galician Piedmont. However, whether Galicia became the dreamed-of Ukrainian Piedmont (according to Mykhailo Hrushevsky's apt metaphor) or not, historians and politicians still argue. However, in Lviv, different currents of the then public discourse united, represented by The Ukrainian Helsinki Union, The Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, "The Lion Society" also known as "Tovarystvo Leva", The International Committee for the Protection of Political Prisoners, The Discussion and Political Club, The Democratic Front for the Promotion of Perestroika. Other Western Ukrainian regions tried to keep up with Lviv. In Ternopil – "Noosphere", "Vertep", "Hromada Podilskyi Krai Ternopilshchyna"; in Chernivtsi – "Sich", "Oberih", "Zelenyi Rukh of Bukovyna"; in Rivne – "Peresvit"; in Lutsk – "The Lion Society"; in Uzhhorod – "The Society of Hungarian Culture of Transcarpathia", The O. Mytrak Society; in Ivano-Frankivsk – The Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" (CST "Rukh" – "Malyi Rukh").

"Informal" organizations were alternative to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – Communist Party of Ukraine (CPSU-KPU). The "informal" organizations had closely intertwined areas of activity – ethnographic, historical, ecological, religious, and political. The majority of them were organizationally structured and legally registered, numbering a hundred or two active members led by charismatic leaders. At the same time, there were certain organizational peculiarities, forms, methods, and accumulated experience.

What was the activity peculiarity of one of the first "informal" organizations – The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" (CST "Rukh" – "Malyi Rukh")?

Review of Recent Sources and Research. Among the scholars-historians, the future Professor, Doctor of Historical Sciences Ihor Andrukhiv, the author of thorough studies on the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the national liberation struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, took direct part in the Society activity from the first months of its foundation. The books and articles on a patriotic content were published by the activists of the Society, historians, local historians, and journalists: Leonid Bondar, Vasyl Hanushchak, Petro Arsenych, Mykhailo Kolomyiets,

Ihor Deichakivskiyi, Zinovy Duma, Roman Hladysh, Ivan Havrylovych, Roman Ivasiv, Mykhailo Pankiv, and the others.

Special issues of the public and political centre of the Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, although they were made to order, nevertheless contained “express-information” and analysis from various “political camps”. The collections of materials prepared by Mykhailo Tokarenko, a consultant to the socio-political and educational centre of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, provide statistical data on membership in various socio-political associations, a description of their leaders and supporters, which were to be used in the further work of the lecture groups. Special collections were compiled for the ideological department of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5596).

Numerous studies by various authors focus on the creation and activities of the People's Movement of Ukraine: Oleksiy Haran (Haran, 1993), Yuriy Kurnosov (Kurnosov, 1994), Heorhiy Kasianov (Kasianov, 1995), Vsevolod Iskiv (Iskiv, 2018), Stepan Kobuta (Kobuta, 1998), Mykola Yakovyna (Yakovyna, 2022), Oleh Maliarchuk (Maliarchuk, 2023), Roman Levyk (Levyk, 2025) and the others. Oleh Maliarchuk, a member of the Kalush Ukrainian Language Society “Vidrodzhennia” since 1990, History teacher at the secondary school No. 5 in Kalush – Professor at Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas was a peer-reviewer of thorough scientific publications: The “Prosvita” Society of Prykarpattia. Volume I. History and Modernity. Edited by S. Volkovetsky. Ivano-Frankivsk: Publishing House “Prosvita”, 2018. 844 p.; Ivano-Frankivsk Education: Past and Present. In Three Books. Book 3. Edited by M. I. Hutsol. Ivano-Frankivsk: Misto NV, 2024. 856 p.

It is common knowledge that teaching History is about educating and bringing up a conscious citizen who respects his native land and cultural heritage. The establishment of national ideology and Ukrainian statehood requires analyzing the essence of historical events and drawing appropriate conclusions regarding the understanding of the current political situation both in Ukraine and the world. Domestic scholars Volodymyr Sabadukha and Mykhailo Kosylo emphasize the theoretical and methodological basis that “the conflict between the impersonal and the personal in every historical era and in the history of every people has its own form and specificity, but its content remains unchanged. History is the struggle between the impersonal and the personal” (Sabadukha, & Kosylo, 2022, p. 209).

The purpose of the study is to elucidate, based on scientific literature, periodicals, memoirs, and archival documents, the process of creating the very first “informal” public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR in 1987 – 1991, to characterize their contribution to the creation of the NRU and state development using the example of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh”.

Research Results. From the historical path travelled, it is necessary to understand the following: when was the society founded, what activities did it deal with, how did the evolution from cultural and educational events to acts of civil disobedience occur, when was the first political rally held? The answers to these questions are given by the direct founders and organizers of the initiative groups of “informals” and their leaders – Markiyan Chuchuk, Zinovy Duma, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Mykola Yakovyna, and local historians.

In the article “How it All Began”, in the newspaper “Halychyna” 127–128 (1409 – 1410) of August 23, 2001 a journalist Roman Hladysh wrote the following: “A student Serhiy Bondarenko suggested the idea of creating an informal association in Ivano-Frankivsk on the analogy with the Lviv “Lion Society” to Markiyan Chuchuk, a lecturer at the local

Medical Institute. He also invited the art band "Ne Zhurys" to Prykarpattia in the autumn (December 19 – *Author* O. M.) of 1987. After the concert of Lviv art band, which took place at the Pedagogical Institute, young Ivano-Frankivsk residents – Markiyan Chuchuk, Serhiy Bondarenko, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Zinoviy Duma, Leonid Prokopiuk organized the group that initiated the birth of an informal association in our region" (Gladyshev, 2001). Oleh Maliarchuk, as a fourth-year full-time History student at Vasyl Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute, had the opportunity to be present at this concert of Lviv bards in the assembly hall. The diary contains a relevant entry describing Andriy Panchyshyn's performance and his songs: "Sviato Zlodiia" ("The Thief's Feast"), "Slymachok" ("Snail"), "Brekhnets" ("Liar"), "Spid". Owing to the personal diary, it is possible to find out the exact date: not "in the autumn", as Roman Gladyshev indicates in his publication, but on December 19, 1987, which is confirmed by other sources.

On August 29, 2020, in the park near the monument to the "Russka Trinity" in Ivano-Frankivsk, Oleh Maliarchuk met with Markiyan (appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Pakistan. He came to the funeral of his father Yevhen Vasyliovych) and his wife Tetiana Chuchuk. Markiyan Yevhenovych recalled: "The idea of the society, which was not yet called "Rukh", was conceived at the end of 1986. At that time, I conducted lectures for medical students and made remarks about public life in the country. Students, among whom Serhiy Bondarenko stood out, often asked: "What can be done to somehow unite people around spirituality in Ukraine?" I'm not talking about gaining independence. Similar processes took place in Lviv. "The Lion Society" is meant. In order to create something, you need people, because a few people are not enough. The first public event was our organization of the concert by the band "Ne Zhurys!" (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 26).

A significant historical source was Leonid Bondar's publication "Respond, Enthusiasts!" in the newspaper "Komsomolskyi Prapor" (the printed organ of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Youth Union) dated May 5, 1988: "Back in December last year, a charity concert by the band "Ne Zhurys" of the Lviv "Lion Society" was held in the hall of Ivano-Frankivsk V. Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute, but I still have thoughts not only about that "Evening of Sung Poetry", but also about the society that unites energetic, talented and selfless young people around it... But I wouldn't think that Ivano-Frankivsk region is poorer in talent. And I am sure that Ivano-Frankivsk residents will soon show their abilities in a similar way" (Bondar, 1988, p. 1). The same newspaper published the correspondence of a writer Vasyl Hanushchak: "They are inspired by creative restlessness. Notes from the 10th Gathering of Creative Youth" dated May 28: "The speaker, criticizing the passivity of youth and the conservatism of club workers, focused on the problems of youth leisure, raised the issue of working with informal associations in the region, the newest of which, it seems, will be the recently created society "Rukh" in Ivano-Frankivsk" (Hanushchak, 1988, p. 1). Was it not for the first time that a public figure Vasyl Hanushchak, thus engraved the word "Rukh" for history? The newspaper's editorial office stated in the "Resonance" column of May 31, 1988: "The thing is that the "Lion Society" is not the only one – its twin, the "Rukh" Society, was born in Ivano-Frankivsk". The idea of its creation arose at the end of last year, and the impetus for its implementation was the performance of the band "Ne Zhurys!". Now in the Society there are 16 people who are not indifferent to the past, present and future, who have their own charter, developed in meticulous and long disputes, so far modest achievements and significant problems" (Rezonans, 1988, p. 1).

The Society announced itself in 1988 and held a number of events. In May, the celebration of Shevchenko Days in the city House of Culture No. 3 in Myktyntsi. Fundraising for material assistance in the construction of a dormitory for children of the Ukrainian community in Poland. In the city of Bily Bor there was the only Ukrainian primary school named after T. H. Shevchenko. On August 27, 1988, an evening concert dedicated to the memory of Ivan Franko was held in Ivano-Frankivsk in Franko Street near the monument to the poet. Since September there had been organized conservation work on the remains of the bastion in Fortechny Lane, in Ivano-Frankivsk. During October, the Society collected citizens' signatures against the development of new industrial enterprises of the Kalush Production Association "Chlorvinil" together with the company "Occidental Petroleum". The letter, signed by 4,003 people, was addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. On October 23, in T. Shevchenko Street there was organized a collection of signatures regarding granting the Ukrainian language the state status and participation in the "Lion Society" conference, and Markiyan Chuchuk, Zinovi Duma, Ihor Andrukhiv, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Roman Levytskyi, and Viktor Kimakovych were the delegates of this conference. On November 19, the party "Sviato Kolomyiky" was held in the city House of Culture No. 1 in T. Shevchenko Street. At the same time, there was an active exchange of newspapers, literature, letters and consultations. Thus, on December 20, the head of the "Oberih" Society in Chernivtsi, the poet Mykola Buchko, was invited to Ivano-Frankivsk to exchange activity experience (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2).

The archival materials (meeting records) indicate that the implementation of the political demands of the Society dates back to December 6, 1988. The initiative group began preparing the first mass rally several months earlier. After long ups and downs, it was postponed twice. On January 29, 1989, a rally in memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions was held in the Taras Shevchenko Park of Culture in Ivano-Frankivsk. The rally was held under the slogans "The crimes of Stalinism are crimes against humanity", "Shame on Stalin's executioners" (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 4).

On February 11–12, 1989, a founding conference was held in Kyiv at the Republican Cinema House, at which the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society (TUM) was founded, and the poet Dmytro Pavlychko was elected its chairman. Later, this Society became the basis of the All-Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko Society "Prosvita". Two delegations were sent from Ivano-Frankivsk region, one delegations consisted of the representatives of the regional committee of the Communist Party and the other one – "Rukh". In her memoirs "I Write All this on my Knees" Oksana Olshanska recalls: "Ivan Drach did not know our Society's address, and there was not any. He sent invitations to the conference for our members to Stepan Pushyk's address, and he delivered our invitations to the regional party committee. The authorities decided to send "their delegation" to the conference. And apparently they didn't forget about us – one invitation to the "Rukh" Society. Zenyk Duma refused to go and they chose me". Marko Putko recalls: "Our Rukh delegation included Yaroslav Shevchuk, Roman Gladyshev, Yaroslav Zakharia, Antin and Marko Putko, and the others. During the break, at the conference, we took the seats of the regional committee delegation in the hall..." (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 56). By the way, the invitations stated: "to participate in the work of the Republican Constituent Conference of The T. Shevchenko Mother Tongue Society".

On February 12, 1989, The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Society "Rukh" sent Decision No. 2/9 to the chairman of the board of The Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, Dmytro Pavlychko. "On the basis of the existing Department of the Ukrainian Language

and Literature and the existing Folklore and Ethnographic Department of the Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh", on the basis of its Statute and the Statute of the T. H. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, to found the primary centre of the Ukrainian Language Society in Ivano-Frankivsk" (AIFROMPU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 3, p. 5).

On April 15, 1989, the founding conference of The T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in Ivano-Frankivsk region was held in the then House of Political Education. The hall was overcrowded, with delegates from all districts of the region. The conference was attended by the then First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Zinoviy Kuravsky, who was not given the chance to make a speech. The conference was moderated by Mykola Lesiuk, Head of the Department of the Ukrainian Language at Vasyl Stefanyk Ivano-Frankivsk State Pedagogical Institute. The first chairman of the Society was the writer Stepan Pushyk, the deputies were Stepan Shulepa and Mykola Lesiuk, and the executive secretary was Antin Putko. At the same time, it was unanimously voted to make The T. Shevchenko Regional Society of the Ukrainian Language a collective associated member of the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU) for Perestroika.

The first branches of the NRU began to appear in various cities and villages of the Ukrainian SSR in the spring of 1989. In Ivano-Frankivsk region, such an "informal" organization, as defined by the authorities, officially operated for almost a year and carried out active work. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" is one of the founders of both The T. Shevchenko (TUM) and The People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika in the region. On February 23, the meeting minutes state: "There was a discussion of proposals for collecting signatures in support of The People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika" (AIFROMPU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 6, p. 55).

The Ivano-Frankivsk Society "Rukh" together with other patriotic formations organized regular trips to the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine for agitation purposes. The artistic troupes and bands founded by the Society "Rukh" performed with in various regions of Ukraine with much success: The Galician Young Theatre-Studio, the "Sich" band, and the "Chervona Kalyna" choir of the Prosvita People's House. The troupes and bands saw their main task in the revival and popularization of banned dramatic works, sacred music, Cossack, Sich riflemen and insurgent songs. In its performances the theatre was accompanied by the male choir "Chervona Kalyna" (led by Andriy Stavnychy – a grandson of the writer Andriy Tchaikovsky, and then – Volodymyr Zvarun). The videofilms "Chronicle of Demianovy Laz", "Holodomor in Ukraine" were also on (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 55).

On May 14, 1989, in the village of Voskresintsi, Kolomyia district, during the opening of the monument to Taras Shevchenko, the national blue-and-yellow flag was hoisted in Ivano-Frankivsk region for the first time, raised by Volodymyr Kovalchuk, a member of the Regional and Cultural Society "Rukh".

During the year, the Galician Youth Theatre-Studio performed 40 times the stage composition "Rozryta Mohyla" ("The Dug Grave") by Taras Shevchenko. Together with the "Sich" band and the "Chervona Kalyna" choir, the theatre performed at village gatherings, consecrations of monuments to national heroes, symbolic graves of fighters for Ukraine's independence, and ethnographic festivals. The celebration of the Sich Riflemen's Remembrance Day on June 18, 1989, with a memorial service-requiem at the grave of Denys Sichynsky in the old cemetery in Ivano-Frankivsk, demolished in the 1970s, was a challenge to the totalitarian system. Through loudspeakers representatives of the security forces called on those present to disperse. They took photos of participants. According to the instructions

of the authorities, students were brought there and sports competitions were organized with musical accompaniment. However, the underground Greek Catholic Church priest Mykola Simkailo, surrounded by a large crowd of people, held a divine service. “With tears in their eyes, people kissed the blue-yellow banners” (Olshanska, 1988, p. 38). The party and state bodies launched a broad campaign of counteraction using devastating criticism at all levels.

On August 12, 1989, as stated in many materials and documents, and in reality on August 13, the founding meeting of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika was held. Due to the death of a fellow “Rukh” member Roman Levytsky, who was attacked the day before and fatally injured, the meeting was postponed for a day. As for the creation of an initiative group, there were two of them. Volodymyr Shatokhin in the article “Romantic Beginning and Bureaucratic Finale of the NRU: Memoirs of a Delegate to the Constituent Congress of the NRU in Kyiv” presents his subjective considerations: “About two weeks after meeting Yakovyna, five people met in Chapayev Street in Markiyan Chuchuk's apartment and created an initiative group to organize the National Movement. Markiyan's parents had an old typewriter, and I wrote a letter of notification about our group to Kyiv, to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. The letter was signed by all those present: Hovzman, Gladyshev, Chuchuk, Shatokhin, Yakovyna. This was the first official document of the Prykarpattia NRU – the registration in the Ministry of Justice. Then organizational activity began in the districts, which consisted in determining delegates for the regional constituent conference” (Kuhutiak, 2009, pp. 143–144). The head of the regional organization of the NRU, an artist Mykola Yakovyna, presents the composition of Ivano-Frankivsk initiative group (essentially the second one – expanded) to found the NRU for Perestroika – 12 people: “Yuriy Andrukhovych, Roman Gladyshev, Leonid Hovzman, Roman Levytskyi, Vasyl Leniuk, Stepan Kaspruk, Yaroslav Semaniuk, Antin Putko, Markiyan Chuchuk, Volodymyr Shatokhin, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Mykola Yakovyna” (Yakovyna, 2002, p. 15).

On August 23, 1989, Zinoviy Duma, Petro Arsenych, Ihor Andrukhiv, and Roman Krutsyk, the activists of “The Rukh Society, under public pressure, became members of a special commission to investigate Stalinist crimes, which was established under the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Executive Committee and included two dozen party officials. Excavations in Demianiv Laz tract began on September 21 at the initiative of the “Rukh” Society activists, even before the creation of the regional organization “Memorial”. Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the historical and educational Society “Memorial” was founded on October 14, 1989, and Zinoviy Duma, an employee of Ivano-Frankivsk Museum of Local Lore, was elected its chairman, and Roman Krutsyk, Petro Arsenych, and Ihor Andrukhiv – its deputies. On October 29, 1989, the reburial of 524 remains of victims of the communist regime took place in Demianiv Laz tract, which became a symbol of the political repressions of 1939 – 1941. The rally was led by the deputy head of the regional executive committee, Mykhailo Kapitanchuk, and the head of The “Rukh” Society, Markiyan Chuchuk. After that, a religious memorial service was held, which was led by UGCC bishops Sofron Dmyterko, Pavlo Vasylyk, and more than twenty priests.

The Society played a key role in Ivano-Frankivsk region during the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local councils on March 4, 1990. The situation was such that, under the then legislation, public organizations had the right to nominate their candidates for deputies of all levels. But only the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” and the Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society were officially

registered by the then authorities. The Soviet authorities deliberately did not register other patriotic public organizations. Thus, as a result of the elections of March 4, 1990, the two societies of Ivano-Frankivsk region, together with other organizations of a national democratic orientation, fulfilled their historical role – they removed the communist regime.

11 out of 12 deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR from Ivano-Frankivsk region were supported by The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" and The Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society. The head of the "Rukh", Markiyan Chuchuk, and some of the first and most active members of the society, namely: Zinoviy Duma and Volodymyr Shlemko, and educators Stepan Pushyk, Stepan Volkovetskyi, and Dmytro Zakharuk became people's deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine from Ivano-Frankivsk region of the first democratic convocation. These deputies formed a powerful opposition in the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR under the name "People's Council". The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" held hundreds of mass actions in support of the activities of the "People's Council" – the national democratic bloc in the Verkhovna Rada, including "No to the Union Treaty", the support for the hunger-striking students on Khreshchatyk – "The Revolution on Granite" and many others.

The Society was engaged in organizing the publishing of mass editions of various propaganda literature and its distribution in many regions of Ukraine. Systematic trips of the Society members to various public and political events in Kyiv, the celebration of the "500th Anniversary of the Cossack Glory" in Dnipropetrovsk, and other patriotic events contributed to consolidation of people, elevation of their national consciousness, and overcoming of fear of a totalitarian regime.

The "Rukh" Society initiated the processes of decommunization – changing the names of settlements and streets, demolishing the communist symbols (planes, tanks, guns), in particular the Lenin monument in Ivano-Frankivsk (October 9, 1990). In the majority of regions of Ukraine, these processes dragged on for decades. Members of the Society conducted search work related to the restoration and consecration of the graves of the Sich riflemen, victims of Stalinism, and fighters of the Ukrainian Galician and Ukrainian Insurgent armies.

Since the beginning of its activity, the Society has closely cooperated with churches. Many priests were activists of the "Rukh" Society: the chief medical chaplain of the Ivano-Frankivsk eparchy of the UGCC Antin Putko, a dissident Yaroslav Lesiv, and the chaplain of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Clinical Hospital Orest Putko. In particular, under the leadership of Antin Putko, the first real nativity play in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk, and possibly in the region, was organized, which had a significant patriotic and spiritual impact on the audience. The participants of the nativity scene laid the foundation for the Galician Young Theatre, which was created shortly after. Antin Ivanovych was one of the founders of The T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in Ivano-Frankivsk (which became the centre of the revival of "Prosvita"), later – its first executive secretary, a delegate to the first, second, and third congresses.

Later, the Komsomol leaders realized that they had been mistaken in their own expectations regarding the "Rukh" Society. With their odious resolutions of May 5, 1989 and September 7, they twice demanded that the Society not go "beyond the regulations" in its activities and threatened to "dissolve" it, but they failed at it.

As of April 1, 1990, in The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine there were 416 branches – almost 16 thousand members: in Ivano-Frankivsk – 93 (4000 members), in Bohorodchansky district – 16 (350), in Verkhovynsky

district – 1 (90), in Halytsky district – 39 (1300), in Horodenkivsky district – 11 (284), in Dolynsky district – 30 (1000), in Kalushsky district – 46 (2000), in Kolomyisky district – 51 (2600), in Kosivsky district – 7 (1500), in Nadvirniansky district – 16 (600), in Rozhnatiivsky district – 10 (500), in Rohatynsky district – 41 (600), in Sniatynsky district – 9 (200), in Tlumatsky district – 8 (150), in Tysmenytsky district – 38 (950) (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5596, pp. 3, 50). In fact, the NRU in Ivano-Frankivsk, as well as in Lviv and Ternopil regions, became a “political party”. After winning the elections, the question arose: “What to do?”, i.e., to find the optimal solution between the authorities and the “Rukh”. The situation required the development of new approaches to cooperation, as previously there had been constant confrontation with the communist authorities in everything literally. The goals and tactics of the “Rukh” differed in these three regions significantly. First of all, a commitment to radical methods of resolving religious problems in favour of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, sympathy for newly created parties and organizations that acted from the standpoint of the national idea. The 3rd Conference of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine was held on September 22, 1990. The key issue of the Conference was the relationship between the “Rukh” and the authorities, and economic issues were considered. A particular concern was expressed in the speeches of the guest, People's Deputy of Ukraine, Chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party Levko Lukianenko. The Conference adopted a number of documents: the appeal “To the Citizens of Ukraine!”, which called against the signing of the Union treaty and the holding of the All-Ukrainian political strike on October 1; the resolution “On the Nationalization of the Property of the CPSU”, etc. This resolution emphasized that the property of the communist organizations in the region was considered to have been acquired illegally, and a proposal was made to the Regional Council to nationalize it. The resolution “On the Decommunization of the Armed Forces, Law Enforcement Agencies, and the KGB” declared: “Since the state structures must be guided only by the law in their activities, we demand that the authorities take decisive measures to democratize these state and legal structures, and to terminate the activities of the CPSU party organizations in the army, state security agencies, and law enforcement agencies”. The declaration “On Religions in Ukraine” was also adopted, which confirmed: The Rukh “advocates for the full and unconditional rehabilitation of the UAOC and the UGCC with the restoration of all their legal and property rights” (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5596, pp. 5–25).

Conclusions. In the history of Ukraine, the “Rukh” (NRU) embodies the Ukrainian patriotism during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of independent states. Owing to it, we have prominent political and state figures, and leaders of local communities. The youth educated in the NRU were preparing to take up arms to fight for the independence of Ukraine and against a spiritual, occupational enslavement by Russia. The forms and methods of work of “informal” organizations activists of Ukraine, tempered by generations of patriots, must develop in accordance with the challenges of today, adapt and modernize with the latest technologies. During the large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, they fight with weapons in their hands in the ranks of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and are engaged in volunteer activities. Many Ukrainian patriots joined them, hoping to use their example and initiatives to involve as many citizens of our country as possible in building a powerful Ukrainian world as a counterweight to the “Rusky mir”. It is necessary to consolidate the Ukrainians around the national state idea in order to survive the war and build a strong state. And this will be facilitated by knowledge of history, the printed Ukrainian word, the use of the Ukrainian state language and, without any doubt, the patriotic spirit of people. In fact,

from the very beginning of its creation, The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” is a legal political organization. The main historical merit of the “Rukh” was and remains the creation of an environment for educating people in a national patriotic spirit for the realization of themselves as the Ukrainians. The historical mission has been accomplished, and our duty is to preserve the memory of the outstanding sons of Ukraine and their selfless work.

Prospects for Further Research. A separate historical study requires generalization of the experience of creating the first mass public and political organizations in each region of Ukraine, preservation and study of their archives, periodicals, and memoirs.

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Sanabar DJURAEVA

Lecturer at the Faculty of History, National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek, 4 University Street, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, postal code 100174 (sa.djuraeva@outlook.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3586-1831

Makhfuza ALIMOVA

PhD (History), Associate Professor at the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Study of World Religions, International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan, 11 Abdulla Kadiri Street, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, postal code 100011 (ma_alimova@hotmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-9227-1216

Gulrukh MURTAZAEVA

Master, Lecturer at the Faculty of Tourism, Silk Road International University of Tourism and Cultural Heritage, 17 University Blvd., Samarkand, Uzbekistan, postal code 140104 (murtazaeva-rukh@hotmail.com)

ORCID: 0009-0002-9899-8974

Санабар ДЖУРАЄВА

викладачка факультету історії, Національний університет історії Узбекистану імені Мірзо Улугбека, вул. Університетська, 4, м. Ташкент, Узбекистан, індекс 100174 (sa.djuraeva@outlook.com)

Махфуза АЛИМОВА

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри ЮНЕСКО порівняльного вивчення світових релігій, Міжнародна ісламська академія Узбекистану, вул. Абдулли Кадірі, 11, м. Ташкент, Узбекистан, індекс 100011 (ma_alimova@hotmail.com)

Гулрух МУРТАЗАЄВА

магістр, викладачка факультету туризму, Міжнародний університет туризму та культурної спадщини Шовкового шляху, Університетський бульвар, 17, м. Самарканд, Узбекистан, індекс 140104 (murtazaeva-rukh@hotmail.com)

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STAGES OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PILGRIMAGE TOURISM IN THE SOUTH OF UZBEKISTAN

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to identify and analyse the key historical stages in the development of pilgrimage tourism in the southern regions of Uzbekistan, in order to understand the evolving role of the sacred sites in the spiritual and cultural life of the region. The research is*

based on a comprehensive methodological framework combining historical, comparative, and content analysis as well as diverse sources, including primary historical texts, archival documents, travel diaries of renowned historical figures such as Ibn Battuta and Seydi Ali Reis, UNESCO materials and official governmental decrees. **The methodology of the research** is also based on the elements of historiographical analysis, enabling the identification and verification of long-term trends and turning points in the evolution of pilgrimage practices. There have been used the chronological descriptive method, which allowed the author to systematise data from various epochs, from the proto-Zoroastrian practices of the Bronze Age to the Islamic period, through the Soviet era and into the post-independence decades in order to deal with the periodisation of the pilgrimage tourism. This periodisation was further supported by discourse analysis of historical narratives and state policies, such as the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars (1945) and the presidential decrees on tourism development in the 21st century. In addition, policy analysis and digital ethnography have been used to study contemporary tools for promoting pilgrimage, including the Tabarruk Ziyorat digital portal. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in its systematic reconstruction of the pilgrimage tourism's historical trajectory in southern Uzbekistan, highlighting both continuity and transformation of the sacred geographies under different political regimes. **The results** have confirmed that the pilgrimage tourism in this region has deep historical roots, which were formed by diverse shifts in religious policy and cultural identity. Despite suppression during the Soviet era, the revival and institutionalisation of the pilgrimage tourism in independent Uzbekistan signal a broader recognition of its cultural, spiritual, and economic value. It has been concluded that pilgrimage tourism today is not only a vital part of Uzbekistan's cultural heritage but also a promising vector for the international cooperation and regional development.

Keywords: Zoroastrianism, Islam, travellers, anti-religious policy, digitalisation of pilgrimage.

ЕТАПИ ІСТОРИЧНОГО РОЗВИТКУ ПАЛОМНИЦЬКОГО ТУРИЗМУ НА ПІВДНІ УЗБЕКИСТАНУ

Анотація. Метою дослідження було визначення та аналіз ключових історичних етапів розвитку паломницького туризму в південних регіонах Узбекистану, щоб зрозуміти еволюцію ролі священних місць у духовному та культурному житті регіону. Це дослідження ґрунтується на комплексній **методологічній основі**, що поєднує історичний, порівняльний та контент-аналіз. Стаття спирається на різноманітний корпус джерел, включаючи первинні історичні тексти, архівні документи, щоденники подорожей відомих історичних діячів, таких як Ібн Баттута та Сейді Алі Рейс, а також матеріали ЮНЕСКО й офіційні урядові постанови. Методологія дослідження також включає елементи історіографічного аналізу, що дає змогу виявити та перевірити довгострокові тенденції і поворотні моменти в еволюції паломницьких практик. Для побудови періодизації паломницького туризму в дослідженні було використано хронологічно-описовий метод, що дало авторам можливість систематизувати дані з різних епох, від протозороастрійських практик бронзового віку до ісламського періоду, через радянську епоху та десятиліття після здобуття незалежності. Цю періодизацію додатково підтверджував дискурс-аналіз історичних наративів та державної політики, таких як Постанова Ради Народних Комісарів (1945 р.) та президентські укази про розвиток туризму у XXI столітті. Крім того, для вивчення сучасних інструментів просування паломництва, включаючи цифровий портал "Табаррук Зіорат", було використано аналіз політики та цифрову етнографію. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у систематичній реконструкції історичної траєкторії паломницького туризму в південному Узбекистані, що підкреслює як безперервність, так і трансформацію священних географій за різних політичних режимів. **Результати** підтверджують, що паломницький туризм у цьому регіоні має глибоке історичне коріння, яке неодноразово формувалося змінами в релігійній політиці й культурній ідентичності. Незважаючи на придушення в радянську епоху, відродження та інституціоналізація паломницького туризму в незалежному Узбекистані сигналізують про ширше визнання його культурної, духовної та економічної цінності. У дослідженні робиться висновок, що паломницький туризм сьогодні є не лише життєво важливою частиною культурної спадщини Узбекистану, але й перспективним вектором міжнародного співробітництва та регіонального розвитку.

Ключові слова: зороастризм, іслам, мандрівники, антирелігійна політика, цифровізація паломництва.

Problem Statement. There are three recognised categories of tourism in the world: the international tourism, national tourism and local tourism, with several thematic types, including tourism focused on the historical monuments and history, pilgrimage tourism, ethnographic tourism, eco-tourism, education, sports, and other types of recreation related to tourism. The pilgrimage tourism, which is a part of world tourism, is spreading rapidly on a global scale. The objects of pilgrimage tourism include historical, spiritual and educational artefacts, such as historical sites that attract the attention of people in many countries, and places associated with prominent personalities. The pilgrimage tourism has also developed in Uzbekistan since ancient times. It is also vital that under conditions of increased stress and tension in modern society, pilgrimage provides a unique opportunity to find inner peace and harmony. People are increasingly looking for ways to spiritual development and self-knowledge, and pilgrimage is becoming an important tool in this search. This is especially true in an era when material values dominate society, and spiritual needs often remain unsatisfied.

The territory of Uzbekistan is filled with rich cultural heritage and history, which can be a strong incentive for the country to acquire the status of a promising destination for pilgrimage tourism (Mukanov et al., 2018; Doszhan, 2023). The south of the country has been the “cradle of civilisations” since ancient times, which has been an incentive for pilgrims to visit these places for many centuries (Puteshestvie po Tsentralnoi Aziy, 2013). In recent years, especially after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the topic of pilgrimage has gained increasing interest both among the scientific community and among religious followers. It was facilitated by a number of factors, which include: a general increase in the standard of living of the population, which allows people to travel more often, including for the purpose of pilgrimage; the development of the Internet, digitalisation, social networks allow a wide range of people to find out information about places of pilgrimage. The study of pilgrimage in the south of Uzbekistan is of great importance for understanding the development of the spiritual life of society, religious beliefs, and traditions.

In addition, the study of pilgrimage tourism helps better understand the cultural and religious aspects of various peoples. It helps strengthen intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding, which is extremely important in a global world where cultural conflicts and misunderstandings can have serious consequences. In addition, the study of pilgrimage tourism helps identify the economic and social effects of this type of tourism on local communities. Pilgrimage routes often contribute to the development of infrastructure, the creation of new jobs and the improvement of the standard of living of the local population (Zamyatina et al., 2021; Mukhammedov et al., 2024). This, in turn, makes pilgrimage an important factor in the sustainable development of the regions, and the importance of Uzbekistan as a stronghold of spirituality is important not only to emphasise the importance of the Turkic civilisation, but also in a broader sense – for the entire Islamic world.

Review of Recent Researches and Publications. The study by Sh.S. Mustaeva (Mustaeva, 2023) analysed the current stage of pilgrimage development in the Republic of Uzbekistan. The scholar emphasised the increasing pace and high demand for pilgrimage tours in the world, and Uzbekistan was considered a popular destination among Islamic countries. The government of Uzbekistan continued to develop interstate relations in the field of the pilgrimage tourism, which qualitatively influenced the increase in the flow of pilgrims to the country. D.M. Rakhimova (Rakhimova, 2023) simultaneously considered such types of tourist activities as religious tourism and pilgrimage. An explanation is given

for the conceptual difference between these concepts, which leads to different approaches to the provision of certain services. The analysis of the tourist activity regulation in the Republic of Uzbekistan was also carried out and separate programmes for the development of tourism and, in particular, pilgrimage were considered. Q.X. Salimovna (Salimovna, 2024) also considered the role of pilgrimage tourism in attracting tourists to Uzbekistan, since the country has a rich historical and cultural heritage, iconic pilgrimage sites. The government's actions aimed at developing the field of pilgrimage tourism were also analysed and the importance of further investments in the field of pilgrimage tourism for its successful development was noted.

M.U. Kozimjon (Kozimjon, 2022) explored the general history of tourism development in Uzbekistan, but also noted that pilgrims have made a significant contribution to the development of the country's tourism sector. X.U. Samatov and A. Tursunov (Samatov, & Tursunov, 2023) wrote about the life and work of Khoja Ubaidullah Ahror Wali, who visited places of pilgrimage in Uzbekistan. M.R. Usmonov, O. L. Muxamedov, G. Barotova (Usmonov et al., 2022) studied the current situation of the tourism industry and noted the importance of international cooperation for the development, including pilgrimage tourism. J. O. Saidov and L. S. Burxonov (Saidov, & Burxonov, 2022) analysed the memoirs of Muhammad Narshakhi in the book "The History of Bukhara" with cases of the annual pilgrimage both to Bukhara and the surrounding cities. F.O. Sharifboyeva (2024) covered an important aspect as the role of Islam in the development of pilgrimage tourism in Uzbekistan.

Based on the above-mentioned, **the purpose** of the research was to study the historical stages of the pilgrimage tourism development in the southern regions of modern Uzbekistan. The objectives of the study were to consider pilgrimage on the territory of Uzbekistan in ancient times, the Middle Ages, modern and contemporary times.

Materials and Methods. In order to understand the essence of the pilgrimage tourism and determine the differences between pilgrimage and religious tourism, the materials published on the online resource Tourism Teacher were analysed in detail (What is pilgrimage, 2023). The study of the most ancient references to possible pilgrimages to holy places in the territory of modern Uzbekistan became possible due to the analysis of the publication in the online archive of the magazine "San'at", whose activities were aimed at popularising the spiritual, creative, and historical heritage of Uzbekistan (Askarov, 2001).

The study of holy places for pilgrimage in the south of Uzbekistan was made possible due to the publications of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which also indicated the periods of prosperity and decline of cities (UNESCO, 2023). The analysis of pilgrimage during the period of the 14th century became possible due to the records of the traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited most of the cities of modern Uzbekistan, recognised in the late 1990s and 2000s as World Heritage and protected by UNESCO (Puteshestvshia ibn Batutty, 2024). Due to the study on the voluminous monograph by S. Juraeva (2021) "The History of Shrines of the Southern Regions of Uzbekistan and their Role in the Life of the Local Population", it was possible to identify Uzbekistan's iconic holy sites for pilgrims in the 16th century. It should be mentioned that the monograph included fragments from the encyclopaedia of M. ibn Vali (1977) with the most valuable geographical, historical, and economic information about the past of the Central Asian region and nearby lands.

The situation of pilgrims in the Central Asian region, as well as in Uzbekistan during the Soviet period, was analysed based on documents of that period published on the Internet. This is, in particular, a period of certain weakening of religious persecution together with the

Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic on the transfer of mausoleums to the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (Postanovlenie, 1945), and Nikita Khrushchev's ardent anti-religious campaign together with a meeting of the highest party authority in the state and an extract from the protocol "On Measures to Stop Pilgrimages to the So-called "Holy Places" (O merakh, 1958). The analysis of the activities of the Government of Uzbekistan after independence in relation to the development and promotion of pilgrimage was carried out through the analysis of the speech of senior political officials at the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan at the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Meeting on the human dimension (A speech, 2014).

Resolution of President of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. PP-338 "On Measures to Accelerate the Development of Cooperation with Turkish States in The Field of Tourism" (2022) and the activities launched as a result of the resolution of the online portal Tabarruk Ziyorat were important for understanding the development of pilgrimage in the 21st century. The content analysis of the mass media highlighted the main achievements of the tourism industry of modern Uzbekistan as a whole (Makhmudova, 2023) and its individual villages (Guliamova, 2023). Information from the government structure of the Tourism Committee was also used.

Research Results. Pilgrimage tourism is the process of visiting pilgrimage sites, often religious. This is usually a journey that can last from several days to several months to strengthen human relations with religion. However, this is not necessarily a purposeful trip to a number of religious sites, but just a visit to a separate mosque or church can also be considered pilgrimage tourism combined with any other type of tourism, be it water, sports or gastronomic (What is pilgrimage, 2023). N. Luz (Luz, 2020) noted that the essence of pilgrimage as a movement to a sacred place is aimed at feeling the presence of God. K.A. Shinde and D.H. Olsen (Shinde, & Olsen, 2023) pointed out that the popularity of pilgrimage increases in times of difficulties and uncertainties.

Every region of the world is characterised by its own place for pilgrimage (Kushenova et al., 2025). For example, Jerusalem is one of the most important religious centres in the world, where three world religions meet – Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. In Europe, the Vatican is the most important religious centre, in the Middle East – Mecca and Medina, in China – Qufu, and in Sri Lanka – the historical centre of Kandy with the temple complex of the Tooth of the Buddha. As for Uzbekistan, historically religious memorials were established in such cities as Bukhara, Samarkand, and Shakhrisabza. I. Soljan and J. Liro (Soljan, & Liro, 2021) found that pilgrimage had a positive role in the transformation of urban space in the context of socio-cultural changes.

According to the information of the Imam Bukhari International Research Centre, Uzbekistan is a country with a huge number of shrines, and these lands are considered holy, because many great and holy people for the Islamic world are buried there. These holy places are valuable not only for the people of Uzbekistan, but also for people from all over the world. According to statistics, there are more than one thousand archaeological, 670 architectural, 18 monumental, and almost two thousand objects of material and cultural heritage only in the territory of Samarkand region. There are diverse places among these, which have been and continue to be objects of pilgrimage (Development of pilgrimage, 2020).

Many religions have historically flourished on the territory of Uzbekistan, and one of the most ancient is Zoroastrianism (Karabalaeva et al., 2025; Osmonova et al., 2025). One of the

temples of Zoroastrianism was discovered in Surkhandarya region in Jarkutan, a settlement of the Bronze Age. The city was built about 3,5 thousand years ago, and consisted of both residential areas and a temple complex. Pilgrims coming to the city came to the temple and bypassed all the corridors, and the end of the pilgrimage probably ended with the worship of the unquenchable fire. Pilgrims may also have been able to drink water from sacred wells and perform religious rites in front of the main altar (Askarov, 2001). H. Najafi (Najafi, 2022) confirmed that the practice of pilgrimage as an act of worship in search of spirituality existed in pre-Islamic religions such as Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity.

One of the cities in the south of Uzbekistan recognised as UNESCO World Heritage Site is Bukhara. The city is over 2,000 years old and is considered one of the few examples of a city in Central Asia with a virtually unchanged urban layout. The ancient city served as the centre of Islamic culture for many centuries, and in the 8th century even became one of the largest centres of the Caliphate. There are many examples of architecture on the territory of the city, which are important for religious pilgrimage. These are, for example, the tomb of Ismail Samanai, the Poi Kalyan Minaret, the Chashma Ayub Temple, the Magoki Attori Mosque, and many other architectural monuments. However, it would be more appropriate to state that the importance of Bukhara as one of the centres of religious pilgrimage lay not in each individual building, but in the integrity and consistency of the urban landscape, which can be traced back to the time of the Shaybanid dynasty (UNESCO, 2024a). The importance of the city of Bukhara for pilgrimage tourism was also noted by K.S. Youn et al. (2020), describing the almost untouched monuments of the 10th and 17th centuries as iconic places for followers of Islam. N.A.F.A. Aniqoh and U. Hanik (Aniqoh, & Hanik, 2021) also wrote about modern tourism and visits to the city to get acquainted with the rapid development of Islamic civilisation in the past. The book, written by Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Jafar An Narshakhi “The History of Bukhara”, who lived in the 10th century AD, included the following information: every year this city, which was called Nur, was visited by many people for the purpose of pilgrimage (Shamsiyeva, 2023).

Another important place of religious significance and a popular pilgrimage route was the historical centre of Shakhrisabz, which has many monuments testifying to its heyday in the 15th and 16th centuries. Dorus Saodat is an extensive complex designed for the burial of the ruling dynasty, which included not only tombs, but also a prayer hall, a mosque, and premises for the religious community and pilgrims. The main facade was decorated with white marble. The tomb of Timur, also made of white marble, is a masterpiece of architecture of that period and one of the most outstanding monuments of Central Asia (UNESCO, 2024c). There could be found references to Shakhrisabz in the 10th century writings of Maqdisi, Tabari, and Istakhri, and in the works of an Arab traveller in the Central Asian region (Kamaliddinov, 1996). An important role in the development of pilgrimage in the south of Uzbekistan was played by the fact that in ancient times many caravan routes passed between Hindustan and Central Asia, the primary purpose of which was to increase mutual trade. It could facilitate easier pilgrimages to holy places. The routes can also be considered not only as a way to share ethical and religious values, but also as a way to raise awareness and develop personal growth of the pilgrim (Trono, & Oliva, 2021).

The Turkish traveller Seydi Ali Reis, who lived in the 16th century, noted that he visited the grave of Khoja Yakub Charkhi, after which he went to Hisori Shodmon, and then climbed Sangardak Mountain. It became clear that he had visited many iconic religious sites, which indicates the popularity of these places among pilgrims at that time. It can also be concluded

that the traveller should have learned about these places even before his departure, which shows the importance of religious shrines (Juraeva, 2021). Samarkand, as noted in UNESCO (2024b), is a crossroads of cultures. The city was founded in the 7th century BC, and received its greatest development during the reign of the Timurids in the 14th and 15th centuries. There are many architectural monuments on the territory of the city, such as the Registan Mosque and madrasah, the Bibi Khanym Mosque, the Shah-i-Zinda complex, the Gur Emir ensemble, and the Ulugbek Observatory. Owing to the contribution of many travellers in forms of diaries, monographs, and other works, it was possible to understand the personality, origin, and traditions of the Islamic scholars much better. For example, in 1403 AD, the Spanish traveller R.G. de Clavijo (Clavijo, 2010), sent by the ambassador of the Kingdom of Castile to Amir Timur, visited Termez and noticed that it was a bustling metropolis with prosperous villages. Mahmoud ibn Wali, a 17th-century Central Asian scholar and geographer, mentioned that most of the shrines and maqbars serving as places of pilgrimage were actually located in Termez (ibn Wali, 1977).

In the 9th–12th and 14th – 15th centuries of the period of the Eastern Awakening, Islamic sciences developed on the territory of Uzbekistan in several directions in the spirit of scientific wisdom based on knowledge of the word, knowledge of narration, knowledge of monotheism, knowledge of faith, knowledge of man through the world. There were many holy places and shrines in Uzbekistan for the development of the pilgrimage tourism. In the Surkhandarya region – the ensemble of Hakim at-Termizi, the Tomb of Sultan Saadat, the Tomb of Abu Muhammad at-Termizi, the Qirqiz Fortress, the Fayaz Tepe monument, a Buddhist temple, Zartepa, Dalvarzintepa, Old Termez, Buddhist monuments such as Karatepa and Oksaroy. In the Kashkadarya region – the Doruttilovat ensemble, the Tomb of Shamsuddin Gonchar, the Sayidon Dome, Kuk Dome Machiti. The places of religious pilgrimage in the Bukhara region are Kalon Machiti, Somoni Temple, Bolo-Hovuz Machiti, Magoki Attori Machiti, Habib Khavuz Ansanbli, Nadir Devon Begi Honakasi, Namazgah Machiti, Chashmai Ayub Temple, Faizabad Khan, Haji Zainuddin Machithanakasi, Hazrati Bahuddin Naqshbandi Temple (Jurakhonovich, 2020).

The descriptions of Ibn Battuta's travels of the 14th century are considered to be valuable historical sources that testify to the active development of the southern regions of Uzbekistan and pilgrimage to shrines (Puteshestvshia ibn Batutty, 2024). While travelling through the region, Ibn Battuta enjoyed the hospitality of the Ahi order, which helped him get acquainted with many pilgrims engaged in the pilgrimage. His path lay to the south, to the city of Bukhara, of which he spoke the following: "This city was once the capital of the cities that are located across the river Dzhaykhun, and the damned Tatar Tingiz (Chingiz)... destroyed it so that now its mosques, madrassas and bazaars are in ruins, with the exception of a few. And the residents are humiliated, their testimony is not accepted in Khorezm and other countries..." Then he stopped in the suburb of Bukhara – Fatkhabad, where a huge mausoleum and zawiya were located not far from the grave of the holy hermit. Sheikh Zawiya invited the traveller to his home, where the reciters read the Koran, sang in Turkic and Persian languages. After that, the traveller visited Samarkand, where he was most impressed by the mausoleums of the Shah-i-Zinda architectural complex and especially the grave of Sheikh Qusam ibn Abbas. After Samarkand, the traveller went to Termez, where he stayed with the virtuous Sheikh Azizan, who spent his money to treat pilgrims. H. Taşçı (2020) emphasised that Ibn Battuta, while visiting sheikhs and other rich people, usually talked about what he saw in this particular environment, but sometimes wrote about the customs of ordinary people. C.C. Jones (Jones,

2020), exploring the works of Ibn Battuta, noted that the pilgrimage was used as a prelude to a journey to the edge of the world, beyond Western Europe and North Africa.

By the Middle Ages, the migration of religious tourism began to take on a new dimension. Visits to places of worship in holy places of worship became widespread and took the form of crusades. In particular, the pilgrimage movement reached its peak in the 15th and early 16th centuries. As the scale of the pilgrimage grew, so did its various streams. The composition of the pilgrims was also diverse, which, in addition to people of religious beliefs, included a variety of specialists, officials, and people. There were aristocrats, knights (nobles), travellers, soldiers, artists, government officials, merchants, and even ordinary people among pilgrims. By the 19th century, religious tourism began to take organised forms (Eshonkulova, 2023). There could be found indirect evidence of pilgrimage in the Central Asian region in the book by the British traveller, writer, and diplomat R.F. Burton (Burton, 1893). In his study “A Personal Account of the Pilgrimage to Al-Medina and Mecca”, he wrote that the population of the Arabian Peninsula was very often forced to emigrate to happier regions traditionally, which was associated with famine, drought, and other cataclysms. One of the two routes used by people passed through Persia, Mekran, Baluchistan, Sindh, and the Afghan mountains to Samarkand, Bukhara, and Tibet.

In general, historical sources are a collection of texts and objects of material culture reflecting historical processes, individual facts, and events (Shershova, & Chaika, 2024). They serve as the foundation for ideas about a particular historical period, and scientific reflections on the causes and consequences of numerous historical phenomena. During the Soviet period, the ideology of the Communist Party sharply suppressed official religious life (Sheikh, 2019; Sheikh, & Juergensmeyer, 2019). However, the tradition of *zierat* in Uzbekistan became especially significant, because it was not controlled by either the Muslim clergy or the authorities. Mass tourism or outdoor recreation did not appear in the minds of the population, on the contrary, it was pilgrimage that became a way of spending a healthy time together with a spiritual component. As a result, the sacred sites became the centres of rich mythology, as pilgrims transmitted information exclusively orally, enriching ancient legends with new elements (Kudryashov, 2019).

By the 21st century, the memorial complex, and also the mausoleum of Bahauddin Naqshband, was considered one of the largest places of mass pilgrimage in Central Asia, which has survived to the present day. The first cases of mass pilgrimage of both ordinary Muslims from the vicinity of the city of Bukhara and for followers of the order to the burial place of Bahauddin Naqshband were after his death at the end of the 14th century. In 1554, on the instructions of Abdalaziz Khan, the burial of Bahauddin Naqshband was arranged in the form of an above-ground mausoleum, typical for nomads, accompanied by the construction of a large *khanaka* – a residential complex for the Sufi community and pilgrims. As a result, Kasri Arifon became the site of the establishment of a huge necropolis known as Dahmai Shahon (Tomb of the Kings), where numerous khans of Bukhara from the Sheibanid, Ashtarkhanid, and Mangit dynasties were buried for centuries. Despite this close proximity, the mausoleum of Bahauddin Naqshband remained an important pilgrimage centre, attracting millions of believers. Due to the anti-religious policy of the state, the memorial complex in Kasri Arifon fell into disrepair under the USSR rule, but there were still pilgrimages to that place (How the “castle of sages” near Bukhara, 2020).

During the Soviet times, by the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic on the transfer of mausoleums to the Spiritual Administration

of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (Postanovlenie, 1945), it was decided to transfer mausoleums to the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Specifically, the mausoleums “Bagautdin”, “Shah-i-Zinda”, “Hakim Termez”, “Sultan Baba”, “Shahimardan”, “Kaffal Shashi” and “Palvan Ata” were transferred. According to the decree, the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was assigned the obligation to carry out major repairs and other types of work, while coordinating all work with the Department of Architecture at the Council of People’s Commissars of the Uzbek SSR. In fact, this meant the transfer of sanctuaries for the use of the Soviet Muslims at the official level, where they could come for religious purposes. It should be noted that 6 of the 7 mausoleums were located on the territory of Uzbekistan (Postanovlenie, 1945). J. Eden (Eden, 2021) emphasised that in the period between the world wars, the policy of the Soviets was aimed at crushing religion and the triumph of atheism, but during the postwar period, the official state approach changed to a softer one, since controlled religion could become a tool for more effective management of the Muslim population.

However, by the end of the 1960s, the rhetoric of the Soviet leadership had changed dramatically with the beginning of the Khrushchev anti-religious campaign. At a regular meeting in 1958, a resolution was adopted “On measures to stop pilgrims to so-called “holy places” (1958)”. In particular, the document stated that the organisers of the pilgrimage were unreliable and dubious persons, who use holy places to incite religious fanaticism and extract funds from the population. The Resolution also stated that party and other organisations ignored the facts of the pilgrimage of the backward part of the population to holy places, weakening scientific and atheistic propaganda. In total, it was decided to strengthen scientific atheistic propaganda, state actors actively come forward with materials exposing the meaning of the pilgrimage. T. Abdrassilov et al. (Abdrassilov, Nurmatov, & Kaldybay, 2021) noted that there were different opinions as to why the Muslim faith survived despite the strict anti-religious position of the communist regime. Among them is the fact that religious feelings intensified during periods of severe oppression, or that communism and Islam were quite compatible and could coexist. However, the scholars noted the well-organised efforts of the Sufi fraternities as the main reason. It follows from the above that Muslims were officially allowed to make pilgrimages to holy sites in the period from the end of World War II to the end of the 1960s. Most likely, this is due to the fact that the Soviet leadership needed massive support from its own population in the difficult post-war years. The decision to ease the repression against the clergy partially, in particular, the Muslims, could well help with this, which was done. But by the time of the so-called “thaw” (vidluha), when the state was rebuilt, there was no need to weaken religious policy. S. Yuxuan (Yuxuan, 2021) added that the Central Asian region has been the cradle of world civilisations and a bridge between various religions for many centuries, but the occupation of these territories by the Soviets made the region a model of the rapid modernisation.

Already during the period of independence, the Government of Uzbekistan made efforts to attract as many visitors to the country as possible. Hundreds of mosques, churches, and temples have been built and restored in the most sacred cities such as Samarkand, Navoi. In addition, by a resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated August 22, 2003, a number of sacred places for pilgrims were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Office of Muslims of Uzbekistan (A speech, 2014). By the end of the 2010s and in the 2020s, Uzbekistan had one of the leading positions as a popular pilgrimage route (Table 1).

Table 1

Uzbekistan in the Ranking of the Global Muslim Travel Index

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Uzbekistan	26	22	Index has not been published	16	9	13	14

Source: based on the Muslim travel, tourism & halal food market research, reports & publications (2024).

At the 25th session of the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) General Assembly, held in Samarkand in 2023, the village of Sentob of Navoi region became the winner in the nomination “The Best Tourist Village of 2023” (Guliamova, 2023). In addition, the international publishing company Lonely Planet presented Uzbekistan with a special certificate in connection with the winner of the nomination “Uzbekistan is the best tourist destination” for 2024 (Makhmudova, 2023). Both the number of foreign visitors and the volume of tourist exports will rise as a result of Uzbekistan’s inclusion on the list of the top travel destinations for 2024 and its designation as one of the top tourist destinations by the “World of Statistics”. The above-mentioned will help Uzbekistan to become more famous in the international arena. In general, the current situation and trends in the development of the tourism industry in Uzbekistan show positive results. The analysis of measures and further prospects for the further development of tourism in our country confirms the strategic importance of this industry. In addition, the tasks related to the development of tourism provided for in the strategy “Uzbekistan – 2030” serve to increase the income of the population, create new jobs, and ensure the welfare of the people (O’roqboev, 2024). S. Nisthar and A.M.M. Mustafa (Nisthar, & Mustafa, 2019) wrote that the key components that influence the inclusion of the state in the Global Muslim Travel Index are visa requirements, air connection, transport infrastructure, digitalisation, security, favourable climate, and key services such as hotels, restaurants. R. Pranika, R. A. Ghofur, M. Madnasir, A. Q. Zaelani and M. I. Fasa (Pranika et al., 2023) added that the development of tourism that meets the needs of the Muslims, in accordance with the Global Muslim Travel Index, acts as a generator of employment opportunities for the better functioning of the economic system of a state or region.

There was signed a roadmap in the field of the pilgrimage tourism between the relevant ministries of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan with regard to the regional cooperation, in January of 2024. Its main goal was the development of tourism programmes to increase the flow of visitors qualitatively between the two countries, better access to information between companies involved in tourism, and the creation of facilities at border crossings to facilitate the crossing of borders by pilgrims. Such cooperation is extremely important, since in 2023 Uzbekistan was visited by almost 1,5 million pilgrims, among whom almost 300 thousand from Kazakhstan (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, 2024). In 2022, the Resolution of President of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. PP-338 “On Measures to Accelerate the Development of Cooperation with Turkic States in The Field of Tourism” (Postanovlenie, 2022) was published. It noted that as a result of the implementation of tourist concepts for 2022 – 2026, more than 5 million tourists will be attracted to the country, including 101 thousand pilgrims, who are interested in the legacy of such scholars as Imam al-Bukhari, Muhammad al-Dorimi and Abu Iso al-Termezi; 26,2 thousand pilgrims, who are interested in the legacy of Abu Mansour al-Moturudi; more than 40 thousand pilgrims of Naqshbandi followers and followers of the Pahlavani doctrine; and also an additional 40 thousand pilgrims committed

to the heritage of Judaism. In addition, the Decree referred to the creation of a single digital portal (Tabarruk Ziyorat) for the use of the peoples of the Turkic world to achieve maximum digitalisation of the tourist services. Such a number of pilgrims, as noted in the Resolution, could bring more than USD 1 billion to the state budget. In the context of the modernisation of the national legislation and regulations in the field of tourism and pilgrimage in Indonesia, D. Effendi et al. (Effendi, Rosadi, Prasetyo, Susilawati, & Athoillah, 2021) also considered the importance of the legislative regulation of halal tourism as a factor in strengthening the national economy.

The Tabarruk Zierat web portal, as of mid-2024, was in test mode, but provided a large amount of information for both ordinary tourists and pilgrims. The creation of this project was made possible due to the efforts of the Government of Uzbekistan and the Organisation of Turkic States. The places and sights of Uzbekistan (Figure 1), but also Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan were presented in the most detail. Exploring religious tourism and pilgrimage in Greece, C.N. Tsironis (2022) emphasised the importance of meeting information needs through smartphone applications or information campaigns on international tourism forums and platforms.

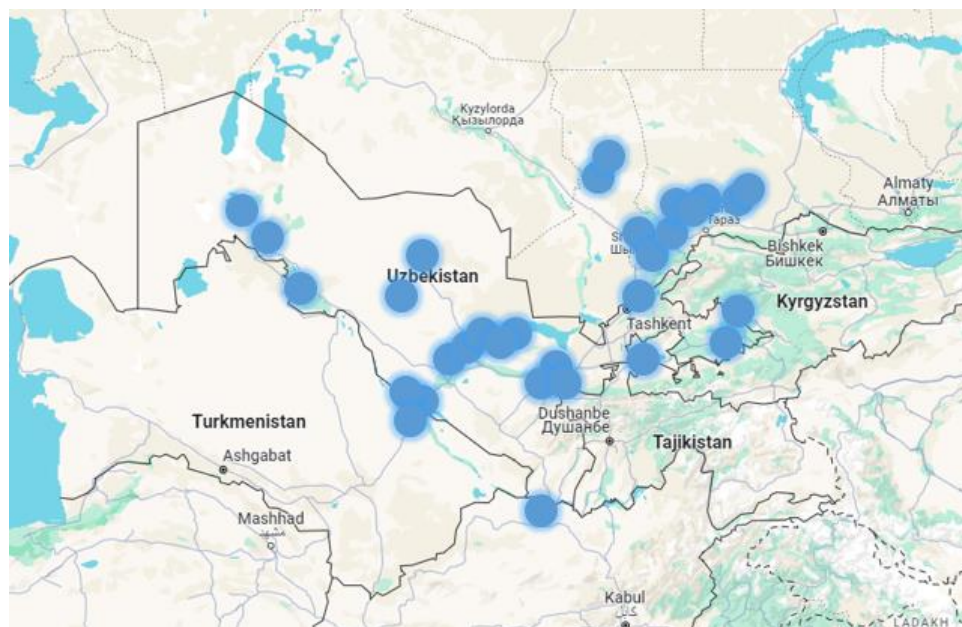


Fig. 1. Interactive map of the pilgrimage sites in Central Asia

Source: Map of Shrines – Blessed Pilgrimage (2024)

As of 2024, the interactive map was an important online resource for making safe and thoughtful pilgrimage routes. In addition, it can be used to find out which shrines have been built in recent years and which may have been places of permanent pilgrimage since antiquity. Although the facts of pilgrimage may seem fantastic to an outside observer, such religious rituals occur all over the world. Pilgrimage tourism in the south of Uzbekistan

contrasts with visits to the Muslim shrines in Saudi Arabia, where many of them have become the targets of terrorist attacks (Morrison, 2018). In this context, the specificity of the Central Asian region is that both Muslim and Christian shrines are located there. Moreover, this region is famous for the fact that even the most ancient shrines, several thousand years old, could be places of pilgrimage during the dawn of Zoroastrianism. Uzbekistan, and especially its southern regions, after the collapse of the USSR and the lifting of restrictions on religious movements, regained the status of one of the most important places for pilgrims in the world.

The analysis of the historical stages of pilgrimage tourism in the southern regions of Uzbekistan aligns with broader discussions in the field of tourism history and anthropology. In this context, the study resonates with the work of Werner (2003), who explored the role of local mediators in the development of tourism along the contemporary Silk Road. His ethnographic insights reveal how historical legacies and spiritual geographies are mobilised in modern tourism discourse, especially through the agency of local actors, who reinterpret sacred spaces for both domestic and international visitors. This perspective helps to contextualise the revival of pilgrimage tourism in Uzbekistan not merely as a state-led initiative but as a process involving multiple stakeholders, including local communities, religious authorities, and cultural intermediaries. The creation of digital platforms such as Tabarruk Ziyorat, thus, functions not only as a technological innovation but also as a contemporary tool of mediation and narration, allowing sacred places to be reimagined in ways that accommodate both traditional values and modern tourism demands. Furthermore, D. Engerman (Engerman, 1994) emphasised the importance of constructing a global social history of tourism that accounts for the transnational flows, power dynamics, and the interplay between modernisation and local traditions. His call for the comparative and interdisciplinary approaches is particularly relevant when analysing the Soviet and post-Soviet trajectories of pilgrimage tourism in Central Asia. The oscillation between suppression and revival observed in Uzbekistan reflects deeper tensions in the region's tourism history, wherein religious mobility has at times been framed as subversive and at other times as culturally enriching. Understanding these dynamics requires viewing pilgrimage not as an isolated religious practice, but as a historically contingent form of travel, embedded in broader social, political, and economic systems. In parallel, A. Mukhametkali (Mukhametkali, 2025) offered a narrative analysis of travel notes by Italian travellers of the 13th to 15th centuries, providing a valuable interpretive framework for understanding medieval descriptions of Central Asian cities. His emphasis on the narrative construction of sacred geography helps to reinterpret early mentions of the following cities: Samarkand, Bukhara, and Termez not only as logistical points of transit but as spiritually charged destinations. This insight underlines the importance of travel writing in shaping the collective imaginary of the Silk Road as a pilgrimage corridor. Mukhametkali's approach supports the view that historical perceptions of Central Asian sacred sites were formed through intercultural contact and textual transmission, which continue to influence their modern status as pilgrimage destinations.

Conclusions. It was noted that the first possible cases of pilgrimage in the south of Uzbekistan could have been during the period of dominance of the Zoroastrianism in the Central Asian region. In particular, an ancient 3,5 thousand-year-old settlement was discovered in Surkhandarya region, where there was a temple where pilgrims could make their travels.

Bukhara and Shakhrisabz were the first cities in the south of Uzbekistan that received UNESCO World Heritage status at the end of the 20th and 21st centuries. References to visits to these cities can be found in the works of Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Jafar An Narshakhi “The History of Bukhara”, who lived in the 10th century and mentioned the visits of pilgrims to this city. The writings of Maqdisi, Tabari, and Istakhri contain references to visiting Shakhrisabza. The popularity of holy places in the south of Uzbekistan can be distinguished from the information of the 16th century Turkish traveller Seydi Ali Reis. References to pilgrimage sites were also found in the writings of the scholar and geographer Mahmoud ibn Wali, who lived in the 17th century and noted that most of the shrines and places of pilgrimage were indeed in the city of Termez. It was found that one of the most important information about pilgrimage in the south of Uzbekistan were the records of the 14th century traveller Ibn Battuta. During his travels in the Central Asian region, he visited Uzbek cities such as Samarkand, Fathabad, Bukhara, and Termez. Acts of pilgrimage were an important prelude to further travels beyond Western Europe and North Africa.

Based on the conducted analysis, the main stages of the historical development of pilgrimage tourism in the south of Uzbekistan can be conditionally distinguished as follows: the proto-Zoroastrian period (2nd millennium BCE), the Islamic medieval stage (from the 8th to the 17th centuries), the early modern period marked by scholarly and traveller records (16th – 17th centuries), the Soviet period of restriction and partial rehabilitation (from the 1920s to the 1980s), and the post-independence stage of revival and state-supported institutionalisation (from the 1990s to the present day). Each of these stages reflects shifts in political regimes, religious freedoms, and socio-cultural transformations that shaped the dynamics of pilgrimage.

It is stated that indirect evidence of pilgrimage to holy places in the south of Uzbekistan can be found in the work of a British traveller and diplomat who mentioned frequent emigrations from the Arabian Peninsula along the route that lay through Samarkand and Bukhara. It was found out that during the existence of the USSR, namely at the end of World War II, mausoleums were transferred to the use of Muslims of the Uzbek SSR as holy places for pilgrims. However, by the end of the 1950s and the tightening of anti-religious policy, a decree was issued on measures to stop pilgrimages to so-called “holy places”, since acts of pilgrimage weakened scientific atheistic propaganda in the state. Since gaining independence, the government of Uzbekistan has been increasingly paying attention to the development of the country as an attractive tourist destination, including for pilgrims. An important achievement in this area was the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan “On measures to accelerate the development of cooperation with Turkic states in the field of tourism” with a high degree of appreciation of the importance of pilgrimage tourism for the state.

The limitations of the conducted research were the insufficient number of historical sources or the absence of digital copies among them. Another disadvantage was that some of the works of medieval historians and travellers could not be considered completely reliable sources, since they could be emotionally embellished. Future research on the topic may be based on the study of cases of pilgrimage of the population of modern territories of Uzbekistan to the holy places of the region, and on the problem of the difficulty of performing Hajj to Mecca and Medina during the Soviet period.

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Yuliia ARTYMYSHYN

PhD (History), Researcher at the Department of Contemporary History, Ivan Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the NAS of Ukraine, 4 Kozelnytska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (julialviv1011@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-8095-7379

Oleh TARASENKO

PhD hab. (Law), Professor, Vice-Rector, National Academy of Internal Affairs, 1 Solomyanska Square, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03035 (o.s.tarasenko@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-3179-0143

Юлія АРТИМИШИН

кандидатка історичних наук наукова співробітниця відділу новітньої історії, Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, вул. Козельницька, 4, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79000 (julialviv1011@gmail.com)

Олег ТАРАСЕНКО

доктор юридичних наук, професор, проректор, Національна академія внутрішніх справ, пл. Солом'янська, 1, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03035 (o.s.tarasenko@gmail.com)

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WAR CRIMES DURING WORLD WAR II IN UKRAINIAN SCIENTIFIC AND PUBLIC DISCOURSES

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to define the conceptual and categorical specificity of the term “war crime”, its application to the studied violations of the international law as well as to outline a thematic and contextual framework for studying the war crimes issues in Ukraine during World War II. **The research methodology** is based on a complex of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction) and special (historical and legal, historical and typological, historical and systemic, retrospective) methods of scientific research. **The scientific novelty** consists in the process of determining the concepts “war crime” and “military crime” in the international humanitarian law, and the Ukrainian interpretation of these concepts. There has been outlined the discourse of the study on the war crimes in the Ukrainian humanitarian studies comprehensively. There have been covered diverse manifestations of mass violence and political terror in the context of studying socio-political aspects of World War II. **Conclusions.** There were published numerous studies of a generalizing nature regarding World War II in Ukrainian historiography during the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s. There were also considered the information reports, research reports among the issues, which covered violations of the norms and customs of war, extreme violence against civilian population, prisoners of war. However, there has been carried out a more systematic study on the issues of the war crimes on the Ukrainian territory since the mid-2000s. There were brought out important studies on the policy of mass violence

and terror of the Nazis during the occupation in 1941 – 1945 by O. Lysenko, V. Vasylyev, collective studies edited by H. Boriak, V. Smolii, etc. The above-mentioned issues were discussed in more detail, as well as a regional cross-section of the repressive practices (including ideological reasons) against civilians, as well as murdering of prisoners of war, forced mobilization, in the studies by V. Shaikan, M. Shevchenko, S. Halchak, V. Levykin, T. Pastushenko, etc. The research on the “Extraordinary State Commission for Determination and Investigation on Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices” in Ukrainian historical science, a regional cross-section of the work of this commission is considered to be another thematic study. Although, there is growing interest in the issues on implementing the norms of the international criminal law in modern Ukrainian legislation in public, popular scientific discourse, as well as in jurisprudence, which are relevant to the war crimes issue, the formation of an evidentiary base for the future prosecution of the Russian Federation for the atrocities committed in Ukraine since 2014, and mainly within the framework of the full-scale armed aggression.

Key words: war crime, World War II, Nazi occupation regime, civilian population, prisoners of war, mass violence, the Russo-Ukrainian War.

ВОЄННІ ЗЛОЧИНИ В РОКИ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ НАУКОВОМУ ТА СУСПІЛЬНОМУ ДИСКУРСАХ

Анотація. *Мета роботи* окреслити понятійно-категоріальну специфіку терміна “воєнний злочин”, його застосування у вивченні порушення норм міжнародного права. Окреслити тематичні та контекстуальні рамки вивчення проблематики воєнних злочинів в Україні під час Другої світової війни. **Методологія дослідження.** Для реалізації сформульованої мети при написанні статті використано комплекс загальнонаукових аналіз та синтез, індукція та дедукція) і спеціальних) (історико-правовий, історико-типологічний, історико-системний, ретроперспективний) методів наукового дослідження. Їхнє застосування разом уможливило здійснити науковий аналіз становлення поняття воєнного злочину у міжнародному гуманітарному праві, провести огляд української історіографії щодо проблематики воєнних злочинів у Другій світовій війні, виокремити проблемні питання, сформулювати висновки. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що простежено процес утвердження поняття “воєнний злочин” та “військовий злочин” у міжнародному гуманітарному праві, подано українське трактування цих понять. Комплексно окреслений дискурс дослідження воєнних злочинів в українській гуманітаристиці та в контексті вивчення соціально-політичних аспектів Другої світової війни, різних проявів масового насильства та політичного терору. **Висновки.** В українській історіографії протягом 1990-х – першої половини 2000-х років вийшла низка праць узагальнювального характеру, присвячених Другій світовій війні. Серед тем, які розглядалися у них, також є інформаційні довідки, розвідки, які стосуються порушення норм та звичаїв війни, екстремального насильства щодо цивільного населення, військовополонених. Однак більш системно вивчення проблематики воєнних злочинів на українських теренах відбувалось від середини 2000-х років. Важливими роботами про політику масового насильства та терору нацистів під час окупації у 1941 – 1945 років. є студії О. Лисенко, В. Василєва, колективні роботи за редакцією Г. Боряка, В. Смолій та ін. Більш детально ці питання, а також регіональний зріз репресивних практик (з-поміж іншого із ідеологічних міркувань) проти цивільних мешканців, а також знищення військовополонених, примусової мобілізації порушені у працях В. Шайкан, М. Шевченко, С. Гальчака, В. Левикіна, Т. Пастушенка та ін. Ще один тематичний зріз в українській історичній науці – дослідження “Надзвичайної державної комісії з встановлення та розслідування злочинів німецько-фашистських загарбників та їх посібників”, зокрема регіональний аспект її роботи. Однак у суспільному, науково-популярному дискурсі, а також в юриспруденції зростає зацікавлення проблематикою імплементації в сучасному законодавстві України норм міжнародного кримінального права, які стосуються проблематики воєнних злочинів, формування доказової бази щодо майбутнього притягнення Російської Федерації до відповідальності за злочини, здійснені в Україні від 2014 року, та головно в рамках повномасштабної збройної агресії.

Ключові слова: воєнний злочин, Друга світова війна, нацистський окупаційний режим, цивільне населення, військовополонені, масове насильство, російсько-українська війна.

Problem Statement. The semantic and ideological framework in the study of World War II in Ukraine has changed in the context of strengthening its own statehood since the 1990s (Nikolaïets, 2019, p. 227). The Russian Federation aggression against Ukraine in 2014 (contrary to all principles of the international law) (Zabolotniuk, & Kotylevsky, 2025, p. 187) and the full-scale invasion in 2022 (Bilichak, & Huz, 2024, pp. 164–165) actualized the war and war crimes issues, and hence their further scientific research and improvement of a regulatory and legal support (Krychun, 2022, pp. 109–114; Karpenko, 2025, pp. 223–224).

There are interrelated, but not identical, terms of the war crime and military crime in the conceptual and categorical apparatus of the criminal law and in the scientific publications. In Oxford Encyclopedia of Public International Law by Max Planck it is noted that the concept of “war crime” can be viewed from a broader perspective as “all acts that constitute violations of the customs and laws of war, regardless of whether this act is criminal or not”. However, in a narrower sense, it is “any act or omission committed in an armed conflict that constitutes a serious violation of the laws and customs of the international humanitarian law and is recognized by the international treaty or customary law (Schwarz, 2014, p. 3). The concept of the “military crime” is “a socially dangerous criminal act committed while serving in a specific army of a specific country” (Snizhna, 2022). According to Yu. Krychun, the Ukrainian lawyer there is no clear distinction between military and war crimes, and instead the concept of “military criminal offense” is used in the Ukrainian legislation, in particular in the Criminal Code of Ukraine. Article 401, Section XIX “Crimes against the Order of Performing Military Service (Military Crime)” of the Criminal Code of Ukraine): “Military criminal offenses are recognized as criminal offenses provided for by this section against the procedure determined by law for performing or completing military service, committed by the military personnel, as well as conscripts and reservists during their training”. The above-mentioned definition covers unlawful acts of the military (“military crime”), whereas Article 438 “Violation of Laws and Customs of War” of Section XX “Crimes against Peace, Security of Mankind and International Legal Order” of the Criminal Code provides a definition of a war crime (in accordance with international acts): “Cruel treatment towards prisoners of war or civilian population, deportation of civilian population for forced labour, plunder of the national values in occupied territory, use of means of warfare prohibited by the international law, other violations of the laws and customs of war provided for by the international treaties, the consent to which has been given by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, as well as giving an order to commit such acts; the same acts combined with intentional murder” (Krychun, 2022, p. 111; Kryminalnyi kodeks Ukrainy, 2018).

The Ukrainian researchers V. Repetskyi and V. Diomin noted that the very concept “war crime” actually arose in 1945, as it was first used in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal, but the very origins of this concept existed earlier. Some researchers even deduce it from the rules of warfare that existed in Ancient Greece or Ancient China. It is obvious that the formation of norms regulating the introduction of conflicts also took place along with the international law development and codification. The Lieber Code (1863), played a significant role in the codification of acts relating to war crimes, which was compiled by Columbia University Professor Francis Lieber at the request of the American President Abraham Lincoln. There is another name for the code: “The Instructions for the Administration of the United States Army in Action” and it is the first collection of the wartime laws, essentially the instructions used by the armies in the American Civil War, regulating “the principle of

individual criminal liability for complex violations listed in the text, such as robbery, rape, or cruel treatment of the prisoners” (Schwarz, 2014, p. 1).

There were first adopted multilateral agreements within the framework of the Hague Peace Conferences on the Laws and Customs of War of 1899 and 1907 that regulated the conduct of war and were mainly aimed at outlining the rights and obligations of states that were the subjects of the international law (Bilenchuk, Kochetkov, & Mishchenko, 2006; Schwarz, 2014, p. 3). The Treaty of Versailles signed between Germany and the Entente countries was the first international treaty to provide for individual criminal liability for violations of international humanitarian law. In particular, “Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles included the indictment and trial of the former Emperor of Germany, and Article 228 (1) recognized “the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals people accused of committing acts in violation of the laws or customs of war”. However, de facto an international tribunal was not established, and the Allied Powers refused to prosecute the war criminals and suggested that the German government should hold trials at the Supreme Court of Germany in Leipzig (Schwarz, 2014, p. 4).

The concept of “war crime” first appeared in Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1945, which defined such crimes as “the violations of laws or customs of war, including murder, cruel treatment or deportation of civilian population in occupied territories, murder or cruel treatment of prisoners of war, murder of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of populated areas not justified by military necessity” (Statut, 1945). There were adopted the four Geneva Conventions in 1949 and Additional Protocols in 1977 and 2005 with the development of the international law, and this concept was also enshrined in Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in 1998 (Sokurenko, 2023; p. 7; Osnovni polozhennia Zhenevskykh Konventsii, 2023, pp. 19, 33–46; Rymyskyi Statut Mizhnarodnoho Kryminalnoho Sudu, 2024).

Review of Researches. In humanitarian studies the discourse on the war crimes research is mainly related to the coverage of the international humanitarian law norms development, its implementation in modern Ukrainian legislation (Piddubna, 2016; Myronova, 2004; Myronova, 2007; Bazov, 2017; Bazov, 2018) and the dynamics of changes in the context of the Russo-Ukrainian War (Sokurenko, 2023; Karpenko, 2025; Dmytrenko, 2022). The historiography of World War II, its consequences, in particular the consequences of the Nazi invasion, and the features of the occupation regime in the Soviet Union is quite extensive. The first studies on this issue began during the war years with the propaganda purpose (for example, the studies written by I. Trainin “Mechanism of the German-Fascist Dictatorship”, “Hitler’s Criminals cannot Escape Responsibility” (Trainyn, 1942; Trainyn, 1943). The Soviet Union was one of the winners of the Nazi regime, and also suffered considerable human and material losses. Hence, historiography focused on the consequences of the war, the crimes of Nazism mainly (Mynts, 1947; Kondufor, Klovov, 1984; Pershyna, 1985). However, a researcher A. Mukharovska noted the following: “despite the fact that many fundamental historical studies and monographs dedicated to World War II were written in the Soviet Union, they all one-sidedly covered the processes associated with its consequences” (Mukharovska, 2016, p. 14).

There have been reviewed the publications from 1990 to 2024 in Ukrainian historiography in the article. There have been outlined the main thematic blocks in the context of studying the war crimes issues during the occupation by the German troops. There have been reviewed the studies written by Volodymyr Korol, Oleksandr Lysenko, Olha Perekhrest, Ivan Patriiak

and Mykola Borovyk, collective publications edited by Valery Smolii, Hennadiy Boriak as well as the studies by Yevhen Maksymchuk, Anna Mukharovska, Vasyl Mishchanyin, Tetiana Pastushenko, Volodymyr Levykin and the others. Some methodological issues of researching the described issues are revealed in the work of Vasyl Ilnytsky and Mykola Haliv (Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2019; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022).

Research Results. There have been studied various aspects of World War II in the Ukrainian science since the independence of Ukraine. There could also be distinguished qualitative and quantitative calculation of losses, crimes of the Nazi regime among the thematic blocks. The issue on the Holocaust on the Ukrainian lands is a separate thematic section, which was covered in diverse publications (Vasyliiev, 2018, pp. 22, 43).

Due to the Soviet-German War, which broke out in June 1941 and the subsequent escalation of the conflict, there was an unprecedented wave of violence against civilians and prisoners of the war (Polisen, 2009, p. 27). There were published diverse generalizing studies in the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s, which contain information reports and intelligence reports on violations of the norms and customs of war, extreme violence against the civilians and prisoners of war (Koval, 1999; Kucher, & Cherneha, 2004). There should be highlighted the following studies by Volodymyr Korol (Korol, 1992; Korol, 2003; Korol, 2009; Korol, 2015), Oleksandr Lysenko (Lysenko, 2004; Lysenko, & Vronska, 2013), Olha Perekhrest (Perekhrest, 2011; Lysenko, & Perekhrest, 2015), Ivan Patryliak and Mykola Borovyk (Patryliak, & Borovyk, 2010, pp. 210–218), Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Mykola Haliv (Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2019).

It was decided to organize the Ukrainian Editorial Board of “Books of Memory of Ukraine” by Decree of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk issued in 1992. In accordance with the order, relevant institutions of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine were also involved in its preparation. As a result, there were published 257 volumes, which makes up 261 books of the serial edition “Books of Memory of Ukraine” in 1993 – 2006. There were brief biographical data about the deceased in the regions of Ukraine, information about the circumstances of death, rank, place of burial (Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy, 1992; Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy, 2002). The specific focus was on one of the final books in this series, “Immortality. The Book of Memory of Ukraine 1941 – 1945” (2000), which provided quantitative data on those killed in battles and military losses, including reconstructed data on the network of the Nazi camps for prisoners of war. It was estimated that about half a million citizens of the Ukrainian SSR – the prisoners of war died (Bezsmertia, 2000, pp. 182; 559).

The collective monograph “Political Terror and Terrorism in Ukraine. The 19th and 20th Centuries” (2002), edited by Valeriy Smolii, is considered to be one of the first comprehensive studies on the outlined issues. The historical essays on the theoretical study and history on manifestations of this repressive and misanthropic policy were the main focus of the study, as well as some separate chapters written by Tetiana Vronska and Oleksandr Lysenko, which focused on World War II. There was covered a substantive overview of the Nazi occupation policy in the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine” and the General Governorate, the features of repressive methods were raised, the issues regarding detention in camps, various forms of violence, the use of forced labour of the Soviet prisoners of war were outlined; as well as the so-called clearing of the “occupied territory”, the “hostage system”, terror over civilians, mobilization for the forced labour (Vronska, & Lysenko, 2002, pp. 600–655).

The two-volume book “Ukraine in World War II: A View from the 21st Century” (2011) written by leading specialists from the Institute of History of Ukraine, edited by Valeriy

Smolii and Hennadiy Boriak is considered to be another crucial publication (Smolii, & Boriak, 2011a; Smolii, & Boriak, 2011b). There was outlined the policy of the Soviet leadership regarding the preparations for the war, mobilization of population, the course of operations in Ukraine, and present diverse aspects of the Nazi occupation policy, everyday life in cities and villages in the monographs (Zabolotna, 2011), and the system of forced labour (Halchak, Pastushenko, & Shevchenko, 2011; Potylchak, 2011), and the situation of prisoners of war (Levykin, & Pastushenko, 2011).

The monograph “Collaborationism on the Territory of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine” and War Zone during the World War II” written by Valentyna Shaikan, based on the little-known archival materials, covered the issues on justice for collaborators, their legal proof, and qualification of crimes as the war crimes committed during the war (Shaikan, 2005).

The study on the Extraordinary State Commission for “Establishment and Investigation of the Atrocities of the German-fascist Invaders and their Accomplices” (formed in November 1942) and their regional offices occupied a separate thematic niche in the study on the war crimes. The main task of this Commission was “to record the crimes of occupiers and the damage they caused; to generalize and coordinate the state bodies that were already keeping records of the occupiers’ crimes; to determine on the basis of the documents the harm done to citizens, state, collective farms and public organizations for the compensation; to identify occupiers for subsequent transfer to court” (Fedorchenko, & Domashova, 2024, p. 26; Polsen, 2009, p. 28).

Yevhen Maksymchuk in his dissertation “Activities of State Commissions for the Investigation of the Nazi Crimes on the Territory of Ukraine (1941 – 1951): Typical Composition and Information Potential of the Source Complex” and a number of subsequent studies, based on a large source database from the Ukrainian and foreign archival institutions, comprehensively highlights the prerequisites and reasons, directions and results of the activities of state commissions for the investigation of crimes of the Nazi regime (Maksymchuk, 2007; Maksymchuk, 2006, pp. 92–94; Maksymchuk, 2007, p. 9495).

A regional cross-section of the study on the activities of “Extraordinary State Commission for Accounting for Damage Caused by the Nazi Invaders to the Economy and Population of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of the USSR” in Rivne and Volyn regions was studied by a scholar Anna Mukharovska. The author emphasized the propaganda role of the Commissions activities, as their materials were used in Nuremberg and other trials, and her dissertation was the result of many years of research. At the same time, according to A. Mukharovska, “the activities of the state commissions should be considered exclusively in the context of establishment of the Soviet power in Western Ukrainian lands during the period of the end of World War II”, therefore, the results of her study are not objective (Mukharovska, 2016, p. 183). A significant achievement of the scholar is the coverage of the final data of the first stage of information collection by the Commissions on the number of dead (civilian residents, including those shot, executed prisoners of war) and those deported to work in Germany. For example, it was found out that “165,339 citizens, including 47,690 prisoners of the war, died because of the Nazi invaders and their accomplices in Volyn region due to various causes of death” (Mukharovska, 2016, pp. 123–125). It should be noted that A. Mukharovska’s conclusions regarding the documentation on human losses in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict were also valuable. The victims of this interethnic conflict were recorded as “caused by the Germans and their accomplices, or were ignored altogether” (Mukharovska, 2016, p. 127).

Vasyl Mishchanyn reconstructed the main stages of the creation and activities of “Extraordinary Commission for Investigation of Crimes and Damages Caused by the Hungarian-German Fascist Invaders on the Territory of the Transcarpathian Region”, while studying the issues on the Sovietization of the Transcarpathian region, using previously unpublished materials from the State Archives of Zakarpattia region (Mishchanyn, 2014).

In 2018, there was cooperation between the Institute of Ukrainian History, Ruprecht Karl University of Heidelberg, and the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, which resulted in printing a fundamental collection of documents on the Nazi and Soviet special services that highlighted the wartime violence mainly against the civilian population of Ukraine (the civilians, the Jews and the Gypsies, the people with the disabilities, mental problems). Most of the documents were not only published for the first time, but also translated into Ukrainian (Boriak, Budnytskyi, & Vasyliiev, 2018). This is an array of source material with the reports from Einsatzgruppen, documents from the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, etc., which was structured according to the regional principle, supplemented by the meaningful prefaces that reconstruct historiography, historical context, and typologize the dimensions of violence. In 2018 – 2024, in addition to this first generalizing edition, there were published 6 documentary collections with the documents from state security agencies in 1941 – 1945 about Chernihiv (Боряк, Будницький, Васильєв, 2019), Vinnytsia (Boriak, Budnytskyi, & Vasyliiev, 2020), Khmelnytsk (Vasyliiev, Lysenko, Markova, Podkur, 2022), Cherkasy (Vasyliiev, Hula, Klymenko, Korol, & Podkur, 2022), Zaporizhzhia (Boriak, Vasyliiev, Hula, & Kohut, 2023), and Mykolayiv regions (Boriak, Vasyliiev, Levchenko, & Kohut, 2024).

Conclusions. There has been a shift from the traditional, Soviet ideological schemes regarding the study on World War II since the late 1990s and mainly since the 2000s in Ukrainian historiography. In addition to covering the course on the military operations, calculating the quantitative losses of the military and civilian populations, and the damage caused by the war, there appeared the interdisciplinary devoted to the comprehensive study on the occupation policy, socio-political life, and manifestations of violence. In this context, several thematic areas should be distinguished, which highlighted the issues on the war crimes of the Nazi regime: the policy of mass violence as manifestation of the political and ideological terror (O. Lysenko, V. Vasyliiev, H. Boriak, V. Smolii, etc.), its specific practices directed against civilians, murdering of prisoners of war, labour mobilization and the use of forced labour (V. Shaikan, M. Shevchenko, S. Halchak, V. Levykin, T. Pastushenko, etc.).

The study on the Extraordinary State Commission for Investigation of the Atrocities of the German-fascist Invaders and their Accomplices, Activities of Regional Commissions is considered to be another thematic niche in the study on the war crimes (Publications by E. Maksymchuk, A. Mukhorovska, V. Mishchanin).

In English-language publications on the international relations, international law, and in the Ukrainian legal literature, the issue on the war crimes is considered mainly through the prism of implementation of international treaties, their violation in connection with the illegal occupation of the Crimean Peninsula by the Russian Federation, and later on, the full-scale invasion.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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Volodymyr MYKYTYUK

PhD (Philology), PhD hab. (Education), Associate Professor of the Department of Ukrainian Literature named after Mykhailo Voznyak, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universytetska Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79000 (ilkovycz@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-8089-3731

Scopus ID: 10.24919/2519-058X.26.275207

Olena NEVMERZHYTSKA

PhD hab. (Education), Professor, Professor of the Department of General Pedagogy and Preschool Education, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (nhelen750@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-9911-9735

Володимир МИКИТЮК

кандидат філологічних наук, доктор педагогічних наук, доцент кафедри української літератури імені Михайла Возняка, Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Університетська, 1, м. Львів, Україна індекс 79000 (ilkovycz@gmail.com)

Олена НЕВМЕРЖИЦЬКА

докторка педагогічних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри загальної педагогіки та дошкільної освіти, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна індекс 82100 (nhelen750@gmail.com)

THE COME BACK OF THE FORGOTTEN HEROES: A NEW INTERPRETATION OF LITERARY AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES ABOUT THE WARS ON THE STEPPE BORDER OF UKRAINE IN THE 16TH – MID-17TH CENTURIES

**(peer-review on the monograph: Vyrsky D. The War in the South: Chronicles
of the Steppe Borderland of Ukraine (the 16th – Mid-17th Centuries). Kyiv:
Institute of History of Ukraine, NAS of Ukraine, 2024. 292 p.)**

**ПОВЕРНЕННЯ ЗАБУТИХ ГЕРОЇВ: НОВЕ ПРОЧИТАННЯ
ЛІТЕРАТУРНО-ІСТОРИЧНИХ НАРАТИВІВ ПРО ВІЙНИ
НА СТЕПОВОМУ КОРДОНІ УКРАЇНИ XVI – СЕРЕДИНИ XVII СТ.
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Dmytro Vyrsky is a renowned historian in the historical science as a thorough scholar of early modern historiography of Ukrainian history. He is the author of numerous monographs and scientific articles, the most prominent of which is the two-volume “The Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth Historiography of Ukraine (15th – mid-17th centuries)”. In 2024, the author published the book “The War in the South: Chronicles of the Steppe Borderland of Ukraine (the 16th – mid-17th centuries)”, some aspects of which have already been published earlier as the chapters of other monographs or scientific articles. At the same time, it should be noted that this book is a chief focus to scholars due to the fact that there were implemented several important tasks in the above-mentioned book, which were set by the author. First of all, D. Vyrsky had a fervant desire to draw the attention of modern scholars of the early modern history of Ukraine to literary and historical narratives written in the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. Second of all, the scholar truly believes that modern historiography is still too focused on the “Cossack myth”, while ignoring the systematic activities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its border administration to protect the southern borders from the enemy attacks in the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. Dmytro Vyrsky emphasized that the issue on the Ukrainian border was among the most important concerns of the state and neither government officials nor intellectuals spared any effort to resolve it.

There are 10 sections, nine of which present analyses of specific historical and literary monuments (created from 1527 to 1659) in the reviewed book.

In Section under the title “Still Fearless Horde: The Last Battle of Kniaz K. I. Ostrohsky” an analysis of the work on Justus-Ludwik Decjusz with the characteristic “long” title “Sendbrieff von der grossen schlacht und sigg So Kü. Ma. Von Poln volk In Litten am. XXVII. tag Januarii des. 1527. Jars mit den unglaubigen Tarnern gehabt hat” was carried out. D. Vyrsky managed to note that for the Ukrainian historiography the “Sent Letter...” was especially valuable because, on the one hand, it was a rare description of the “winter campaign” on the Ukrainian border, and on the other hand, it was the story of a purely “Great Lithuanian” military action and victory achieved without the “Polish” help, while briefly revealing the author’s biography.

Characterizing the historical work of Decius D. Vyrsky presented the prerequisites of the winter war, described the military forces of the Crimean Khanate, cited and clarified many geographical details, comparing the “Sent Letter...” with other historical sources of the time. According to him, the most likely number of participants in the Battle of Olshanytsia in January 1527 was: 7 thousand Lithuanians against more than 20 thousand Tatars. At the same time, there were only half “ready for the battle” among the Tatars. Finally, D. Vyrsky noted that Decius’s work about the battle with the Tatars at Olshanytsia in 1527 demonstrated a sufficient level of mastery by the historical writing of the Kingdom of Poland of the pan-European Renaissance practices of drawing up military reports. Decius’s style is striking regarding the details, in attention is not only to the act of battle, but also to the routine “technologies” of the war of that time. However, D. Vyrsky noted the efforts made by the author of “The Sent Letter...” to “fit in” the Ukrainian events into the contexts understandable to a European. It should be stated that Decius’s emphasis on the importance of this section of the Great Border of Christendom for organizing resistance to the Turkish-Tatar threat, and at that time this was considered the “super-task” of all European politics (p. 24).

Section 2 under the title “The Moldavian Underland: The War of Ivonia in 1574 (according to Sh. Starovolsky “On the Affairs of Sigismund I” 1616)” is dedicated to the heroic and cruel episode of the struggle of Moldova and the Ukrainian Cossacks led by Hetman Ivan Svirchovsky (Svirhovsky) against the Tatars and the Turks. Owing to contemporaries works on the events written by Leonard Gorecki and Jan Łasick, the above-mentioned episode is well known to historians. But there is also a later text by the historian-erudite Szymon

Starovolsky, which did not enter the historiographical canon. According to D. Vyrsky, the above-mentioned work was interesting as a “construction of the past” in the light of the already formed the Cossack and, more broadly, the border-Ukrainian narrative in the historiography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The historian described in detail the biography of Sh. Starovolsky, analyzed his historical works, a significant part of which concerned the Ukrainian Cossacks (p. 27). Hence, D. Vyrsky retold the content of Starovolsky’s text from the work “On the Affairs of Sigismund I”, which concerned the events of 1574.

To our mind the scholar put an important historiographical emphasis in Section 3 under the title “The Black Velvet: Chronicle of Successful Tatar Attack of 1575 (B. Paprotskyi’s verse “A Pitiful History...”)). He notes that the issue on forming a narrative image of the Tatar attacks on Ukraine has not been raised so far practically in domestic historiography, since it belongs to the seemingly “obvious” topics. The source of this picturesque construct is usually presented as the “eternal” and a priori folk memory, which does not require any scientific research. Hence, it calls for analyzing the most vivid description of a successful Tatar attack in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth historical literature – the poetic chronicle “Historia zalosna o prętkości y okrutności Tatarskiej a o srogim mordowaniu y popsowaniu Ziemie Ruskiej y Podolskiej. Ktore sie stało Księżyca Października Roku 1575” (Krakow, 1575).

The historian cited facts from the biography of Bartosz Paprocki and noted that “The Pitiful Story” was a work about the Crimean invasion of Ukraine in 1575, which was still little known to the historians. According to D. Vyrsky, the Tatar attack was largely due to the times of kinglessness in Poland. The scholar stated some important accents of B. Paprocki, while retelling the content of the work, in particular, he noticed B. Paprocki’s attempt to fit the ancient-Renaissance cult of fortune into the context of Christian Providentialism. The author of “The Pitiful Story” presented the change of the latter as God’s punishment for the main sin for a Christian – pride. According to Paprocki, it was this unfavourable turn of fortune that caused the misfortune of the Ukrainian lands, which had previously enjoyed prosperity for a long time. D. Vyrsky also noted that B. Paprocki, writing about the wealth of Ukraine, mentioned cattle, horses, honey, and only then grain. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned order, the historian was given a proof that the agricultural products did not play the main role among the wealth of the Ukrainian lands in the 16th century, and therefore the statement of many scholars and writers about the “eternal grain-growing” nature of the economy of Ukraine is a myth formed later – in the era of Modernism (p. 64).

The author noted that Paprocki’s description of the events of 1575 was the most complete in the literature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that recounts the stereotype of the “horrors” of the Tatar raid on Ukraine. He also tried to specify the number of the Tatars, who attacked the Ukrainian lands at that time and wrote that there were about 30 thousand soldiers (p. 81). The author also noted such an interesting feature in Paprocki’s work as the presentation of a “parade of culprits” – a list of the most prominent leaders and participants in the Tatar campaign, who plundered the Ukrainian lands and collected *yasyr* (p. 80). According to Paprocki the Tatars slaughtered the livestock and people, who could not be taken captive with them, D. Vyrskyi responded by remarking that the Zaporozhzhian Cossacks also resorted to such practices (p. 86).

In general, the author of the book called B. Paprocki’s “The Pitiful History” a vivid example of the existence of a poetic chronicle in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth historiography. To his mind, the above-mentioned work was especially interesting for the Ukrainian historians for its illustrations of the contemporary military technologies, highlighting the role of the

Cossacks in Podillia in the 1570s (the Podilia Cossacks are usually too much in the shadow if to compare with their Zaporizhzhian colleagues in modern historical literature). Eventually, there could be seen a rich genealogical and toponymic material in the text (p. 89).

D. Vyrsky began Section 4 “The Proud Kniaz: The Story of a Border Guard (“Epicedion on the Death of Kniaz M. Vyshnevetskyi in 1585, etc.)” by stating the unsatisfactory state of the source-study of such a well-known poetic monument as “Epicedion...”, which was published by A. Storozhenko back in 1904. The text of the “Epicedion” described the events from 1555 till 1584 (from the first battle of M. Vyshnevetsky to his death). Hence, D. Vyrsky presented the biography of M. Vyshnevetsky based on this work. At the end of the section, the historian made a rather noticeable excursion into the history of his native city of Kremenchuk, since the “Epicedion” mentioned the “departure of Kremenchuk” (pp. 107–112).

Section 5 is entitled “The War and “International” PR: An Anonymous Report on the Tatar Raid of 1589 (“The Defeat of the Tatars and the Turks...”, Paris, 1590)”. The author noted that the Tatar attack on Ukraine in 1589 gave impetus to the so-called “The Cossack Reform” of 1590 – 1591 and the establishment of the phenomenon of registered Cossacks. At the same time, he emphasized that this next Tatar expedition made it into the “Western European press”. The growing popularity of the relational genre in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 16th century contributed to greater awareness of the “Ukrainian” issues in the West of Christian Europe. It became not only fashionable, but also respectable to write about Ukraine. Hence, D. Vyrsky named newspapers and relations published in Gdansk, Nuremberg, Prague, Paris, Rome, Lyon, which dealt with the events of 1589 in the Ukrainian lands. He noted decently that these events could attract attention also because the Chancellor and great crown Hetman Yan Zamoyski played a prominent role in them (pp. 113–114).

The historian analyzed an anonymous work published in Paris in 1590 with a rather long title, which was abbreviated as “The Defeat of the Tatars and the Turks...”. The scholar outlined the background of the Tatar attack in 1589, pointed out the inspiration of this campaign by the Turkish and Moscow governments, while describing the circumstances of this historical source appearance. The analysis of the study allowed the historian to clarify some of the circumstances of the battle near the village of Orynyn (pp. 128–129). According to D. Vyrsky, the anonymous Parisian report on the Tatar attack on Ukraine in 1589 is the most complete and detailed account of this event. The above-mentioned study vividly illustrates the growth of the power of the Ukrainian Cossacks, and calls into question the traditional assessments of the actions of the great crown Hetman Yan Zamoyski in the 1589 campaign as a failure or ineffective. The Tatars did not manage to take out a significant number of the prisoners and booty. Moreover, it happened due to the Cossacks by large. There also appeared a new promising leader in Zaporizhzhia – Krzysztof Kosiński in the light of the events of 1589. Furthermore, according to D. Vyrsky, the circumstances in Ukraine in the late 1580s and the late 1640s were comparable in history because both times the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth government abandoned its plans to fight Turkey, which led to the “Cossack War” and the uprisings of Kosiński and Khmelnytsky (p. 137).

It should be mentioned that Section 6 under the title “Freedom and Slavery: The Life of a Ukrainian as an Adventure Novel (Ya. Kymikovsky’s Odyssey in M. Pashkovsky’s “The Turkish Stories and Cossack Battles with the Tatars” from 1615), is especially fascinating for the reader. First of all, the author emphasized that the possibilities of presenting the early period of the history of the Cossack Zaporizhzhia are limited by a rather modest “source base”.

Hence, the pictures of the Cossack past described so far are easily exposed to the accusations of the excessive fragmentation. Therefore, each “new” source from which one can draw knowledge on the above-mentioned issues arouses enthusiasm and meticulous attention of a fairly wide range of scholars. The story of an ordinary Cossack from the poetic work of the first half of the 17th century by Martyn Paszkowski “*Dzieje tureckie, y utarczki Kozackie z Tatary...*” is considered to be such narratives that are “not integrated” into modern Ukrainian studies (Krakow, 1615). D. Vytskyi cited M. Pashkovsky biography traditionally, who was particularly fond of the Cossacks and introduced the Ukrainian plots into his works.

The most original part of this work by Paszkowski was the story of the turbulent life of the poor nobleman Jakub Kimikowski, who served the Polish and Lithuanian kniaz, was captured by the Nogais, fled to the Cossacks, and took part in campaigns against the Tatars, who captured him. Later on, he was resold about 20 times, after which he ended up as a slave on the Turkish galley. Together with other galley slaves, he raised an uprising, due to which the rebels captured the galley and managed to sail to Italy. J. Kimikowski returned to his homeland after ten years of hardships, as he travelled via Rome and Venice. D. Vytskyi was primarily interested in Kimikowski’s descriptions of the Cossack “nomads” as of 1590 – 1591, which he used to confirm his theory that there was not a single centre for the Zaporizhzhian Cossacks – the Sich – until the second half of the 17th century. It was mentioned in the notes (pp. 151–152) by the historian, in particular, he presented his vision of the development of Zaporizhzhia by the Cossacks and the emergence of various projects to create some fortified center as a centre for this Lowland Cossacks Army in the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. He proves that there were only temporary fortifications (“sichs”) in Zaporizhzhia and none of them was the generally recognized centre (capital) of the Zaporizhzhian Cossacks, until the development of the Chortomlyk Sich in the second half of the 17th century. It should be noted that D. Vytskyi advocated his theory in a debate with I. Storozhenko, who tried to prove the existence of only three Zaporizhzhian Sichs – Bazavluk, Chortomlyk and Pidpilnenska.

Section 7 “The Triumph of Noble-Cossack Solidarity: The Battle of Bila Tserkva 1626 (based on the “True Relation” by J. Dobrosetsyky)” D. Vytskyi began with a historiographical remark: the plots of the “Ukrainian Wars”, i.e. the struggle of the Ukrainians (the Cossacks), the Poles and the Lithuanians against the Tatar and the Turkish attacks, dominated classical historiography, in which the Cossack-nobility conflict occupied a rather modest place. The themes devoted to the wars of the Cossacks with the nobility became key and central in historiography only in the era of Romanticism fragmentary. Hence, the author retold the work of J. Dobrosetsyky about the successful battle of Bila Tserkva for the Polish and Cossack troops in 1626. The above-mentioned poetic chronicle (relation), according to the scholar was inferior in its literary and analytical level to other works of that time. D. Vytskyi refuted the claim about the large number of the Tatars, who took part in the attack on Ukraine in 1626, while revealing and analyzing the content of the work. In his opinion, there were not 40, but 16 thousand of them. There took part in the battle near Bila Tserkva approximately 10 thousand Tatars (p. 174). “The True Report” by Ya. Dobrotsetsky was important for the historian as there was information about the Cossacks-registered as an organic part of the “Ukrainian army”. As a result, the above-mentioned work considered that Bohdan Khmelnytsky also participated in this battle, being under the command of Hetman Mykhailo Doroshenko, and also there was the proof that the future Crimean Khan Islam-Girey also took part in this campaign (p. 185).

In Section 8 under the title “Magnate Sport: A Description of Kniaz S.-K. Koretsky’s Excursion to Dyke Pole (Wild Field) in the Autumn of 1644 (“The Chase” of 1645),” D. Vyrsky notes that this is an anonymous work, regarding whose authorship there are no worthy hypotheses. In his opinion, the theme of “The Chase” immediately refers to M. Hrushevsky’s words about Cossack hunting as a “border Ukrainian sport” of local magnates. But there are very few texts that describe such magnate campaigns. Thus, the introduction into scientific circulation of a historical narrative, where the magnate’s expedition to the Wild Fields is a single and coherent plot, is of a considerable interest. In addition, the peculiar uniqueness of this work is that the absence of a combat clash forced the author to pay more attention to the everyday life of a private army. The anonymous author describes the organization of the army, geographical areas, characterizes the “secondary” heroes, etc. All this makes the work an excellent source for the history of ideas and military art, as well as historical geography (primarily of the Steppe Buzhie) and the genealogy of noble families.

Section 9 under the title “The Culprit of Khmelnychchyna: Through the Pages of “Rhymes” on the Death of A. Koniecpolski (1659)” is dedicated to poems about the life of Alexander Koniecpolski (1620 – 1659), the son of the great crown Hetman Stanislav Koniecpolski. As the starosta of Korsun and Chyhyryn, he, according to D. Vyrsky, was Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s superior. However, with this remark, the historian limited his explanation of why A. Koniecpolski should be considered the culprit of the Cossack uprising of 1648. Having outlined the content of “Skorbotnaia postava” (1659), the historian notes that this work, despite its panegyric and biased format, is saturated with facts and meanings. It provides many keys to understanding the history of Ukraine on the eve and at the beginning of the Cossack Revolution.

In Section 10 under the title “Polish-Polish Tatar Studies: Scribes and Eyewitnesses (16th – mid-17th centuries)” D. Vyrsky noted the popularity of the topic of the East and Oriental studies in early modern Europe. He emphasized that the young Jagiellonian dynasty in the Crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was able to worthily fit into the pan-European narrative of the struggle against the Islamic East precisely through literary and historical works about the struggle on the “Tatar front”. In this section, D. Vyrsky described the content and authorship of works from Callimachus to Samuel Otvinovsky briefly. The historiographer focused on the texts of Stanisław Sarnytski “Hetman’s Books from the Stories of Knights of All Ages Collected...” (1577) and John Peyton Jr. “A Report on the Polish State and Provinces United with the Crown” (1598) (pp. 223–228, 240–241).

The main text of the reviewed book ends with an afterword, in which we note D. Vyrsky’s emphasis on the source appeal of the works he analyzed (mainly reports). On their basis, important discoveries were made: the calculation of the yasr of 1527 and 1575 by Decius and Paprotsky (without dividing into people and livestock – which undermines the popular colossal numbers of slaves from Ukraine in the 16th century); the use of night attacks by the Cossacks; a description of the elections of the hetman of the “Ukrainian army” in 1575 (it was still believed that the election of the hetman was a purely Cossack “invention”); a description of the “front” of Zaporizhzhia and the year-round “Zaporozhian nomadism” at the end of the 16th century, etc. (p. 245).

Overall, in this book, D. Vyrsky demonstrates his broad erudition, his ability to work with literary and historical works of the 16th – 17th centuries as historical and historiographical sources, verifying the historical information presented in them with the help of other contemporary sources, clarifying the biographies of many historical figures, discovering

new names, and detailing the historical geography of early modern Ukraine. We should also positively note the style of the researcher, which skillfully combines scientific analysis with a vivid descriptive narrative. At the same time, the book contains certain technical inaccuracies. For example, the historian constantly calls Khmilnytsky starosta and famous knight Yakub Strus the starosta of Khmelnytsky (pp. 125–126). In one of the notes, the author, speaking about the events of the 16th century, notes that the feast of St. Pokrova fell on October 14 (p. 63), but in fact on October 1. However, such trifles do not reduce the overall positive impression of D. Vyrsky's book, which can be recommended not only to historians or literary critics, but also to those who prefer the fiction genre and are fond of adventure novels.

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Leonid TYMOSHENKO

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Professor of the World History and Special Historical Disciplines Department, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 46 Lesya Ukrainka Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (cliotima55@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-5003-9016

Svitlana BILA

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

ORCID: 0000-0001-9506-2789

Леонід ТИМОШЕНКО

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (cliotima55@gmail.com)

Світлана БІЛА

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 36, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (bilasvitlana24@gmail.com)

NEW EDITION OF SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNIATE CHURCH

**(The Peer-Review of the monograph: Vinnytsia Viceroyalty (Dean's Office)
of the Ruska Catholic Church in the 17th Century: Research, Publication
of Visitations Acts/ M.S. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source
Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; State Archives of Vinnytsia
Region; Vinnytsia Museum // Research by Arsen Zinchenko; Translations, Indexes,
Terminological Dictionary by Oles Petrenko. Zaporizhzhia: FOP Riabtsev V.V., 2023.
896 p.: ill. [Series “Archive Key”, Part. II, Vol. 1])**

НОВЕ ВИДАННЯ ДЖЕРЕЛ З ІСТОРІЇ УНІЙНОЇ ЦЕРКВИ

**(Рецензія на: Вінницьке намісництво (деканат) Русько-Католицької Церкви
у XVIII столітті: дослідження, публікація актів візитацій / Інститут української
археографії та джерелознавства імені М.С. Грушевського НАН України;
Державний архів Вінницької області; Музей Вінниці / Дослідження Арсена
Зінченка; переклади, покажчики, термінологічний словник Олеса Петренка.
Запоріжжя : ФОП Рябцев В.В., 2023. 896 с.: іл.
[Серія “Архівний ключ”, част. II, т. 1])**

The source publication on the history of the Uniate Church of historical Bracław region (actually Vinnytsia deanery) of the 18th century can be considered a characteristic feature of modern historiography, which has long switched to the publication of a research documentary

base at the regional level. In the aforementioned sense, the publication of the visitations catalogues of Lviv Diocese, carried out in 2004 by I. Skochylias, can be considered a starting point (Skochylias, 2004), however, this does not apply to Arsen Zinchenko, who was the second after M. Krykun to begin doing research on this type of mass church sources at the end of the Soviet era (Zinchenko, 1986).

The peer-reviewed edition¹ is divided into two parts: the first is a large research text by A. Zinchenko (pp. 13–178), the second part consists of appendices, the main part of which is the texts of the visitations protocols of Vinnytsia Deanery churches in 1726, 1731 – 1733, 1763 – 1764 and 1790 – 1792. The publication of the Polish-language texts (with additions of other languages) is accompanied by the translation into modern Ukrainian. In total, the protocols texts of several dozen churches of cities, towns and villages of this deanery were published. Of these, two are general visitations (1726 and 1731 – 1733), they are stored in the funds of the Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv. General visitations are also the ones of 1790 – 1792, which are kept in the funds of the Kamianets-Podilskyi Museum-Reserve (general visitations are described by I. Skochylias). The visitations protocols of 1763 – 1764 contain descriptions of only four churches; they were found by researchers in the metric books of the Central Institute of Church History and Archaeology (f. 224), which in itself constitutes the scientific novelty.

Interesting and important are the tables compiled by the authors: 1. Clergy of the Vinnytsia Uniate Viceroyalty in 1726 and 1731 – 1733; 2. Parish Priests of Vinnytsia Deanery in the 1890s; 3. Inventory (Register) of Parishioners of the Vinnytsia Church of the Holy Mother of God, approximately in 1765; 4. Population of the Estates of the Faithful in the Intercession of the Virgin Mary Parish in Vinnytsia, approximately in 1765; 5. Number of Believers in the Parishes of Vinnytsia Governorate in the 1790s; 6. Liturgical Books in the Parishes of Vinnytsia Uniate Governorate According to the Visitation Acts of 1726. Even from the very names of the tables it is clear what a rich source potential the published documents contain.

The block of illustrations is important, as it is the decoration of the publication (enclosed in the publication). Illustrations with copies of certain documents are also published in the text.

The publication is accompanied by the Dictionary of Obsolete Words, Latinisms and Polonisms, the List of Sources and Literature, a Nominal and Geographical Index. In fact, there are no significant remarks regarding the principles of publication of sources (they are discussed in the archeographic preface by O. Petrenko) and the reference apparatus.

A. Zinchenko's research text focuses on the historiography of the issue, it provides a general description of the sources, it outlines the boundaries of Vinnytsia deanery, it analyzes the circumstances and time of the construction of churches, their external and internal appearance, the research provides a description of the parish clergy, and separately examines the figures of church officials (in particular, archpriests, deans, and visitors). The author also analyzes the number of believers in parishes, their relations with priests, the relations of priests with landowners, and interfaith relations in the region are characterized. The author's subjects are of an interdisciplinary nature: a comprehensive review of book collections (libraries) of parishes, iconostases (icon painting), and church utensils. The visitation *onomasticon*, as well

¹ The title of the book and the annotation on the back indicate that this is a one-volume edition. In fact, it is published in two volumes, and at the beginning of the second volume, which begins on page 418, the title reads: "Vinnytsia Vicarage (Deanery) of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the 18th Century (continued)." That is, the division of the edition into two volumes is for some reason not shown anywhere.

as the detailed list of toponyms and microtoponyms of Vinnytsia Deanery, are attractive for their informativeness and novelty.

To the aforementioned rather exhaustive set of stories from the history of the region's Uniate Churches, it would be worth adding the problem of the economic basis of parish activities, but an attentive reader finds relevant material in the sources.

It is worth making several research observations that arise from the analysis of the peer-reviewed publication. The name of the structural unit under study attracts attention: Vinnytsia Governorate and Vinnytsia Deanery. The first name is contained in the protocols of 1726 and 1731 – 1733, the second one – in the sources of 1763 – 1764 and 1790 – 1792. There is no mistake, and the change of name only means that the situation was influenced by the Latinization processes characteristic of the history of the Uniate Church of that era. In relation to the terminology used by the authors, the introduction of the term “Ruska Catholic Church” causes a somewhat unexpected reaction, which is obviously a departure from a certain tradition, based on the fact that a more adequate name for the Church is the term “Uniate” (Khikhlach, 2015). In publications on this issue there is also another name that is not entirely appropriate to that era – “Greek Catholic Church” (Wodzianowska, 2018). As for the approach used – studying the structure of the Uniate Church according to the territorial administrative division of the Church – it must be unequivocally approved. It is necessary that the authors took into account the important circumstance of the region's transition from the jurisdiction of Lviv Diocese (Braclaw krylos) to Kyiv Uniate Metropolitan Diocese with its centre in Radomyshl in the 1750s.

In conclusion, the study under peer-review, in addition to the well-known archaeographic effect (regarding the Right Bank region, chronologically it is the second major edition of visitation acts after the well-known publication by M. Radwan² (Radwan, 2004), is significant. Firstly, a large amount of source material practically unknown to science has been introduced into scientific use, and translations of “difficult to read” texts will contribute to the spread of information among wide circles of local historians.

Secondly, the publication of visitation documentation on the example of one region is important from the point of view of the Church historiography. After all, the published documents elucidate a whole palette of characteristic trends in church life, demonstrating a complex and partly contradictory dynamics. The authors, among other things, record a gradual stabilization of the parish life, as evidenced by regular visitations, the introduction of metric books, etc. Churches were built and decorated, the process of evangelization of the faithful increased gradually, which could not but have a positive impact on the general state of the population's piety.

Of course, everything was suspended (in fact, destroyed) after the liquidation of the Uniate Churches by tsarism in 1796, resulting in a period of devastating liquidation of everything that was connected with the Ukrainian traditions of Kyiv Christianity.

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² By the way, the aforementioned publication was not carried out according to the territorial structural division of Kyiv Uniate Metropolis. Similarly, other Polish researchers use secular administrative division, not church, which creates the illusion of noticeable losses in the quality of the analysis done.

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Друкарня – Видавничий дім «Гельветика»
65101, Україна, м. Одеса, вул. Інглєзі, 6/1
Телефон +38 (095) 934 48 28, +38 (097) 723 06 08
E-mail: mailbox@helvetica.ua
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