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### EUROPEAN TRADITION OF THE PERCEPTION OF THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA COAST AND ITS INHABITANTS IN ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

*The topic of the publication is devoted to the process of forming the image of the Northern Black Sea region in European society in the times of antiquity and the Middle Ages. The Northern Black Sea region had its own peculiarities of mental, verbal and artistic perception.*

*It is revealed that many works are devoted to the perception of the region by representatives of other cultures, among which L. Wolff work dedicated to the study of transformations of mentally-geographical landmarks of Western Europeans should be noted. Wolff tried to prove that numerous traveler-diplomats, writers, adventurers, merchants, and scholars have laid the foundations for the image of the region and as a «civilized» West looked at the «backward» Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region. The Age of Enlightenment was merely a statement of the millennial genesis of this figurative perception. The roots of this process date back to ancient times. The research is based on an analysis of the works of antique, medieval and early modern authors, which have a clear positioning in relation to the Northern Black Sea region. The study of the genesis of perception of the Northern Black Sea region by representatives of «civilized» cultures is the main goal of this publication. It was defined that both «antique» and «medieval» European threat and trouble came from the east, while the closest «eastern» region to the Europe was the Northern Black Sea region. Like the Scythians and Sarmatians in ancient times, and the Huns during the Great Migration of Peoples, and the destruction of the Roman Empire, the Mongol invasion, the Tatar-Nogai raids firmly established in the minds of Europeans the image of this land as a «hellish» place.*

*It is noted that the ancient «sivilis» clearly contrasted itself with the Black Sea «barbarus» and considered it dangerous. Subsequently, after the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire, along with the civilization criterion religious was added. Now, the «sivilis», which was associated with «christianitas» (Christianity), contrasted itself with the «barbarus», which consolidated «religia pagana» (paganism).*

**Key words:** antiquity, image, Northern Black Sea region, Middle Ages, perception, Christianity.

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### ТРАДИЦІЯ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО СПРИЙНЯТТЯ ПІВНІЧНОГО ПРИЧОРНОМОР'Я ТА ЙОГО МЕШКАНЦІВ В АНТИЧНІ ТА СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНІ ЧАСИ

*Північне Причорномор'я протягом свого історичного існування мало свої особливості ментального, вербального, а також художньо-графічного сприйняття.*

*Дослідженню сприйняття регіону представниками інших культур присвячено безліч робіт, серед яких слід відзначити роботу Л. Вульфа, де прослідковано трансформації ментально-ге-*



ографічних орієнтирів західних європейців. Вульф намагається довести, що численні мандрівники – дипломати, письменники, авантюристи, купці, науковці – заклали основу того образу сприйняття регіону, з яким «цивілізований» Захід дивився на «відсталу» Східну Європу та Причорномор'я. Епоха Просвітництва була лише констатацією тисячолітньої генези цього образного сприйняття. Коріння цього процесу сягають, ще у античні часи.

Дослідження базується на аналізі творів античних, середньовічних та ранньомодерних авторів в яких чітко зафіксована позиція по відношенню до північно-причорноморському регіону. Розв'язанню проблеми генези сприйняття північно-причорноморського регіону представниками «цивілізованих» культур і є головною метою даної публікації.

Зазначається, що античний «civilis» чітко протиставляв себе причорноморському «barbarus» та вважав його небезпечним. Згодом, після утвердження християнства в Римській імперії, поряд з цивілізаційним критерієм додався і релігійний. Тепер «civilis», який асоціювався з «christianitas» (християнство), протиставляв себе «barbarus», за яким закріпилося «religia pagana» (язичництво).

Встановлено, що для «античного», так і «середньовічного» християнина «європейця» загроза та біда приходили саме зі сходу, а найближчим «східним» регіоном до тогочасної Європи було саме Північне Причорномор'я. Як скіфи і сармати в античні часи, так і гуни під час «Великого переселення народів» та знищення Римської імперії, монгольська навала, татарсько-ногайські набіги навіщо закріпили у свідомості європейців образ цього краю, як «пекельного» місця.

**Ключові слова:** античність, образ, Північне Причорномор'я, середньовіччя, сприйняття, християнство.

**The statement of the problem.** Visual thinking as a kind of human activity is directed to the creation of new images and visual forms, which bear certain semantic loading. This thinking is possible thanks to the fact that images and forms get certain independence on concern the object of perception and can be objects of transformations and manipulations, as well as to reflect separate moments in the activity and behaviour of man. Visual activity can take place in two forms: internal (mental) and external (visible) (Rozyn, 2009: 10). The internal form of visual thinking includes mental (reflected in recollections, ideas, fantasies, stamps, etc.) and verbal (reflected in metaphors and descriptions) perception. The external form consists of art-graphic perception reflected in pictures, drawings, engravings, sculptures, and abstract-graphic images that found its embodiment in maps, schemes, plans, and drawings. The northern Black Sea coast throughout the historical existence had its mental, verbal, and art-graphic perception peculiarities.

**The analysis of recent researches.** It is difficult to trace the peculiarities of art-graphic perception in antiquity and the Middle Ages for reason of the lack of sufficient amount of sources. However, the mental and the verbal can be traced very distinctly. A great variety of works deal with the question of the perception of the region by representatives of other cultures, among which L. Wulf's work, who researched the transformations of mental and geographical orientations of the western Europeans, should be mentioned. The northern Black Sea coast in this work is considered in the context of E. Said's ideas about the orientalism as a sub-region of Eastern Europe. By L. Wulf's definition, the spaces of this region, in particular, the Crimea, in the last third of the XVIII century became «l'Europe Orientale», the safest area for the Europeans (Wulf, 2003: 46). Wulf tries to prove that numerous travelers – diplomats, writers, adventurers, merchants, and scientists – laid the foundation for that image of the region, namely, as the «civilized West» looked at the «backward» Eastern Europe and Black Sea Coast. The Enlightenment epoch brought about only an ascertaining of a thousand year old genesis of this

figurative perception. The root of this process dates back to the antiquity. The study of the origin of the perception of the North Black-Sea Region by the representatives of «civilized» cultures in the antique and medieval times makes up the main **purpose** of the given publication.

**The statement of the basic material.** The tradition of mental and verbal perception of the population of the region in view as the «barbarians» and «savages» is fixed as early as in the ancient Greek scientific treatises. So, a severe «barbarous» temper of the Scythians, their custom to suck blood of enemies and to make objects of use of human skin was mentioned yet by the antique historian Herodotus (Herodot, 2004: 187). Hence, the famous ancient Greek doctor Hippocrates in his work «On air, waters, and localities», speaking about Scythians, points to their essential physiological and reproductive drawbacks, caused by the severe climate and a barbarous way of life (Hippocrates, 1936: 298–299). Characterizing the Sarmatians, whom he took for the people belonging to the Scythians, Hippocrates also recalled their «barbarous» customs, namely, that «their women... conduct wars with the enemies... and not earlier give up their virginity than as they kill three enemies». The right breast they burn out still in childhood so, «that all force and completeness pass to the right shoulder and hand» (Hippocrates, 1936: 297).

The ancient Greek literary tradition speaks about tragic destinies of foreigners in the Crimean lands. In Euripides' tragedy «Iphigenia in Tauris» the custom of the Taurians to sacrifice foreigners to goddess Artemis is one of the key ideas of its plot which adds dramatic character to it (Euripides, 1969: 492–493). A similar passage can be found in Lucian's «Conversations with Gods» wherein Artemis' brother Apollo, in his conversation with Dionysos, speaks about Artemis's boredom of accepting sacrifice of foreigners in Taurians and her wish to return to Greece (Lukian, 2001a: 118). In Lucian's other work, namely, «On offering», the author asserts that for the Scythians (but not for the Taurians) to sacrifice foreigners is the highest respect for gods (Lukian, 2001b: 437).

Similar estimations of the inhabitants of the northern Black Sea coast were given by Roman authors. So, in 43 A. D., following the Greek tradition, Roman geographer Pomponius Mela notices so: «The Taurians... have an awful custom, and about it an awful glory spreads that they, instead of sacrificial animals, easily kill the newcomers» (Pomponius Mela, 2011: 55). The other tribes of the area, in antique mental representations, looked far from being better: the Arimasps, who had but one eye; the Agaphirses who wear unnatural indelible signs (tattoos) on their bodies, and Neurii are even able to turn into wolves (Pomponius Mela, 2011: 51). Eagerness to fight and unfriendliness of the tribes of the northern Black Sea coast to their neighbours Pomponius explains by the circumstance, that their main god is Mars (that is, his local correspondence), and their basic way of communication was but murder of others (Pomponius Mela, 2011: 55).

In late Roman times the Huns' invasion of Europe in the IV century added new negative features to the image of the northern Black Sea region. So, the Roman military leader Ammianus Marcellinus in his «History» characterised the Huns, who had come to Europe through the northern Black Sea coast, as such who «surpass all measures of wildness» and «... are awful and with terrible appearance, so that they can be taken for biped animals» (Ammian Marcellin, 2005: 538).

In due course, on the break of the IV and V centuries, human sacrifices in the northern Black Sea lands were referred to by Porphyrius, Neoplatonist philosopher, born in Tyros (Porfiry, 1900: 656) and one of «church fathers», archbishop of Constantinople Grego-

rius (Georgiy Bogoslov, 1900: 715). A century later church historian Zacharias, partially retelling Herodotus and Hippocrates, noticed that in the northern Black Sea coast dog men lived and, also, the amazons who had one breast and killed male children (Zakhariy Rytor, 1941: 165–166). To the late antique Christian authors, the tribes inhabiting the northern Black Sea coast already appeared as pagan barbarians who were in constant conflicts with the antique world.

Early medieval sources relate a continuation of the «antique format» in the perception of an image of the northern Black Sea coast. This region for the Europeans was a place of «religia pagana» (the pagan religion), that is, a different and dangerous world. The first medieval Christian authors speak about it. Often, when characterising Slavs, Veneds, Ants, Avars, and other tribes residing in the northern Black Sea region in the IV – X centuries, the authors characterize them with such epithets as «disgusting and the worst representatives of mankind» (Boniface, 1995: 417), «cruel thieves» who «eat human flesh» (Adam of Bremen, 1989: 138), «...ferocious... beast-like creatures which consume crude meat and suck human blood» (Otto of Freisingen, 2010: 238–239), «the barbarous people... that plundered churches» (John of Ephesus, 1994: 279), «the worst and cruelest of all pagans inhabiting the earth» (Bruno of Querfurt, 2010: 57–58). Relating constant skirmishes among these ethnic groups, the early medieval Christian authors saw them as «aliens» and enemies to the world.

The medieval tradition «added» to such a negative image of the northern Black Sea coast and its inhabitants the Christian tales from the biblical mythology. The Christian tradition considered, that exactly in the direction of the northern Black Sea region the ferocious Gog and Magog peoples, «the lost tribes» of Israel lived. Therefore, to Mongolian invasion in the 13th century the European population reacted with Jewish pogroms, having accused the Jews in calling in their former countrymen to mortify the Christians and having identified the mentioned Old Testament tribes with the Mongols and Tatars, who came from the east (Vishlenkova, 2011: 32). Such an identification of Gog and Magog tribes with Mongols and Tatars which, according to the biblical stories, should go and attack «the Divine people», is fixed in the sources of XIII century (Epistle of a Hungarian bishop, 1979: 174). This tradition was strongly fixed in the consciousnesses of the Europeans and reflected in cartographical sources up to the second half of the 17th century. So, on the map published in Amsterdam in 1670 the mythical Magog people was identified with the real Mongols. These peoples are signed as «*Moal at Mongul et Magog*» in a big font, underlining their dominations over other peoples including the tribe named Gog, which is signed in a smaller letters. On a later map of 1684 «Le Grand Continent», drawn by «the father of the French cartography» P. Duval (1619 – 1683), the mythical people Magog and real Mongols, too, are the related peoples put together by the same inscription «*Moalat-Mongulet-Magog*» as on the aforementioned Amsterdam map of 1670, but they together with other tribes, including a tribe Gog, belong to the Great Tartary. On both maps the tribes Gog and Magog are localized in the Siberia.

In the European tradition of the XVI – XVII centuries no essential changes in the perception of the northern Black Sea coast is observed. This perception received only some conceptual generalisation. The Christianization of the majority of the East European tribes made these territories «friendly» to Europe. They became a buffer between the barbaric world and the civilised Europe and only the khan and Turkish possession in the northern Black Sea coast remained the avant-garde of the «barbaric» threat to Europe.

An Italian by birth and a military figure of Polish Commonwealth A. Guangini and Polish chronicist Martin Bielsky called the lands of the peoples which lived in the borders from the Vistula to the Don and from the Sea of Azov to the Baltic Sea as European Sarmatia. Guangini specified, that Europe «glorious for Christian piety, virtues, customs, honourable sciences, and its way of life by the number of inhabitants, particularly, urban, considerably exceeds Asia and Africa» (Guangini, 2007: 44). In origins of many peoples of the European Sarmatia, according to A. Guangini's data, a barbarous component is traced (Guangini, 2007: 48–50). Concerning the population of the northern Black Sea coast a notable gradation of perception by the religious principle can be noticed. He perceives the Zaporogian Cossacks positively. «It is good that there are Cossacks there» wrote A. Guangini, hinting at their role in restraining the Tatar attacks. At the same time, the Tatars arouse his mistrust: «The Tatars say that if there were no Cossacks, we would live well with the infidels. But we should not trust the pagans, because we well know them by their affairs» (Guangini, 2007: 428). A similar position is that of G. Beauplan. He speaks about Tatars as the «aliens», distinct from Christians and born as animals – with eyes closed (Beauplan, 1832: 41), to whom cruelty and savagery in relation to the Christian people are inherent (Beauplan, 1832: 52). Besides, on the contrary, Beauplan praises the Cossacks for their natural talent (Beauplan, 1832: 82). Other European authors also write about the Zaporogians in a positive tone. An Italian Gamberini in 1584 characterised the Ukrainian Cossacks as follows: «Of the Cossacks it is possible to collect a 14.000 – 15.000 strong perfect and well armed army, [they] crave more for glory than profits and are ready for any danger.... They are good at war both as the foot and the cavalry... and they also fight well in the sea» (Suchynskyi, 1991: 14).

The relations of the northern Black Sea coast's inhabitants were not so good with the population of the southern steppes and the states of the Eastern Europe, such as the Muscovite Tsardom (later, the Russian Empire), the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and then Polish Commonwealth and the Ukrainian lands as parts of these states. Constant attacks and robberies, capture of the population and its sale into slavery assisted the formation of a negative image of this region in mental representations of their citizens. In those days the Steppe was more associated not as friendly and fertile, but as a region enemy and dangerous to the Christians (Komarnytskyi, 2011: 5–6).

Under the influence of the scientific revolution which started in England in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Europe began to be influenced by the ideas of Enlightenment, – an intellectual movement based on rationalism and freethinking. At that time «histories», which tried «rationally» and «scientifically» to explain historical processes, began to substitute «descriptions» and «chronicles». The works of Ch. Pisonneille, E. Gibbon, and P. Leveque attempted to explain features of the process of ethno-genesis of the peoples of the northern Black Sea coast from rational and scientific viewpoint on the basis of antique ethnography. In these works the perception of the people to the east from Germany and Italy as barbaric, although Christian, was most accurately reflected. The Christianization of these peoples made them «familiar» for Europe, but of «barbaric» origins. Therefore, the aforementioned scholars (E. Gibbon, a. o.) speak about two ways of ethno-genesis. They write about Slavs as barbarians, but notice that they came to the east of Europe irrespective of the Turkic people. Two separate directions of barbaric intrusions into Europe are allocated: «eastern barbarians» (Scythians and their descendants) and «northern barbarians» (Slavs) (Pisonneille, 1765, 4–5). French historian P. Leveque considered that

medieval authors «through the antiquity of sources» were mistaken, when they includes Slavs as the descendants of Scythians. The Slavs had no relation to Scythians. They also came from the east, as well as Scythians, and settled in the region (Leveque, 1785: 5). English historian E. Gibbon laid out his variant of the theory of the ethno-genesis of the barbaric peoples of European Sarmatia. He, as well as other scholars, speaks about two separate lines of this process, namely, the Bulgarian (which include the Tatars) and Sclavonian (Gibbon, 1906: 180). He identified the Tatars with the Scythians and, also, considered them barbarians who «are near to the animal condition» (Gibbon, 1788: 341). «There is no need to repeat the simple and well-known description of the Tatar morals», – Gibbon wrote about the Bulgarians (Tatars) (Gibbon, 1906: 180). However, he pays a considerable attention to the language, history, and traditions of the Slavic (alias Sclavonian) tribes (Gibbon, 1906: 180–182). In his characterization of the Cossacks, the researcher places emphasis on their traditionalism and conservatism. About it E. Gibbon, who had never been in the northern Black Sea region therefore used A. Bell's wandering sketches, writes the following: «the contemporary appearance of the country in accuracy recreates the old one, as in the hands of the Cossacks it still remains in its natural state» (Gibbon, 1776: XXXV II). Voltaire, in his work «An Experience of a Temper», expressed a more negative perception and mistrust to the Zaporogian Cossacks. He noticed that the Zaporogians had no natural population increase and, consequently, remained a strange anti-natural tribal people with a wild primitive temper. Their way of life differs in no way from that of the ancient Scythians and Tatars at the coast of the Black sea (Voltaire, 1834: 515).

**Conclusions.** In the imagination of both an «antique» and a «medieval» inhabitant the threat and trouble came from the east, and the nearest to that time Europe eastern region was the northern Black Sea coast. As the Scythians and Sarmatians during the antique times, and the Huns during the time of «the Great resettlement of the peoples» and destruction of the Roman empire, the Mongolian invasion, and the Tatar-Nogai incursions fixed an image of this territory as a «hellish place» in the consciousness of the Europeans.

The Greek tradition, according to which the Scythians and Taurians (who, sometimes, were identified with the Scythians) belonged to the insidious, dangerous, and wild peoples, was firmly settled also in the Roman sources. The Greek tales about the territory in view were supplemented by negative stories about the Huns, Goths, and other tribes of the late Roman period. So, it is possible to say that the man of antiquity was «civilized» and opposed to the «barbarian» man of the northern Black Sea coast, considered as dangerous. In due course, after the establishment of Christianity, the civilizational criterion was supplemented by a religious one: thus, «civil» (Latin «civilis»), which now was associated with «christianitas» (Christianity), then opposed itself to «barbarian» (Latin «barbarus»), to which the quality «paganism» (Latin «religia pagana») was fixed.

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### ACCOMPANIMENT OF THE VISITORS IN THE CAVES OF KYIV DORMITION CAVES LAVRA (LATE 18th – EARLY 20th cent.)

*Visiting of the caves of the Kyiv Caves Monastery (alias The Kyiv Cave Lavra), the important pilgrimage centre, presupposed the presence of a guide. The study of this sort of service will amplify the lore about spirituality and communicative activity of the new-time monks. The article's purpose is to define key features of the organisation of guiding of visitors in both Near and Far caves. As has been established, the ability to lead the whole group of visitors out from the caves without any delays was the main skill that the administration expected from the guides (although, the decent behaviour was also important).*

**Key words:** Near caves, Far caves, Kyiv Dormition Caves lavra, guide, visitor, late 18th – early 20th cent.

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### СУПРОВІД ВІДВІДУВАЧІВ ПО ПЕЧЕРАХ У КИЄВО-ПЕЧЕРСЬКІЙ УСПЕНСЬКІЙ ЛАВРІ (КІНЕЦЬ ХVІІІ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ СТ.)

*В статті розглядаються комунікативні особливості насельників Києво-Печерської Успенської лаври в соціальних взаємодіях, пов'язаних з шанованими чудотворними іконами та моцями святих. У кінці ХVІІІ ст. Лавра була дуже важливим православним центром. Вона є яскравим прикладом соціальної системи святого місця, яку відвідували не лише богомольці, а й туристи з різних країн. Близьні та Дальні печери слід було відвідувати з провідником. Монахи, що вказують шлях у підземеллі, стали персонажами гравюр і творів художньої літератури. Втім, хоча дослідження супроводу по печерах може розширити знання про духовність і комунікативну активність монахів нового часу, проблему майже не досліджено. Мета статті – на мікроісторичному рівні визначити ключові особливості організації супроводу відвідувачів по печерах. З використанням внутрішньомонастирських документів (протоколів та інструкцій Духовного собору, резолюцій настоятеля Лаври – митрополита Київського, особистих справ, формулярних і послужних списків братії, службових рапортів), а також подорожніх записок та мемуарів дорослих відвідувачів обителі (з різних країн та різних віросповідань) і Н. В. Лінки (екскурсовода «Всеукраїнського музейного городка») було встановлено, що головним очікуванням адміністрації Лаври (соборних старців та настоятеля) від провідників була їхня здатність без затримок вивести всю групу з печер (пристойна поведінка при цьому теж багато важила), бажано, не допускаючи, щоб хтось порушував порядок. Утім, підхід до тих, хто не міг цього забезпечити, залежав від їх стану здоров'я. Блюстителі як Близьких, так і Дальніх печер намагалися хоча б трохи полегшити умови, в яких провідники виконували послух, та він залишався виснажливим. У такому разі призначення фізично немічних провідників видається радше вимушеним. На формальний рівень освіти увагу звертали менше, ніж на комунікативні навички. Припустимий для Лаври рівень нетверезості та неохайності хранителів святих потребує подальшого дослідження.*

**Ключові слова:** Близьні печери, Дальні печери, Києво-Печерська Успенська лавра, провідник, відвідувач, кінець ХVІІІ – початок ХХ ст.

**The statement of the problem.** Kyiv Caves lavra, particularly in the late 18th – early 20th cent., attracted numerous pilgrims and tourists, so it serves as a vivid example of the social system where the keepers of relics cooperated with visitors (Shchepanskaya, 1995: 117–119). The keepers of its worshipped icons and relics had an opportunity to accumulate very rich communicative experience.

Pilgrims came to Near and Far Caves to worship 123 sacred relics, 61 myrrh-emanating skulls, and the icon of the Blessed Virgin (see, for example: Kratkoe, 1795: 80–82; L(ebed-intsev), 1894: 36–37, 64; M(aksimovich), 1849: 14–16). It was necessary to visit Near and Far caves with a guide from Lavra, especially in «fixed time» (see more in detail: Kizlova, 2016: C?). The monks, pointing the way in underground corridors, are the characters of some pictures (Kartiny, 1839: 278; Sviatyie, 1859: 79; Funds of NKPHCP. Collection of Graphics. 2284: 1) and belles-lettres works (Dmitrieva, 1902: 35; Nechui-Levytskyi, 1966: 389; Podyachev, 1927: 291–292). Therefore, the study of the essence of this sort of service (in fact, obedience) can help to amplify the lore about the spirituality and religiousness, as well as about the communicative activity of monks in modern period.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Historians have not paid attention to ordinary cave guides. There is a brief mention of the subject in M. Petrenko's work, which informs that guide monks had asked certain payment from cave visitors for their guided tour through the caves. Finally, the Spiritual Council forbade it, because its members were afraid the pilgrims could alienate support of the holy place. Overall, M. Petrenko used this situation as an example of an ignominious behaviour of the cult attendants towards the believers (Petrenko, 1959: 2). A. Kizlova analysed the variants of the interactions of the guides with their groups directly in the caves and their response to the attempts to touch holy relics (Kizlova, 2018: 164–169; Kizlova, 2016: 16–19). Hence, the conditions in which the Kyiv Cave Monastery guides communicated with their management and the cave visitors are scantily explored.

**The publication's purpose.** The article's purpose is to solve the following unresolved part of the problem: of the organizational prerequisites of walking in Near and Far caves of Kyiv Caves lavra with a guide.

**The statement of the basic material.** Dealing with the money earned for the guiding service to cave visitors (to leave it to the guides, to share it among the fellow-monks, etc.) was considered in Lavra within the period from 1808 to 1810. In general context of this theme a mention about the inadmissibility of accepting money for guiding visitors through the caves is very important because the money reception could scare the pilgrims away from the Caves as well as bring the monastery to «great shame» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1236. S. 16). A special file of proceedings about the guides and holy water sprinklers pocketing money given them by pilgrims was opened in 1829. Probably, mentioned money were voluntary donations, because the case passed off without specifications against any extortions (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1719. S. 1–4 reverse). In the oath text for the cave monks the following statement is specified: «The money given me by anybody for my work I shall certainly give for the common good into the donation box» (In Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1719. S. 5). Probably, M. Petrenko considered the first of these discussions, without dating it and with no mention of Lavra administration's appeal to public shame (Petrenko, 1959: 21), because the monastery have determined the fate of its own money in 1829.

In July of 1823, chief caretaker of the Near caves (Spiritual Council member, hieromonk Philaret) asked the Spiritual Council to appoint someone capable for guiding of the believers

through the caves (there were no worthy applicant among the members of the Near caves department concerning at that time). Father Philaret, by the way, referred to the necessity of urgent solution of the problem, lest the crowds of pilgrims might «become extremely indignant» (In Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1. C. 780. S. 2).

The honour of both monastery and donators appears in the instruction of the Spiritual Council for the chiefs of the monastery's departments alongside with the satisfaction of interests of visitors. This instruction issued in 1842 was repeatedly copied and activated during 1880 – 1905 (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1. C. 482. S. 14). Therefore, in the cases of cave visiting the attention was paid not only to the facilitation for visitors, but also to maintaining of proper reputation of Lavra in general and of its separate representatives in particular. Thus, the desire to meet the need of cave visitors to be supplied with a guiding service of proper quality fits this context well.

The cave guides were to stick to the order of 1800, which stated that in the caves «all the clergy, monks, and novices should not behave roughly with the visiting pilgrims» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1. C. 1085. S. 1–3). The regulation by the Vice Superior was published in early 20th cent. All brethren of Lavra had always treat pilgrims of any public status with politeness, calmness, and obligingness according to this instruction (Funds of NKPHCP. Collection Archive, 1251. S. 1). It is possible, that it was only a written fixation of the previous unwritten tradition.

Against the background of a general control over the brethren's behaviour monk Gedeon made an exception and was relieved of guiding duties according to Metropolitan's resolution (October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1802) «for his rough and obstinate behaviour towards cave visitors» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 234. S. 57). On June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1847, the Spiritual Council decided to transfer robe-bearer monk Hesychius (secular name – Ivan Lomasiev), whose participation in cave guarding cannot be excluded, from Near caves to the economic department «for his rough and immodest behaviour with pilgrims» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 370. S. 147). Therefore, it is possible to notice that the threshold of tolerance to the misconduct of cave guides really existed. However, the background of the requirements of kind behaviour, as well as the limits of ideal and maximum permissible in such requirements, still demand an independent study.

The strangers estimated the attitude either to the pilgrims, tourists, and holy shrines (here the author refers to the evidence of the adults who visited the caves). E. Henderson (who had visited the caves during his travel in 1821 – 1822) underlined how the guide had politely shown his propensity to satisfy the inquisitiveness of the cave visitors (Henderson, 1826: 181). P. Belyaev (in 1908) specified, how «politely» the guide monk lit up the pilgrims' tapers, asked pilgrims to go slowly and carefully, and calmed those who worried whether they got lost or not, as well as patiently waited until the lady, who had lost consciousness due to feeling bad, returned to her senses (Belyaev, 1909: 43).

K. Novikova described how the old monk calmed her near an exit from the caves, whereto she had come to meet her sister. He invited her to come into the cave (through the exit) and to breathe in the cave's pleasant smell, to see the light of the icon lamps. Then he addressed a younger monk with such words: «Bartholomew, take a candle in your hand and go ahead, so that we can follow you» (Novikova, 1911: 475). However, less favourable responses held out as well. In the middle of the 19th cent. M. Mamaev described the situation, when the attendant monk had been fund asleep and, after being woken up, believed in the importance of M. Mamaev's adjutant uniform and obligingly distributed candles to M. Mamaev and his

companions. Then he led his group into the caves (Mamaev, 1901: 788–789). In the underground passages, he loudly opened the coffins lids and indifferently pronounced the Saints' names as «a merchant showing his goods to the buyer and naming the kind of fabric it was made of» (in Russian, Mamaev, 1901: 789). In addition, the monk showed the visitors many lateral passages with the nailed down wooden planks. He said that all the structures had fallen down behind these barriers, and such comments hardly made the visitors calm. In 1880 priest V. Gurev wrote about his visit to Near caves that he cannot convey the tone of sellers of candles in their treatment for the buyers, and of «the guides for the gathered pilgrims» (in Russian, Gurev, 1880: 752). He also added that the guides «really shows, but the question is how he does it» (in Russian, Gurev, 1880: 752). Therefore, even taking into account that the mentioned travellers might be more sensitive to the emotional microclimate around the sacred objects than the majority of other pilgrims, it is possible to notice that the guides' behaviour did not always entirely correspond to the expectations of the outliers and, possibly, administration.

O. Kysilevska described her visiting of the caves in 1910. She mentioned that she heard a loud dispute between the monk and a woman with her little son who got frightened at the entrance into the underground: «If you have already entered, you are to go further. – Do you want to withhold us forcefully? It's inappropriate!» (in Ukrainian, Kysilevska, 1955: 54). In addition, the traveller mentioned a reference to the gossip about «various unfair cases with young feminine pilgrims in the caves» (in Ukrainian, Kysilevska, 1955: 53) in her recollections. O. Kysilevska did not specify who (the monastery dwellers or visitors) exactly hurt the girls. In 1911, K. Novikova described her experience of her visiting of the caves. She also met a guide at the entrance. When she stopped in a fright, he began softly convince her to overcome a sinful fear. However, he only made the woman cry (he ordered her to repent this weeping), because «his eyes were burning with a feverish glint, his voice lost softness and turned sharp» (in Russian, Novikova, 1911, 474). It is not feasible to exclude that both women-travellers wrote about the same monk. If they described different guides, it is possible to conclude, that a general tendency of such a persistence to make all who approached by the caves entrance to descend underground existed in early 20th cent. Anyway, the administration could not know nothing about that line of behaviour of one or several guides. For that matter, nobody eradicated it, so it was particularly acceptable for Lavra.

O. Levshin specified that numerous visitors drew their names on the sooty walls of [Near] caves. O. Levshin also left his name «on the wall, having twice scratched it with his knife (in Russian, Pisma, 1816: 110). This mention points out that guides had not enough time to supervise every cave visitor.

Monk Theodoret was appointed as a guide to Far caves on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1870. On January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1873 archimandrite Nicholas, manager of the Lavra apiary, issued the complaint about that monk. In the complaint, archimandrite Nicholas asserted that Theodoret was sent to the apiary of Holosievo «to work because of his uneasy character» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 29). It is possible to assume that the Theodoret's uneasy character had affected his dialogues with pilgrims, because of the remoteness of his new place of obedience.

In 1834 guide monk Vukol (Near caves) received the characteristic of «being good in obedience and of proper behaviour» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 123. S. 38, 46 reverse – 47). Guide monk of Far caves Gregorius (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 120. S. 39 reverse) was characterised in 1835 as one who «worked assiduously

enough, lived morally and piously» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 333), and in 1836 – 1837 as «faithful, honest, and heartfelt in his attitude to shrines» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 565 reverse – 566). In 1842 the chief caretaker of Near caves recommended the guide monk Irenaeus for a post of a sacristan. Irenaeus was known as «faithful, with good behaviour, and heartfulness towards obedience» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 352. S. 99 reverse). Monk Manasseh became a sacristan of Far caves in 1848, right after he had fulfilled the obedience of a guide there (since 1842) (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 158. № 44). It can also testify to a good reputation, which he had received. There is a reference to the behaviour of St. Alexius Pecherskyi (i. e., Alexius of the Caves, 1840 – 1917) as a cave guide in his hagiography. He was always hospitable and mild, and substantially told about the saints. The characteristic of St. Alexius is valuable because it contains a mention of metropolitan Plato who entrusted Father Alexius with guiding of honourable visitors in the caves (Zhitie, 1993: 80). After all, such messages, even in hagiographic text, as well as the «career» growth of monks Irenaeus and Manasseh are evident enough to testify to the highly appreciated model behaviour of the guides.

In May (the month when the number of pilgrims increased (CSHAK Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1894. S. 142)) of 1804 the official report of chief caretaker of Near caves about frequent drunkenness of guide monk Metrophanes was considered. This report had an appendix with a request to replace the drunkard with someone honest and decent (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 238. S. 36 reverse). Metropolitan Serapion ordered to send Metrophanes to some outlying monastery or hermitage until he would mend his ways (through the agency of Kyiv spiritual dicastery) (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 238. S. 46–46 rev.). Hiero-deacon Theoktistos (appointed to divine services and guiding of pilgrims in 1833) was characterized as very inclined to alcohol consumption and voluntary roaming beyond the territory of Lavra in 1839. That is why the Spiritual Council issued a resolution «he can not perform regular Divine services» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 543 reverse – 544). However, no separate discussion whether Theoktistos could remain a cave guide was conducted. Monk Proclus guided pilgrims through the caves until June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1837. During the performance of his obedience he received an estimation as «capable, but apt to drunkenness» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 69 reverse – 61; C. 128. S. 32 reverse – 33, 81 reverse, 82). However he was punished by a penance with the removal of his cassock and kamelaukion for drunkenness only in 1841 (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 136. S. 81 reverse – 82). Therefore, the researcher happened to find out only one case of the monastery dweller's dismissal from guiding of pilgrims through the caves because of alcohol abuse in the available sources.

The detailed records about guide monk in Lavra documents are not traced since the middle of 19th cent. As to the mentions in visitors' notes, M. Mamaev's and his casual companions' guide, in general was a polite one. On the other hand he appeared to be tipsy and had a smell of alcohol (Mamaev, 1901: 789). T. Clark has noticed in 1889, that his guide was unsteady on his feet all along of drinking too much vodka (Clark, 1889: 364). Hence, it was not possible to achieve the complete refusal of the cave guides from alcohol.

In 1821 chief caretaker of Near caves explained that the monk John could be a guide no longer «because of extreme weakness» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 773. S. 1). Hiero-deacon Laurentius, who thitherto had guided pilgrims over six years, was characterised in 1838 as «hardly able for church service because of insufficient literacy» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 130. S. 27). Such mentions generate



a question about physical and intellectual abilities of guides in visions of the administration and in reality.

First, it is necessary to outline the conditions of their labour. In 1839, hiero-monk Dositheus, chief caretaker of Far caves, explained to the Spiritual Council that from May to September multiple pilgrims would visit the caves from 4 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m. It would be too hard for priests, readers, singers, and guides performing Divine services for visitors to work 9–10 hours a day in the charcoal fumes from numerous candles. Therefore, additional persons would be necessary in order to carry out the mentioned duties in shifts. In addition, Dositheus specified that up to 500 visitors pass through the caves every day, so for their proper support and supervision, one monk should go ahead and a few others were necessary to spread around the underground passages so nobody would steal money or relics (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1894. S. 141 reverse – 142). F. Račky described the stuffiness in the caves caused by their narrowness, crowds of visitors, and the smoke of candles and icon-lamps in 1886 (Račky, 1886: 238). Obviously, Father Dositheus did not exaggerate the facts.

In 1842, at the approach of summer when many visitors were to come, the chief caretaker of Far caves asked the Spiritual Council to allow two monks «to take up the post of guides» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 352. S. 102 reverse). As a result, the rural dean appointed only one monk to the obedience (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 352. S. 102 reverse). Different sources inform on different number of pilgrims within usual groups, the average figure being from 10 to 30 people (Belyaev, 1909: 42–43; Kusmartsev, 1904. S. 8; Kijów, 1901: 273; Todd, 1916: 19). There are also various mentions that a monk had to watch that nobody would remain behind, get lost, or put a hand into a coffin (Nikodimov; Skitalets, 1908: 108–109; Shchepanskaya, 1995: 42); that monks and novices who guided pilgrims in the caves should be several (CSHAK of Ukraine followed each group. F. 128. D. 1. C. 1348. S. 6). There were no indications of how those brothers distributed their duties. Therefore, the workload of guides, mainly in spring and summer, looks considerable.

In 1839, the chief caretaker of Far caves asked the Spiritual Council for two persons to guide the pilgrims and «to watch over at night time» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 344. S. 148–148 reverse). In general, according to the materials of early 1870, guiding of pilgrims could combine with recording of donations, psalm-reading, fulfilling of the chief caretaker's orders, assisting the sacristan and even replacement of his post (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 773. S. 1; D. 1 KDS. C. 234. S. 57; C. 252. S. 23; C. 256. S. 15; C. 329. S. 33 reverse; D. 1. C. 82. S. 21 reverse, 33 reverse – 34; C. 112. S. 30 reverse – 31, 121 reverse – 122; C. 240. S. 70 reverse; D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 27). Since early 19th cent. until the mid-1830's cave hiero-deacons and hieromonks, who took part in conducting of the Divine services in turn, guided pilgrims in the caves as well (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 773. S. 1; D. 1 chern. C. 112. S. 35 reverse – 36; C. 127. S. 225 reverse – 226, 242 reverse – 243, 274 reverse – 275, 374 reverse – 375), although there is no such specification for two guide hiero-deacons (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 368 reverse – 369, 584 reverse – 585). Therefore, the mentioned combination of duties was not obligatory even for the monks after ordination. It is impossible to find out clear, if it was desirable or reluctant for the administration, according to the available sources.

K. Kazanskiy (1900) displayed just moderate empathy for Lavra inhabitants: «The monks performing regular services in the caves get tired physically and intellectually, constantly telling the same. I mean, they are also people and their feelings, like our own, can become blunt»

(in Russian, Na yuge, 1900: 53). Against such a background the guiding obedience sometimes was allocated to somebody for a long time. 60-year-old monk Celsus read psalms in the caves and guided visitors in Far caves for 26 years in 1805 (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 69 reverse – 70). Monk, hiero-deacon, and later hieromonk Irenarch was a guide for 20 years since 1802 and, at the same time, took part in Divine services (after his ordination) (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 112. S. 35 reverse – 36). Probably, these two monks were the most suitable for the corresponding obedience or/and found support from the administration.

Monk Gregorius started to guide pilgrims when he was 67 and did that until he became 87 (in 1835/6), in spite of being «weak and sick» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 333) and «not enough able due to his old age» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 565 reverse – 566). In the summer of 1828 (or 1829?) hieromonk Anatolius has failed to pacify 10 drunk officers in underground passage owing to his old age, infirmity, and extreme feebleness. The administration recognised such explanation as satisfactory (Kizlova, 2018: 166–167). At the same time, in 1847 the Spiritual Council decided to appoint monk Theofilus a guide of Far caves with respect to his request not to make him a caretaker of Lavra refectory and allow him to remain a seller of candles «because of the weakening of his health» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 607. S. 2–2 reverse). Therefore, Father Anatolius described his conditions quite objectively and, besides, he was not the only old and feeble guide.

K. Sheridan also paid attention to the old age of her guide monk (Sheridan, 1925: 95). In November of 1929, N. Linka was appointed a museum guide for the excursionists in Near caves «in the company of 6 old monks» (in Russian, Vospominaniya). However, both authors did not specify the health status of those monks.

Travellers also mentioned young guides (monks and novices) (Gurev, 1880: 752; In the Catacombs, 1886: 445). However, we do not know what age they considered young. The first four monks, chosen at random, were 31, 29, 48, and 54 years old when they became guides (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 21 reverse; 51, 38 reverse; 56, 81 reverse; CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 2 reverse, 18, 27). Therefore, there was no appreciable regularity for the cave caretakers in the selection of guides.

In 1810, the chief caretaker of Far caves informed that monk Timotheus was ill and could not guide pilgrims (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 256. S. 15), although he did not specify whether temporarily or forever. In 1833, the guard novices have been guiding visitors of Near caves instead of the ill monk Sozont over a month (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 909. 11–11 reverse, 17–17 reverse). Thus, it was impossible to find the substitutes for ill guides immediately.

In 1833 monk Vukol, discharged of book selling due to his poor eyesight, substituted for mentioned monk Sozont (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 909. S. 11–11 reverse, 17-17 reverse). When monk Vukol had applied for the fulfilment of constant obedience in Lavra (under the name Vasyliy Solovyanov), he had presented his dismissal from the military community. That document explained that he had been unable to be engaged in agriculture due to «the weakness of his health and a chronic disease» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 319. S. 1 a reverse). Fedor Yelin, later known as monk Theodoret, was admitted to the Monastery in 1849 after he had given a vow to the Blessed Virgin during his long illness. According to his passport, he was completely deaf in his right ear (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 2 reverse, 18, 27). Thus, neither sight nor hearing disabilities, per se, were not considered as a barrier to the guiding obedience.



As to the «poles» of the guides' educational status (the majority of them were able to read and write), at least one guide (monk Habakkuk in 1836) was illiterate (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 443 reverse – 444), in contrast, hieromonk Melito (according to the official list of 1805) studied Latin and rhetoric «in the academy» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 21 reverse). Fedor Yelin (later – monk Theodoret) «could read and write well» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 18) according to his characteristic of 1852. However, the extraneous comments about a level of knowledge and prudence of the cave monks drew more researcher's attention.

In 1810, I. Dolgorukiy commended the monks' abilities to search out the way in dark caves and help the visitors to exit (Dolgorukiy, 1870: 270). In 1875, the archpriest I. Yershov wondered that some visitors did not believe in holy relics. The guide answered «Oh, Father, somebody does not believe in God, although they call themselves Christians; probably, their time has not arrived yet» (Yershov 1875: 756).

K. Kazanskiy have been to Lavra in 1900. He regretfully ascertained that there were some poor educated and not skilled in spiritual life monks (although the guide of his group was knowledgeable) (Na yuge, 1900: 53). In 1891, the sceptical companion told I. Morris that once a guide monk had heard about the Roman catacombs from one lady. He had told her very scornfully that in Rome only embalmed bodies are available, whereas in Lavra the imperishable earthly remains of the saints were kept, because these saints were awarded with immortality for their piety (Morris, 1891: 52–53). V. Geiman (1914) considered typical the monk who, telling about saints, «tried to adjust to my way of thinking as he himself pictured it» (in Russian, Geiman, 1914: 98–99). In 1926, a guide of the group of C. Sheridan told with sincere conviction that the saints got repeatedly undressed before pilgrims and communists; the soul of some of them appeared before the monk and begged to leave his body in peace, because somebody tried to touch it (Sheridan, 1925: 95). This mention corresponds to V. Nekrasov's reminiscence of the episode of a discussion between the atheistic visitors and «garrulous monks» (in Russian, Nekrasov, 2003: 78). It should be noted, that there were indications to many guides, capable not to become confused even in non-standard situations, even in the works of enough educated and exacting visitors.

In 1915, R. Pierce described a guide in a dirty habit, with dandruff on his shoulders and a bad smell of his body (Pierce, 1918: 19). This is a sole mention of a guides «neatness» which the researcher has managed to find.

**The conclusions.** The administrative monks of Lavra awaited cave guides to be able to lead a group out of the caves without any delay. Respectable guides' behaviour was also very important for them. A slant on the guides, unable to prevent violation of discipline in the catacombs depended on the health conditions of these brothers. The chief caretakers of the caves tried to alleviate the conditions, under which the cave guides carried out their duty, even by a negligible margin. However, the obedience of guides has remained exhausting. The appointment of feeble and (or) old guides in such a case seems to be a forced step. The level of guides – formal education was less important than their communicative abilities for the administrative monks. The author sees a prospect in more detailed study of a tolerable for Lavra level of alcohol consumption and disregard for personal hygiene of the sacred objects attendants. The Monastery's admissibility level of drunkenness and untidiness of the guides demands a further research.

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## FROM LITERATURE TO HISTORY, FROM HISTORY TO LITERATURE (MYKOLO KOSTOMAROV AND DOKIYA GUMENNA)

*In the article appearance of Ukrainian intellectual person XIX – XX cn. lights up on the example of life and creation of Mykola Kostomarov (1817 – 1885) and Dokiya Gumenna (1904 – 1996). Because of actualization of sociogumanitarian personological studios, figure of M. Kostomarov and D. Gumenna, is a sign for Ukrainian intellectual motion of two different epoches. A XIX cn. is examined as «golden age of history», crowned the pantheon of sign figures between which M. Kostomarov exudes with the unsurpassed scientific work. The merit of historian consists in the selection of ukrainians from multinational imperial social mass in historical, linguistic, literary, cultural, mental, intellectual senses. Important is a project of «new Ukraine», created by M. Kostomarov and kirilo-mefodiivsky companios. On a background the scientific and social and political activity M. Kostomarov was included in a list politically unreliable persons. Alike events took place from D. Gumenna in next age. In time of totalitarianism, when pressure on Ukrainian science and literature was carried out in accordance with a soviet national policy, an authoress on the way of the literary becoming grew into a derelict and forced was to emigrate from the USSR. Far outside a motherland it continued to create Ukrainian literature, glorifying the people. On the basis of analysis of creative biographies found out figures row of general subjects in relation to appearance and becoming of scientific and literary priorities. Considerable attention is spared dualizms «artist-family», «artist-power», «artist-surroundings», and others like that. Found out aspects, which certify the inheritance of traditions of Ukrainian intellectual motion which was formed during a XIX cn., and in the following became stronger, without regard to numerous barriers.*

**Key words:** *M. Kostomarov, D. Gumenna, spirituality, the Ukrainian past, Slavic mythology, historical and literary process, intellectual person.*

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## ВІД ЛІТЕРАТУРИ ДО ІСТОРІЇ, ВІД ІСТОРІЇ ДО ЛІТЕРАТУРИ (МИКОЛА КОСТОМАРОВ І ДОКІЯ ГУМЕННА)

*У статті висвітлюється образ українського інтелектуала XIX – XX ст. на прикладі життя і творчості Миколи Костомарова (1817 – 1885) та Докії Гуменної (1904 – 1996). Зважаючи на актуалізацію соціогуманітарних персонологічних студій, постаті М. Костомарова та Д. Гуменної є знаковими для українського інтелектуального руху двох різних епох. XIX ст. розглядається як «золоте століття історії», увінчане пантеоном знакових діячів, серед яких виділяється М. Костомаров зі своїм неперевершеним науковим доробком. Заслуга історика полягає у виокремленні українства з багатонаціональної імперської соціальної маси в історичному, мовному, літературному, культурному, ментальному, інтелектуальному сенсах. Важливим є*



проект «нової України», створений М. Костомаровим та кирило-мефодіївцями. На тлі своєї наукової та суспільно-політичної діяльності М. Костомаров був зарахований до списку політично неблагонадійних осіб. Схожі події відбувалися і з Д. Гуменною у наступному столітті. У добу тоталітаризму, коли тиск на українську науку та літературу здійснювався відповідно до радянської національної політики, письменниця на шляху свого літературного становлення перетворилася на ізгоя і змушена була емігрувати з СРСР. Далеко за межами батьківщини вона продовжувала творити українську літературу, прославляючи свій народ. На основі аналізу творчих біографій діячів виявлено ряд спільних сюжетів щодо появи і становлення наукових та літературних пріоритетів. Значна увага приділяється дуалізмам «митець-сім'я», «митець-влада», «митець-оточення» тощо. Виявлено аспекти, що засвідчують успадкування традицій українського інтелектуального руху, який сформувався протягом XIX ст., а у наступному зміцнювався, незважаючи на численні перепони.

**Ключові слова:** М. Костомаров, Д. Гуменна, українська минушина, духовність, слов'янська міфологія, історико-літературний процес, інтелектуал.

**The statement of the problem.** Its struggle for independence Ukraine had to pass a hard way of counteractions of the enemies, which even today try to cancel its achievements in order to prove the impossibility of the Ukrainian people to protect its originality and the right to freedom. In this struggle the Ukrainians should present their spiritual heritage at an appropriate level, here and there to revive their riches from colonial ashes which lies on them as a centuries-old burden. The best mode to do it is to recall the figure of the Ukrainian intellectual, because in his light it is possible to show to the world a human face of the Ukrainian spirituality and culture. The phenomenon of an Ukrainian intellectual remains a deep and little-studied subject which demands reconsideration in connection with the challenges of the contemporaneity.

In this article various parallels of different generations of Ukrainian intellectuals are drawn to highlight the tight interconnections and heredity of Ukraine's intellectual culture. For an example of these two interesting figures are selected, namely, Mykola Kostomarov (1817 – 1885) and Dokiya Humenna (1904 – 1996). The reader might think that such a choice is rather strange as a whole epoch lies between the specified hero and heroine, but though they were born and worked in different conditions, their choice, as will be proved, is not casual.

**The analysis of recent researches.** Mykola Kostomarov and Dokiya Humenna are very requested figures in Ukrainian social-humanitarian sciences. However, the comparative analysis of their images is carried out for the first time. It is necessary to specify that the recent decade is marked by a revival of Kostomarov studies. A huge amount of the scientific and popular-scientific literature, including source studies and reference books, has been published. To state a detailed estimation to this historiographic literature within the frame of this article is not possible. This issue is better treated in the monograph, published in 2017 and devoted to the 200 anniversary from M. Kostomarov's birthday (Honchar, 2017).

Concerning D. Humenna, the domestic and diaspora researchers (mostly literary critic) activated the illumination of her phenomenon, paying attention to various aspects of her creativity and her personality. The researches on her do not, actually, outnumber the researches on Kostomarov, however, their potential is constantly increasing. A special importance in this context belongs to the works by V. Pepa (Pepa, 2004: 5–18), P. Soroka (Soroka, 2003), O. Kolomyiets (Kolomyiets, 2007), O. Filipenko (Filipenko, 2016), M. Lavrusenko (Lavrusenko, 2017), T. Sadivsko i (Sadivska, 2004; Sadivska, 2005), and D. Sachko (Sachko, 2016). The authors pick up not only the biographical and study of literature prob-

lems, but also interdisciplinary, concentrating on the features of scientific-historical outlook of D. Humenna with which she selected and built up her creative plots.

**The article's purpose** consists in a necessity of elucidating, at least in general, the phenomenon of the Ukrainian intellectual at the background of the scientific-literary process of the XIX – XX century. The analysis is carried out by construction of doublets «artist – family», «artist – power», «artist – environment», etc. The main problem is seen in revealing of a continuity of traditions of the intellectual culture.

**The statement of the basic material.** The XIX century in the history of Ukraine is characterised by the increase of the society's interest to the sources of its national spirituality that was activated on a wave of the European democratic transformations. Studying of folklore, traditions, stories, material and spiritual culture of the people gets on the academic lines and directly impacts the process of nationality formation. A whole galaxy of figures who become founders of the Ukrainian artistic and scientific thought is formed. The place of honour among them is taken by Mykola Kostomarov, writer, historian, publicist, translator, and political figure. The combining of many social-humanitarian directions in the creativity and life of a person is, too, a peculiarity of the phenomenon of an XIX century intellectual.

As has already been mentioned, last year Ukraine celebrated the 200 anniversary from the birthday of M. Kostomarov, a great Ukrainian who can by right be called an intellectual forerunner of independent Ukraine. The creative horizon of this person amazed his contemporaries and, nowadays, is reinterpreted and returned to the young generations. It is difficult to affirm that his anniversary was widely celebrated at the state level (still, a jubilee coin has been minted in its let out), however in the scientific environment it has taken place more considerably. In different cities of Ukraine (Kiev, Kharkov, Rivne, and Pryluky) a number of scientific, museum, literary, and artistic actions in honour M. Kostomarov took place. Two individual monographs (Honchar, 2017; Yas', 2018), collections of scientific articles, and a number of reports in mass media we published in the dedication of the event, many exhibitions in libraries and museums were organised, lectures were read, etc. However, the figure of the scientist still remains in a shade, although he is worthy of considerably greater honour. The same can be said in concern of Dokiya Humenna who in the stormy periods of the XX century also dreamt and created for the sake of free Ukraine.

In the XX century the social movement becomes more radical, the place of intellectuals in it becomes even more appreciable, after all, they try to look ahead through a prism of reconsideration of a role of the Ukrainian culture, history, and spirituality in the creation of the future. Scientific achievements of a new epoch make a direct impact on the appearance of new artistic images, motives, and plots. Dokiya Humenna's creativity is a synthesis of her interests activated in the XIX century and the new trends of the XX century. It is fairly noted by the domestic researcher O. Filipenko (Filipenko, 2016: 159–160). In particular, she underlines so: «Dokiya Humenna in her creative outlook could have synthesized her interest to the national idea and the general culture of Ukrainians represented by the intellectual elite of the XIX century with the influence of just discovered phenomena of ancient culture» (Filipenko, 2016: 160).

In M. Kostomarov's and D. Humenna's destinies much in common is observed. From their early childhood their parents imparted them the love to the book and perpetual thirst to knowledge. And though Kostomarov's father was a landowner, and Humenna's father was a revolutionary who came from prosperous peasants, the love to Ukraine and all the Ukrainian they developed under the influence of the national spirituality and culture, which they absorbed

with their mothers' milk. In this regard, M. Kostomarov wrote so: «Having read «Emil» by Jean-Jacque Rousseau, my father... tried to accustom me from childhood to the life close to the nature... Constantly forcing me to read, he from my early years began to install Voltaire's disbelief in me» (translated by the author of this article, O. H.) (Kostomarov, 1990: 428). His father nearly achieved his goal and little Mykola not only fell in love with the book, but also inherited a drive to knowledge and became inspired with the question of freedom and equality, but never accepted atheism and carried a deep Christian belief through all his life.

Dokiya Humenna recalls of her reading psychosis in her childhood so: «At school there was a shabby library, from which I took everything that I could. I tried to read my father's books as much as my development of that time allowed. I greedy read books because in them I saw a world which was distinct from my environment» (Humenna, 2004: 59). Also, her father liked playing a pipe and singing national songs from which Dokiya learnt about Khmelnytskyi and his Dryzhypil battle, in which the future writer became so much interested that much later, in order to better understand the events, she picked up «History of Ukraine-Rus'» by M. Hrushevskyi to read (Humenna, 2004: 66).

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi came into Kostomarov's consciousness the first time from an oral piece of folklore which he studied on the basis of his scientific career for. Later this image held him captive for a long time until 1843 a thought occurred to the scientist of writing a book devoted about the great Ukrainian. Eventually, writing the historical monograph «Bohdan Khmelnytskyi» became the key research and business of Kostomarov's whole life. It was re-edited several times (in 1857, 1859, 1870, and 1884) and all time was an object of criticism and discussions. Contemporary experts on the Cossacks constantly continue to address to this work (Honchar, 2017: 205–226).

Their common informative interests can be found in their perception of Slavic mythology. Dokiya Humenna learnt this world from her childhood through the people's culture when she took part in holidays and ceremonies, absorbing their mysterious-mystical atmosphere. Later she will specially study the ancient history of the Ukrainian people and will display it in her literary-historical works (Humenna, 2004: 80–83). As to Mykola Kostomarov, he, too, from early years was fascinated by the national creativity, and since his student's years this interest was realised during ethnographic searches in Slobidska Ukraine Gubernia and, later, in Volhynia and Kiev land. Eventually, without this material he could not have written any of his historical works. The Slav mythology captured him so seriously that the contemporary researches perpetually address to his thorough research of the same title which was published in the 1840s. (Kostomarov, 1995).

For Dokiya Humenna the riddles of Ukrainian ancient history became a source for her literary creativity. She considered that in olden times which can be learnt from archeologic achievements, thousands of literary plots could be found. They can inform to the reader depth of the spiritual and material worlds of the Ukrainians. The writer belonged to those artists whom understood how thoughtlessly we use our history. In a letter to writer Vadym Pepa she stated her satisfactions, that he also belonged to the admirers of the past: «I consider that having a wider horizon in a panorama through a prism of the past, the modern events and phenomena will become clearer and more significant» (Pepa, 2004: 16).

D. Humenna wrote her works not under the influence of an abstract literary impulse, but with an entirely practical purpose. So, in the epilogue to her novel «Velyke tsabe» («A VIP») the author wrote that folklore and archaeological materials were the sources for it and gave her a chance to deliver to a wide circle of readers the information – in an accessible form –



known only to scientists. The main thing is that that Ukrainians should know what is the Trypillia culture and in what relation it is to them. D. Humenna considered it her duty to clear up the five-thousand-year old history of the Ukrainian culture, mentality, and freedom-loving outlook. Besides, she was convinced in indissolubility of the link between antiquity and the present (Lavrusenko, 2017: 12–13). The totalitarian regime always held such artists under a sight and destroyed them at a favorable possibility. To save her life, and to continue the struggle on a literary front, D. Humenna had to emigrate. Two years before her death, pleased with the Ukrainian independence, the writer expressed her opinion on our historical roots more in detail: «300 years of the domination of the Moscow invader, 70 years of the domination of the Bolshevik-invader, and now the time to restore our natural developments comes... The subjects... of prehistoric Ukraine, its reproduction beginning from paleolith, is very necessary» (Pepa, 2004: 18).

Much in common can be found in M. Kostomarov's and D. Humenna's way of life which led them to Kiev. Mykola Kostomarov arrived here to work, at first, in the Kiev grammar school and Institute of noble girls, and – in due course – at St. Volodymyr Imperial university at the historic-philological faculty. He appeared in the intellectual environment where there was a place for the pan-Slavic to discussions, disputes on the read books in philosophy, history, literature, reading of manuscripts and unpublished works, exchange of the information extracted from historical sources.

Dokiya Humenna received higher education at Kiev institute of people's education, studying history and literature. Here she liked the literary process of the 1920s and actively participated in youth association «Pluh» («Pough»), visited the Berezhil Theater, creative parties, lectures, actively studied foreign language, took part in literary debates. As well as Kostomarov, Humenna well knew the work of the Archeographic commission: however, she only visited the sessions, whereas Kostomarov was its active participant. Obviously, despite the change of the epoch, Kiev continued to be a cultural and scientific centre (Sachko, 2016: 62).

One more prominent aspect of the creativity of M. Kostomarov and D. Humenna which unites them is a deepening into the psychology of their characters. Kostomarov saw the writer's task in the communication analysis between an internal factors and their external displays. D. Humenna is considered a spiritual descendant of Kostomarov. For her refusal to recognise socialist realism worthy of following because of the lack of the truth of life in it D. Humenna suffered (Andrusiv, 2004: 193).

**The conclusions:**

- the national revival of Ukraine is a process which lasted throughout two centuries and was inseparably linked with the activity of several generations of intellectual elite;
- the preservation of national originality of the Ukrainian people and revival of its wish to freedom and equality was the main task of literature, science, and culture figures;
- in different periods the Ukrainian intellectual elite got to critical conditions which stipulated its disintegration and physical destruction;
- Mykola Kostomarov and Dokiya Humenna were artists in whose creativity there was an indissoluble connection of history and literature;
- M. Kostomarov's and D. Humenna's heritage remain actual nowadays and belong to the spiritual treasury of all Ukrainians.

To sum up, here is a quotation from Vadym Pepa's characteristic of Dokiya Humenna: «Time even in this concrete case has appeared cruel and extremely unfair. But the eternity replaces everything, judges fairly, and so, the descendants honour worthy men (Pepa, 2004: 18).

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### MONETARY REFORM OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH– THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

*Among other financial reforms of the above-mentioned period, monetary reform caused the greatest debate among specialists who argued about the feasibility of introducing gold monometallism. Historiography of monetary reform makes it possible to distinguish two key stages: 1) 1862 – 1863; 2) 1895 – 1897, with a significant break between them. Assessments of the reform carried out depending on the social affiliation of the authors provided a special historiography color of this topic. The middle layers of the population and the landlords did not accept the reform, the big bourgeoisie supported it. For the most part, the issue was covered in the introduction of the gold standard and the perception or objection to the devaluation of paper money.*

**Key words:** historiography, monetary reform, gold monometallism, Russian empire.

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### ГРОШОВА РЕФОРМА РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ В ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ

*Грошова реформа 1895 – 1897 рр., з-поміж інших фінансових реформ, викликала найбільші дискусії фахівців, які сперечалися стосовно доцільності запровадження золотого монометалізму в Російській імперії. Історіографія грошової реформи дає можливість виокремити два її ключові етапи зі значною перервою між ними: 1) 1862 – 1863 рр. – невдала спроба втілити реформу міністром фінансів М. Х. Рейтерном; 2) 1895 – 1897 рр. – реалізація реформи міністром фінансів С. Ю. Вітте. Ставлення до грошової реформи публікували як безпосередньо її розробники, так і фахівці-фінансисти, історики, промисловці, редакції газет, представники громадськості. Оцінки реформи здійснені залежно від соціальної приналежності авторів забезпечили особливе забарвлення історіографії цієї теми. Фінансисти й історики, позитивно оцінюючи результати реформи, вважали, що їй вдалося провести передусім за рахунок збільшення податків, зниження зовнішнього державного боргу та прискореного експорту сировини.*

*Середні прошарки населення ставилися до реформи упереджено, адже вона передбачала девальвацію паперових коштів. Тогочасна преса привертає увагу до питання недовіри населення до золотого карбованця, підкреслюючи небажання міняти рублі на золоті карбованці по встановленому державою курсу. Помічники категорично не сприйняли реформу, оскільки як експортери хліба мали значні фінансові борги і їм імпонувала інфляція, уможливлена постійною емісією паперових коштів. Крупна буржуазія підтримала реформу, вбачаючи в золотому стандарті стабільність для розвитку бізнесу.*

*В окреслений історичний період кількісно переважають праці, присвячені запровадженню золотого стандарту в Російській імперії та процесу девальвації паперових грошей. Стосовно питання девальвації паперового рубля підкреслимо, що змістовно усі опубліковані дослідження містили полярні підходи, на кшталт: «за» чи «проти», і лише не значна частина авторів вдалася до аналізу питання про обрання необхідного курсу девальвації. Така складова реформи як відмова від срібного карбованця на етапі переходу держави до золотого стандарту не була належне висвітлена в історіографії.*

**Ключові слова:** історіографія, грошова реформа, золотий монометалізм, Російська імперія.

**The statement of the problem.** The problem of overcoming inflation is currently urgent for most countries of the world; Ukraine is not an exception and it is constantly looking for ways to strengthen the national currency. A vivid example of the attempt made to do this in the past was a monetary reform, which was finally implemented in 1895 – 1897 on the territory of the Russian Empire and most fully reflected in historiography during the pre-Soviet period. Significant experience of previous generations can be successfully used by contemporaries, and fundamentally opposite assessments of government measures, as a part of the stabilization of the country's monetary policy, carried out by specialists of those times, only add relevance to this topic.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Monetary reform became a significant component of financial reforms in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and was thoroughly discussed and studied by specialists. None of the reforms in the financial system of the Russian Empire caused so much resonance and contradictory assessments as monetary one, since «the share of own funds» worried everyone, and the state's solvency worried the most. So, we find the assessment of monetary reform in the works of its developers, in the publications of specialists-financiers, historians, industrialists, the public.

**The publication's purpose.** Considering the number of works with varied assessments of reform, we aim to highlight its historiography.

**Statement of the basic material.** A significant number of contemporary historians have devoted substantial works to this reform. Among the well-known we should mention the work of such scientists as I. L. Abramova (Abramova, 2013), V. Yu. Baibikov (Baibikov, 2013), O. V. Buhrov (Buhrov, 2015), I. Ye. Dronov (Dronov, 2009), M. V. Melnikov (Melnikov, 2006), (Melnikov, 2007). They raised the issue of discussing this reform in government circles, analyzed whether Russia was able to avoid the introduction of a gold standard according to the European model, and attracted attention to the topic.

However, in our opinion, the work of eyewitnesses of events that acutely responded to the peculiarities of thereform implementation in life are of no less interest. In the pre-Soviet era, historians and financiers began analyzing the design, implementation and consequences of the reform for society. Separately, they highlighted the role of M. Reutern in this issue as the minister who immediately began implementing reform in 1862 – 1863 and could not successfully complete it, which gives us a reason to separate the first historical stage in the coverage of this reform. The second stage can be distinguished in the period of 1895 – 1897, given the content of scientific publications, which explicitly state that the reform after a long time was introduced only at this stage. In general, the implementation of the reform and the analysis of its results in published editions give grounds to recognize that the historiographical period should be outlined in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

So, at the first historic stage of monetary reform, the Minister of Finance M. Reutern thought it necessary to strengthen the royal ruble. The emergence of new lending institutions, private banks, the reform of the State Bank only increased the interest of individuals and legal entities in lending institutions, and as a result (it raised the problem of the strengthening of the national currency and the limitation of inflation) it led to balancing the amount of paper money and gold reserves. However, the lack of prudence in financial policy, officials' lack of professionalism of the Ministry of Finance apparatus of that time led to a reduction of the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the state and the reform of M. Reutern's time ended in failure.

In 1877 in the work *On the restoration of metal circulation in Russia*, M. Bunge noted that M. Reutern made a mistake of spending millions of dollars in supporting the country's monetary balance, instead of developing its own capabilities only through maintaining industry. Its powerful development and production would strengthen the monetary unit, since collected taxes from developed and strong enterprises would strengthen the budget (Bunge, 1877: 12). In our opinion, the reflections of M. Bunge were caused by a global trend that culminated in the 1870's and concerned the introduction of gold monometallism. France, Italy, Sweden and many other countries have actively introduced the regulatory framework for gold monometallism, but at this stage in the Russian Empire this issue was not even discussed officially. As the development of capitalist relations was closely linked to the interests of different states, the question arose of financial calculations with gold – reliable currency, and more powerful in the economic sense of the country actively solved this issue, while the Russian Empire was drawn into the next Russian-Turkish war of 1877 – 1878 in the Balkans. In order to preserve the ratio of gold to silver, in 1865 the Latin Monetary Union was founded by France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. As O. Haupt writes in his work *Monetary circulation and monetary statistics of large states*, under the terms of the union, all member states undertook to adhere to the strict ratio of exchange of gold to silver at the level of 1 to 15.5, and later the other countries joined the union. As of 1878, all countries switched to monometallism, which later became known as the Golden Standard (Haupt, 1898).

Having recovered from another financial crisis of the post-war era, the Russian Empire began to solve this issue. Already during the 1880s, scientists began calculating the balance of payments of the Russian Empire, in particular F. Sharapov made calculations for 1881 – 1895 (Sharapov, 1897), I. Vyshnehradskyi and P. Ol for 1888 – 1895 (Vyshnehradskyi, 1895). Together, they reached common ground and noted that the budget deficit was caused by incomplete reforms of the time of M. Reutern. Specialists believed that the state was delaying the search for sources of budget revenues. For a long time, large enterprises, founded by foreigners, were not taxed which caused a shortage of budget funds and hampered the transition of Russia to the gold standard. Considering that Russia successfully traded in many goods, it also did not receive proper profits. So, in the opinion of experts, the success of monetary reform was to be based on two pillars – the introduction of a gold standard and tight control of budget expenditures.

At the stage of monetary reform discussing, the views of well-known economist K. Marx cause interest, which were reflected in his letter of ironic content to the Chief Controller of the Loan Society (1877), the well-known economist and translator of *Capital*, M. Danielson. K. Marx believed that without monetary reform, «the inevitability of state bankruptcy in Russia becomes apparent, since no production flourishes like fabrics of credit tickets [printing of money – clarification of the author]» (Marx, 1897: 87).

During the 1880's S. Witte advocated the position that monetary reform was impossible without eliminating budget deficits. He believed that this could only be done by increasing taxes and strengthening national interests. He wrote a paper devoted to the analysis of the views of the German ideologist F. List, whose views formed the basis of O. Bismarck's policy. S. Witte impressed these views in the part of the thesis of «restriction for the sake of freedom», as well as in the part of the development of the national economy. He saw the way out in tight steps aimed at replenishing the budget and implementing monetary reform (Witte, 1889). It fell to his destiny to implement it.

However, in most of the works of those times, researchers tend to conclude that the reform begun in the 1860's was managed during 1895 – 1897 primarily due to increased taxes, a reduction in external public debt and accelerated export of raw materials.



At this stage, M. Kashkarov published a work *Money Circulation in Russia* and pointed out that no reform of the financial system was carried out with such a mystery as monetary. Even the project was not made public (Kashkarov, 1898). This view is not unfounded, because the historiography of this reform does not contain an adequate number of publications with discussions and evaluations of its projects. In the situation the editorial office of the newspaper *New Time* intervened, publishing a draft reform, which provided for a partial devaluation of the paper ruble for 1/3 and the proclamation of golden monometallism (New Time, 1896).

The article became an impetus for an acute public debate around the reform in support of which A. Guriev argued reasonably. He found a number of arguments in favor of gold monometallism, which in his opinion «will surely give impetus to the development of industry, trade, will contribute to the creation of a powerful army and developed culture» (Guriev, 1896: 162). He criticized the reform and raised the question of the grounds for distrust of the reform by the broad circles of the public, which in his opinion were not caused by facts, but rather by psychological motives (Guriev, 1896: 165). At the same time, as a specialist, he categorically called not to imitate the experience of Germany in this matter, because the theory did not promote understanding, and «ignorance of the actual circumstances of its conduct» would destroy hopes for its success in Russia (Guriev, 1896: 268). In the next work, the researcher comprehensively denied the views of opponents of the reform, came to the conclusion of its timeliness and positivity of the consequences for the economy of the country (Guriev, 1903).

S. Witte, headed the Ministry of Finance during August 30, 1892 – August 16, 1903, considered it expedient to carry out a monetary reform in a short time. Ensuring the reform process he saw in the extraction of gold in the interior of his own state and purchasing it abroad. In his memoirs, he wrote, «I had no doubt that the money-based circulation based on metal is good» (Witte, 1991: 355).

However, the minister had to face an ideological confrontation between the representatives of the noble circles and the bourgeoisie, in which this reform was first and foremost affected. Both layers fought for their own financial interests, the influence of the bourgeoisie increased steadily, and political power belonged to nobles. The conflict between them could become a threat to reform. S. Witte had to maneuver in the interests of both layers. The first step of the minister concerned the choice of the required level of ruble devaluation in order to stabilize it further, since paper money was printed so much that the country's economy felt it. It was thanks to such a powerful source as *Materials on monetary reform 1895 – 1897 ...* in the historiography of the reform came with such upper chronological frameworks (Materials, 1996: 176; 181). After the required level of devaluation of the paper ruble, S. Witte had to take the second step – to stop the minting of silver, like the European countries, and then stimulate the calculations with gold.

At the stage of the direct implementation of the reform, the historiography of the issue was replenished with meaningful articles in periodicals. The editors of the *Week* (Week, 1895) and *Economic News* (Economic News, 1896) were the first to draw the attention of the public to the fact that foreign investors made financial settlements primarily by gold. They relate to the sale of land, and the general public is not able to engage in such operations. In particular, the *Week* published an article *The Wave of the Non-Cash*, paying attention that society was biased in the reform, gold settlements were difficult to get involved, neither merchants nor the public were willing to accept gold as a brass metal. Government officials acknowledged

that the resistance of the population took place before the very end of the monetary reform, which did not want to take gold at the state rate. Officials believed that the reason for the reluctance to use gold was only ignorance of the population. At the time of the reform, the golden ruble exchange rate to the paper ruble was 1:1.50 kopecks, and the subjects of the empire did not lose hope for a sudden strengthening of the paper money and were afraid to lose on the purchase of gold (Week, Volna, 1895).

Instead, the representatives of the big bourgeoisie, on the contrary, all the time were financially losing instability in the rate of paper money (inflation) and lobbied for this reform. They believed a volatile paper money trap for businesses, because under such conditions it was impossible to invest in industry. In support of their views, an economist I. Kaufman spoke and reasonably argued that the paper money should be abandoned for calculations in industry, since in the 1870s all civilized countries moved to the gold standard. «The depreciation of paper money and the instability of their prices» I. Kaufman wrote, «destroy the national economy» (Kaufman, 1873: 615). He called the continuous printing of paper money a disease to be treated urgently, noting that the silver ruble was also not reliable for calculations, as most countries also abandoned it (Kauffman, 1910: 225). Individual representatives of the bourgeoisie, who were unsure of the reform proposed to be put into circulation, at the same time as golden ruble banknotes (Lexis, 1896). In general, the majority of experts were unanimous in that it should categorically limit the issuing capacity of the State Bank and weaken its strong dependence on the Ministry of Finance. Their views systematically covered the Week (The Week, The day before, 1896), and they were also collected in the reports and discussions of the Third Section of the Imperial Free Economic Society (Reform. Reports, 1896).

Representatives of the small and medium circles of the bourgeoisie advocated the restoration of paper money, but provided they were reinforced with gold in order to prevent depreciation (Yevreinov, 1896: 35). Instead, bankers in the person of the director of the St. Petersburg International Commercial Bank A. Rothstein, expressed themselves for a partial devaluation of the ruble (slightly less than 1/3), that is, for monetary reform without amendments (Rothstein, 1896).

No financial system reform has caused so much discussion as monetary, because stability and the availability of money worried everyone. Also landlords did not stand aside the assessors of the reform, who were opponents of the gold standard, and who had their own reasons to believe this. The most important reason was their heavy debt as producers of bread, so inflation caused by the printing of paper money worked out for their benefit.

Consequently, the struggle around the reform unfolded between supporters of paper, silver money and the golden ruble. An economist S. Sharapov supported bread producers and expressed his support for paper money, since «gold meets the requirements of stability least due to significant fluctuations of the exchange rate» (Sharapov, 1895: 17). The lack of gold monometallism, in his opinion, would facilitate the sale of bread abroad and would prevent foreigners from placing capital in Russia, i.e. exploiting it. Professor of the University of Kharkov K. Gattenberger also expressed the views that not only gold could serve as a solid currency (Gattenberger, 1870).

At the same time, in the historiography of this issue, one should distinguish the work of O. D. Nechvolodov *From ruin to abundance*, which did not defend the interests of a particular population, but sharply denied the reform. He wrote, «According to the Highest Decree of August 29, 1897, we have established a monetary system in gold» (Nechvolodov, 1906: 3).

In the future, he develops the view as follows, «From the content of our reform it is seen that for each issue of paper money necessarily requires an appropriate increase in gold reserves, although 1:1. This increase can be achieved in five ways: 1. Extraction of gold from the depths. 2. By inflow of gold from abroad, drawing up of the settlement balance in favor of Russia. 3. By external loans. 4. At the expense of gold invested by foreigners in industrial enterprises of the country. 5. By «conquering» new markets for their products and expanding existing ones» (Nechvolodov, 1906: 3). Subsequently, the author argues with comment on each item and observes that the amount of gold that Russia actually produces is scant. The settlement balance is negative. At the same time, foreign loans are calculated in such a way that interest on them is also paid in gold, so it only leads to its outflow from the country. The attraction of foreign capital leads to the use of foreign resources and labor resources by foreign investors, and then ultimately to the export of gold profits abroad. Referring to the work of Henry Georges, *Progress and Poverty*, he emphasizes that in the area where foreign investors work and where large capitalist production takes place, the welfare of people and entire regions is necessarily reduced. The figures given by the author are impressive. «Foreign capital invested in enterprises of Russia as of January 1, 1902 was 1,043,977,000 rubles, and they are involved in our debt of about 5.800 million rubles; for 20 years Russia paid interest on foreign capital invested in state and private securities of industrialists about 4.372 million rubles. If you add to this figure the cost of Russians abroad for 20 years 1.370 million rubles, then it turns out that Russia during the 1882 – 1901 paid abroad 5,740 million rubles, or it is about 1/2 billion francs. Thus, we pay foreigners a tribute equal to the enormous amount of indemnity paid by France to the winner of Germany [implies the defeat of France in 1870, – the clarification of the author]. In the last two years (1900 and 1901), our payments to foreigners amounted to about 380 million rubles annually. ... So, over the past 5 years, we will pay foreigners about 5½ billion francs. Everyone was amazed when France was able to take so much money and the question is, where will we take such funds to settle our obligations? This should be thought over. Without a war, without expense, without human casualties, foreigners are increasingly defeating us every 5–6 years, causing us a financial defeat, which is the appropriate defeat of France in 1870! (Nechvolodov, 1906: 6).

In the end, Nechvolodov sharply noticed that in recent years Russia sought to increase exports to earn gold in any possible way, that its actions were like that it did not sell, but was sold out. He writes, «We export everything: bread, meat, eggs, even the earth and our own hair», referring to the Minister of Vyshnehradskyi, he observes that he was assessing the situation like «we will not bring it to ourselves, but we will get it out!» (Nechvolodov, 1906: 6). O. Nechvolodov, criticizing the reform, stressed that its result was a direct hunger of the population who used «17–20 poods of bread per year, instead of the norm in 25, and this is against the background of malnutrition of meat products» (Nechvolodov, 1906: 7), which led to mass dissatisfaction of the population, its exhaustion and disease. In order to prove the truth, he cites the annual reports of the Military Ministry, which sounded alarmingly referring to the catastrophic failure to call on the Army and the degeneration of the once powerful people. In fact, this is the only work with deep financial calculations. He opposed the rule of the Rothschilds, the «money trade» and the involvement of European countries in conducting monetary reform on the basis of the gold standard.

**Conclusions.** Summing up the above, let us note that unlike other components of the financial system reform – banking, excise, tax, etc., monetary reform received completely opposite estimates depending on the authors' social affiliation and their political status.

A significant number of assessments of the reform were contained in the periodical; some articles were anonymous and belonged to editors. The vast majority of authors did not give a comprehensive assessment of monetary reform, which was a series of diverse measures, consisted of several normative acts and was quite long in time. Researchers focused on the introduction of the golden ruble, and therefore this process and determined the chronological framework of the reform. Thus, the historiography of monetary reform makes it possible to distinguish two key stages: 1) 1862 – 1863; 2) 1895 – 1897, with a significant break between them. Also, we note that pre-Soviet historiography did not give a proper due assessment of the Decree On the Issue of Credit Bills in 1897 and the 1898 Law On Silver as the main components of monetary reform. For the most part, the issue was covered in the introduction of the gold standard and the perception or objection to the devaluation of paper money.

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## **ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE UKRAINIAN LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND CRAFTS SOCIETY IN LVIV**

*The article discusses the study of organization and activity of the Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society in Lviv. The main artistic, educational and publishing achievements of the institute were studied. The conclusion is drawn about the importance of the Society in the development of Ukrainian cultural life and union of outstanding artists, writers and museologists.*

**Key words:** *Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society in Lviv, M. Hrushevskyy, art exhibition, Higher summer vacation courses, publishing activities.*

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## **ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯ ТА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ТОВАРИСТВА ПРИХИЛЬНИКІВ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЛІТЕРАТУРИ, НАУКИ І ШТУКИ У ЛЬВОВІ**

*Стаття присвячена дослідженню організації та діяльності Товариства прихильників української літератури, науки і штуки у Львові. Вивчено головні мистецькі, освітні та видавничі здобутки інституції. З'ясовано, що першою культурною акцією Товариства стало влаштування виставки українського модерного мистецтва, котра була покликана популяризувати творчість українських художників з обох боків Збруча в широких колах не лише української, але й польської та російської громадськості. Досліджено, що важливою освітньою акцією, ініційованою членами Товариства, стала організація Вищих вакаційних літніх курсів, покликаних дати українській молоді базові знання з українознавства в умовах відсутності національної вищої школи. Виявлено, що до комплексу дисциплін на Вищих літніх курсах входили історія України, історія української літератури, історія культурного руху в Галичині, історія Західної Європи (у зв'язку з Україною), мовознавство, природничі науки, антропологія, етнографія, етнологія. Ці предмети читали провідні українські вчені (М. Грушевський, І. Франко, К. Студинський, Ф. Вовк, М. Ганкевич, С. Томашівський, І. Раковський та І. Брик). Зроблено висновок, що попри нерегулярність зібрань, скромний бюджет та незначний період функціонування, Товариство мало велике значення у справі розбудови українського освітнього і культурного життя, згуртування визначних митців, літераторів, музеєзнавців та етнографів з обох боків збручанського кордону. Відзначимо незаперечні видавничі успіхи інституції – численні наукові та популярні видання стали окрасою тогочасного українського книговидавництва. Вказано, що це спонукає до продовження дослідницької праці над історією українських культурно-освітніх та наукових інституцій так званого «другого» плану.*

**Ключові слова:** *Товариство прихильників української літератури, науки і штуки у Львові, М. Грушевський, художня виставка, Вищі вакаційні літні курси, видавнича діяльність.*

**Target setting.** Providing Halychyna's self-government, along with the other parts of the Habsburg monarchy, has created a powerful impetus for continuously increasing trend of creating a variety of public and professional associations and academic societies among them. In the pre-autonomous districts, any efforts to create institutions were hampered by imperial power and were not allowed to be realized. Providing the autonomy liberated powerful social energy, created legal opportunities for the cooperation of people of science. Since then, year after year new societies, first of all, of professional classes, have begun to appear. Therefore, it was autonomy that created an impetus to unification of people aiming to carry out scientific and economic activity. Thinking of this connection between social activity and liberalization of political life, Julian Dibiec, the well-known Krakow science historian, notes: «The matter of financial support to science is very important [...]. At the same time, freedom in general is an extremely significant component, especially freedom that is provided to society, and in particular to people of science and research institutions. In this case, granting freedom to adherents of knowledge and science for creation of unions, granting rights to institutions alone means care and support. Actually, this element was missing during Prussian and Russian domination [...]» (Dybiec, 1995: 34).

The righteousness of this observation is, to a great extent, proved with the Ukrainian case: we have every reason to say that only in the autonomic period first institutions with a clear task to cherish national culture and science in their native language. At the same time, the attention of historians is usually concentrated on the most productive societies of ethnographic (here the history of Scientific Society named after Shevchenko (NTSh) was studied the most detailed) and Moscowphil direction (the most popular object of the analysis is the Stauropegion Institute in Lviv). On the other hand, there is a significant number of diverse institutions in the periphery of researchers' attention that were established during autonomic age, but did not show significant activity or were not duly appreciated by contemporaries. By drawing the attention of colleagues to this science-related problem, below we will try to reconstruct the activity of the Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society in Lvov. To the present time, the archive of this institution survived, which was deposited in the funds of the State Archives of Lviv Region. The content of this very archive will be the source of our study.

**Study analysis.** The historiography of the Society today is extremely modest – along with frequent references in the literature on the cultural development of Galician Ukrainians or scientific and organizational studies of M. Hrushevskyi (Telvak, 2008: 100–157), we have in fact just a single topic-specific article by O. Kupchinskyi. However, it only briefly analyzes the activities of this institution, instead, and it is important, its statutory documents and minutes of meetings are published (Kupchinskyi, 1994).

**The purpose of the paper** is to clarify the organizational characteristics and integral reconstruction of the Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society in Lviv.

**Presentation of the main data.** First, let us turn to the very idea of the Society establishment. As you know, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Lviv there were several powerful Ukrainian cultural and scientific institutions. Surely, first of all, let us recall the Scientific society named after Shevchenko headed by M. Hrushevskyi, transformed by his energetic efforts into the actual Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. On the other hand, powerful activity was initiated by the Ukrainian-Russian Publishing Union that was created in 1898 in Lviv and was headed again by M. Hrushevskyi and his colleagues for publishing works of Ukrainian writers, translated works of world literature and popular science books. So what was the need to create another institution that would have tasks similar to the societies above? Answering this question, it is quite possible to agree with the opinion of O. Kupchinskyi that

creation of the Society should be associated with the overall progress of Ukrainianness at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Against a backdrop of intensification of the social and political movement and significant scientific achievements, Ukrainian artistic life made the impression of not sufficiently well-arranged. Therefore, the function of the moderator of the cultural and artistic movement should have been assigned to the Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society in Lviv (Kupchinskyi, 1994: 393).

However, there was another motivation hidden from contemporaries: at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Scientific Society Named After Shevchenko there was a serious struggle between M. Hrushevskyi and the opposition headed by Mykhailo Pavlyk and Volodymyr Shukhevych. Consequences of this struggle were the inhibition of many initiatives of the head of the Society aimed at its further academicization. It was said that all the important matters in NTS should be solved only by those members who had scientific achievements. This initiative significantly reduced the influence on the part of the NTS opposition, which was arranging loud protests against such initiatives of M. Hrushevskyi. According to the diary of the latter, the constant struggle was exhausting him emotionally and negatively influenced the pace of implementation of many scientific projects. So, several times the scientist refused to head the NTS, and then began to think about an institutional alternative where he could invite his colleagues and implement his own scientific plans without burdensome personal confrontation. Actually, such an alternative was founded by the Lviv professor in February 1904 – the Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society. The tribune and the speaker of his initiatives were supposed to be «Literary and Scientific Bulletin» edited by M. Hrushevskyi and «Artistic Bulletin», the publishing creation made by Ivan Trush, a historian, who at that time was a friend of M. Hrushevskyi.

The first members of the Society were elected at the meeting of its founders on February 15, 1904. They became famous Galician intellectuals – Mykhaylo Hrushevskyi, Ivan Franko, Ivan Trush, Volodymyr Hnatyuk, Stepan Tomashivskyi, Ivan Makukh, Maria Hrushevska (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet. 1.). At the same meeting, the Division of the Society was elected: M. Hrushevskyi became the head, I. Franko became the deputy chairman, I. Trush became the secretary, Maria Hrushevska, the wife of the head, became the treasurer (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet. 1 on the reverse side.). Meetings of the Division were held irregularly – according to the records of minutes of the meetings, the interval between sessions lasted more than six months. And the first reporting meeting took place four years after the kick-off meeting.

The Charter of the Society, approved by the Galician governorate, envisaged broad cultural and educational goals of the new organization. The main task of the Society, as stated in the Statute, was «to inflict on the development of Ukrainian literature, science and crafts» (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet. 1). Explaining to the Ukrainian community the cultural mission of the new institution, I. Trush wrote: «With regard to [...] tasks in the field of the craft, the Society will introduce the products in Ukrainian especially of folk and artistic creativity to the civilized world by means of its publications, and the main task of «Artistic Bulletin» will be popularization within our society of what is created in Europe» (Kupchinskyi, 1994: 393). Publication of periodicals and non-periodicals, support for various cultural and educational projects, organization of popular scientific public lectures, establishment of awards and scholarships for the support of Ukrainian cultural and art people, etc., was to serve the above-mentioned goals. The founders of the Society planned to receive funds from the membership fees and Ukrainian patrons for realization of such purposes.

Institutionally, the Society was associated with another institute headed by M. Hrushevskyi – NTSh. This direct link between the two societies was even enshrined in the Statute of the new organization: «Shall the Society cease to exist without solving the question of its property, it all shall be transferred to the Lviv Scientific Society named after Shevchenko, but in order to ensure that the Society shall try to establish a new Ukrainian Literature, Science and Crafts Society and shall transfer to it the property of the Society» (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Affair 1. Sheet 1–2). By the way, both societies were often involved in joint cultural and educational campaigns, as will be mentioned below.

According to the Statute, the members of the Society could be individuals of «Ukrainian nationality who showed their commitment to the development of Ukrainian literature, science and crafts». The composition of the Society expanded at practically every meeting due to election of well-known Ukrainian artists as its members. Thus, Denys Korenets, Oleksandr Hnatiuk, Ariadna Trush, Yevhen Chykalenko, Volodymyr Leontovych, Mykola Arkas, Volodymyr Symyrenko, Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi, Mykhailo Komarov, Mykola Lysenko, Fedir Krasyskyi, Vasyl Shkribliak, etc. were elected at the first meeting (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 1 reverse side – 2). Subsequently, we repeatedly notice in the minutes of the meetings of the Society the instructions to replenish its ranks with new members. So, at May 1911 meeting of the Society alone nine new members joined. Among them we see the names of Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Lesia Ukrainka, Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi, Oleksandr Oles and others. At the January meeting of 1913, the ranks of the Society were replenished by the famous at that time Ukrainian artists like Viacheslav Lypynskyi, PetroStebnytskyi, Illia Shrah, Mykola Vasylenko, Orest Levytskyi, Sofia Symyrenko (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 17 reverse side). As of 1913, the Society consisted of 36 people (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 17 reverse side). The same number of members of the Society was recorded in the minutes of the meeting dated May 22, 1914. (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 21 reverse side – 22).

The first cultural event of the Society was arrangement of the exhibition of Ukrainian contemporary art aiming to popularize the work of Ukrainian artists from both sides of the river Zbruch in a wide circle of not only Ukrainian, but also Polish and Russian community (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 2). The exhibition was arranged under the auspices of NTSh, which provided it with financial support, participated in the planning and deployment of the exhibition, allocated a certain amount for the purchase of exhibits. The main curator of the exhibition was I. Trush, who at the meetings of the Division was informing about the status of its preparation. Before the opening of the exhibition, it was planned to make a special medal (ordered from the Parisian company Beranger) with a picture on the obverse of the head of Taras Shevchenko with a branch of laurel and inscription «Literature, Science, Crafts» on the reverse.

At the exhibition, held in autumn 1905, a competition was held, where the reputed jury noted works of the best artists with gold and silver medals. The winners were famous Hutsul carvers – brothers Mykola and Vasyl Shkribliak, as well as Marco Mehediuk (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 6 reverse side). The exhibition, as testified by reviews in the mass media, was marked by a significant public resonance and success. Summing up its holding, I. Trush wrote: «Having arranged this exhibition, the Ukrainian Literature, Science, and Crafts Society gave the Ukrainian artists the opportunity to speak publicly as a separate group [...]. The spectator, who is not alien to the world's progress in the field of crafts, could convey with satisfaction the fact that our performance was not similar to [...] performances

that are still being held in Lviv, but their content and technique of works have already been brought closer, although not to the best, but still to the most exciting performances in Europe» (Trush, 1905: 61–62).

An important educational campaign initiated by the members of the Society was arrangement of higher summer vacation courses designed to give Ukrainian young people basic knowledge of Ukrainian studies in the absence of national high school. Initiating the organization of such courses, M. Hrushevskyi selected as a pattern the model of the national university popular at that time, the idea of which was developed and tested in Scandinavian countries, and subsequently became widespread in the educational centers of the Russian Empire.

According to the documents of the Society, for the first time the idea of arrangement of higher summer vacation courses in Lviv was raised at the meeting on June 4, 1904. The initiative of the courses was made by the well-known Dnieper philanthropist Yevhen Chykalenko, who agreed to cover the financial deficit of the courses (DALO. F. 298. Article. 1. Collection 3. Sheet 2 reverse side.). At the same meeting, it was decided to invite such well-known Ukrainian scholars as M. Hrushevskyi, I. Franko, K. Studynsky, F. Vovk, M. Hankevych, S. Tomashivskyi, I. Rakovskyi and I. Bryk to teach at the courses. Payment for lecturers was also determined at the level of 10 crowns per hour. Non-traditional lecturers were supposed to compensate travel and accommodation cost (DALO. F. 298. Article. 1. Collection 3. Sheet 3). In general, it should be noted that financial assistance to the Society by E. Chykalenko was quite stable, which allowed to implement its numerous cultural and educational projects.

Higher summer courses in Ukrainian studies were held in Lviv within one month from June 23 to July 22, 1904 (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 3 reverse side). They were attended by young people from both Galicia and Ukraine under Russian control. The total number of participants reached 135 people. Opening these courses, M. Hrushevskyi outlined in his welcoming speech their purpose and objectives: «To give the opportunity to our fellow countrymen from Russia, deprived fully of the national school, to listen to systematic courses in the Ukrainian-Russian language on the most important social disciplines; to give a series of courses on some sciences, not affiliated with the programs of these schools, but very important from our national situation; to assist in the preparation of scientific courses in those areas of Ukrainian studies in which there are no such courses; and, finally, to give a place for new scientific power for preparation for academic activity» (Hrushevskyi, 2002: 248.).

The complex of subjects at the Higher summer courses consisted of the history of Ukraine, the history of Ukrainian literature, the history of the cultural movement in Halicia, the history of Western Europe (in connection with Ukraine), linguistics, natural sciences, anthropology, ethnography, ethnology. These subjects were delivered by the leading Ukrainian scholars mentioned above. The initiator of the event, M. Hrushevskyi, delivered a nine-hour lecture course entitled «Review of the History of Ukraine-Russia» at the courses, containing a brief summary of the main ideas of his multi-volume work «History of Ukraine-Russia».

Upon the completion of the courses at the July meeting of the Society, the results of their conduct were summed up. Unanimously it was decided to recognize their arrangement as useful, also it was decided to continue arranging similar educational events. It is of interest that when distributing fees, M. Hrushevskyi and K. Studynskyi refused to take their fees and transferred them to the Treasury of the Society. Also, because of extreme popularity of the course on Ukrainian literature history among the students delivered by I. Franko, it was decided to publish them in a separate brochure and circulate within the Ukrainian youth environment (DALO. F. 298. Article. 1. Collection 3. Sheet 3 reverse side – 4).



The higher summer courses received a significant resonance in the mass media, on its pages it was emphasized that for the first time in the history of Ukrainian education the Society tested an important model of a national university. We can learn about the impression of the youth as for the subjects they learned from the memoirs of Dmytro Doroshenko: «Most of all, I and all of us who came were interested in Hrushevskiy's introductory statements, and they were very disappointing: Hrushevskiy was delivering princely days and it was terribly boring, he did not give broader generalizations, but was retelling and very monotonous just the actual history – when each prince ruled, with whom he fought or negotiated. He was reading the manuscript and somehow monotonously [...]. Tomashevskiy disappointed us even more, especially in his strange manner: he turned his back to the audience, and face to the geographical map [...]. He made his audience so much bored that the second time only a few listeners came. But we all liked Franko. He was teaching in calm, even voice, without external influences, and although he taught the old Ukrainian writing, but the statements were so interesting, so profound, that we listened with the greatest attention [...]. Studynskiy, Bryck, Rakovskiy were teaching well. Hankevych was teaching spectacularly as a good speaker, but his speeches seemed to me more of a speech for the meeting than for a scientific lecture. We liked Vovk's statements very much». (Doroshenko, 2007: 87–88).

At the initiative of the chairman of the Society and in view of the statutory requirements, its members paid a lot of attention to the preparation and publication of educational and popular science literature. Thus, at the January meeting of 1905, it was decided to elect a commission consisting of M. Hrushevskiy, I. Franko and V. Hnatiuk to develop a draft writing, as noted in the minutes of the meeting, «a practical textbook of the Ukrainian language» (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 5). The case of this textbook was extremely seriously handled by the management of the Society, as evidenced by repeated references thereto during the meetings (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 7). In 1908, in order to commemorate the memory of the deceased Volodymyr Antonovych, the head of the Society, M. Hrushevskiy decided to publish university courses of the Kiev professor, recorded by his audience, at the cost of the Society (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 7). The Society also decided, at the cost of its financial foundations, to publish the significant influences of the poetry of Hryhorii Chuprynka and Oleksandr Oles, prose works of Marko Vovchok and Orest Levytskyi, popular works of Stepan Tomashivskiy, Viacheslav Lypynskiy and Ivan Franko, translations of the world classic literature.

Similar to other institutional creations of M. Hrushevskiy, the Society was the leader of the main idea of the political platform of Lviv professor – the unity of the Ukrainian lands. Thus, largely on the initiative of its chairman, the Society took an active part in the cultural and public life of not only Halician, but also Dnieper Ukraine. So, many members of the Society were involved in a broad celebration of anniversary of the famous Ukrainian writer Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi in 1905. (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 5). In 1907, the members of the Society took part in the celebration of the anniversary of Mykola Sadovskiy (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 8). Members of the Society also marked Maria Zankovetska's anniversary in 1908: on this occasion a welcoming address was made, and the artist was elected to the Society (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 7 reverse side). Members of the Society and the sad events of Ukrainian public life were not standing aside. So, on behalf of the Society, M. Hrushevskiy and his beloved student I. Dzhidzhora took part in the funeral of Volodymyr Antonovych, Pavel Zhytetsky and Mykola Kropivnytsky (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Collection 3. Sheet 12 reverse side).



It is also necessary to mention the Society's care of young generations of Ukrainian artists. In its archive, application and gratitude letters from the fresh artists with requests for financial support can be found. For a example, let us look at the letter from the sponsor of the young talented artist Ivan Yurkovskiy (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Affair 5. Sheet 1 – 2 reverse side).

Like any other creative association, the Society also did not escape internal conflicts, despite the fact that its membership included only those who were sympathetic to the versatile work of M. Hrushevskiy. The reason for the misunderstanding was that from 1908 the institution's activity shifted from artistic education to literary and publishing. The Society ceased to arrange artistic actions, increasingly refused financial support to the magazine «Artistic Bulletin» This is one of the reasons why the Society was left one of its founders I. Trush. In his statement, he wrote concisely: «This is to inform the honorable Division that I, the undersigned, and my wife are quitting the Society» (DALO. F. 298. Article 1. Affair 5. Sheet).

**Conclusions** As a result, despite the irregularity of the meetings, the modest budget and insignificant period of operation, the Society was of great importance in the development of Ukrainian educational and cultural life, grouping of outstanding artists, writers, museologists and ethnographers from both sides of the river Zbruch. We also note the undeniable publishing success of the institution – numerous scientific and popular editions became an adornment of the Ukrainian publishing house of that time. All this encourages us to continue the research work on the history of Ukrainian cultural, educational and scientific institutions of the so-called «second» plan.

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### PRECONDITIONS OF ORIGIN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY MUSEUMS OF MILITARY UNITS AND UKRAINIAN COMPONENT IN THE REGIMENTAL MUSEUMS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE ARMY

*On the basis of the study, the author describes the history of the birth and development of the main forms of activity of the officer assemblies of the Russian Army. The article deals with the peculiarities of the organization of the work of military clubs (assemblies) and the creation of officers' meetings of the Russian Army. When working on the article the author used new sources and literature on the topic of this study, a significant part of which is a message on the pages of the periodical press.*

*The development of military museumry is shown on the example of the study of the preconditions for the formation, functioning and contribution of the military affairs museums to the military units of the so-called «military» units. the regimental museums of the Russian Empire.*

*The activity of the museums of separate regiments of Ukrainian descent was analyzed. The author considers one of the military traditions of the army of the Russian Empire on an example of the existence of military units of regimental museums, which originally had officers' libraries, and eventually became an integral part of each military unit. It was established that the analysis of historiographic material from the military museum of the regiments of the Russian Empire testifies to the predominant interest of Russian researchers in the issues of military history and the theory of military-museum affairs.*

*A separate annex to the article is the handbook of the military units of the Russian Empire, which had military museums and analyzed of the existence of museums in military units of the Russian Empire, who were of Ukrainian descent. The study found that in the army of the Russian Empire was 24 percent of the total number of so-called. regimental museums in military units that were or were formed on the territory of Ukraine, that is Ukrainian origin.*

**Key words:** military museum, regimental museum, officer libraries, military clubs, military traditions, museum affairs.

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### ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ЗАРОДЖЕННЯ НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ МУЗЕЇВ ВІЙСЬКОВИХ ЧАСТИН ТА УКРАЇНСЬКА СКЛАДОВА В ПОЛКОВИХ МУЗЕЯХ АРМІЇ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ

*На підставі проведеного дослідження автором викладається історія народження та розвитку основних форм діяльності офіцерських зборів російської армії. У статті розглядаються особливості організації роботи військових клубів (зборів) та створення офіцерських зборів російської армії. При роботі над статтею автором використовувалися нові джерела і література по темі даного дослідження, значну частину яких складають повідомлення на сторін-*

ках періодичної преси та дисертаційні дослідження, в яких містилися вибіркві відомості про діяльність полкових музеїв.

Показано розвиток та основні тенденції, що на думку автора стали характерними закономірностями в роботі полкових музеїв. Представлено історичні факти, що мали місце в окремих полках та які вплинули на процес комплектування колекцій і фондів полкових музеїв, а також змінили задачі та способи музейної роботи в полках Російської Імперії.

Простежено, що важливою особливістю створення військових музеїв стало наявність в них великої кількості історичних, меморіальних та художніх предметів, зібраних протягом усього часу існування частин. Для підтвердження цієї, на переконання автора, ключової особливості в статті зібрані історичні факти, які мали місце в спадкоємних традиціях Російських імператорів. Показано розвиток військового музейництва на прикладі дослідження передумов становлення, функціонування та принесення вкладу у музейну справу музеями військових частин т.зв. полковими музеями армії Російської імперії.

Представлено окремим додатком до статті довідник військових частин Російської імперії, які мали в своєму складі військові музеї та проаналізовано існування музеїв у військових частинах армії Російської імперії, які мали українське походження.

Встановлено, що військово-музейне будівництво в той час характеризувалося великим підйомом, що виразилося в значному зростанні числа музеїв, і, головне, в удосконаленні рівня всієї музейної роботи – від комплектування до організації відвідувань. Характерною закономірністю було те, що полкові музеї створювалися до ювілеїв військових частин і були тісно пов'язані з роботою з написання їх історії. Автором в прикінцевій положення зазначено, що військово-музейна справа, яку проводили полкові музеї була складовою частиною різноманітного культурного процесу, складного шляху розвитку історичної обізнаності та освіти.

**Ключові слова:** військовий музей, полковий музей, офіцерські бібліотеки, військові клуби, військові традиції, музейна справа.

*« ... The meaning of the banner is enormous ... The banner supports people in the performance of their duty. The role of the banner is to connect the present and the past to make the future worthy of our glorious history...»(Krasnov, 1997: 129).*

**Formulation of the problem.** Accumulation of the traditions of the Imperial Russian Army lasted during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the Russian-Japanese War of 1904 – 1905, the First World War 1914 – 1918, and other not in the wars and battles.

Military traditions were formed during centuries of history, they were not formed in the palace dresses, not in high-class salons, but in the battle fields, in hard work of war they began to grow, strengthen and strengthen these traditions. The main carriers of the cultural, military and combat traditions were his majesty the soldier. It was he who concentrated and embodied in himself the national traditions, and in their environment the continuity of generations was produced. Historical experience of the implementation of the army traditions shows that the soldier with honor and dignity served a great idea to protect their homeland from attacking enemies, while showing the will, character, persistence in achieving the goal, as well as commitment to their profession.

In military units of Russian empires Ukrainians soldiers mostly served in the military units of the Kiev and Odessa military districts. Usually, there were from 60 to 90 percent of Ukrainians in rank positions (Mashtalir, 2015: 87–92).

The first regimental museums, like officer libraries, were created on the funds of officers and fellow soldiers. Their further development required a corresponding regulatory framework. In the order of the military department № 279 from the 15th September, 1884, on the enactment of the Regulations on officer assemblies in separate parts of the troops does not specifically mention the regimental museums.

However, § 2 («... in units establishes an officer's meeting with the library, dining room, fencing and gym halls with accessories, billiards, shooting facilities, etc.») and § 20 («for direct management of the departments of the economy by the general meeting are elected from among the officers ... the head of the dining room, the librarian and other persons if it is necessary ... ») gave such an opportunity to open the regimental museum (Panchenko, 2014: 93–104).

On the pages of the military press unfolded a wide discussion about the placement of regimental museums. The authors of the publications were B. V. Adamovich (Adamovich, 1900), A. E. fon-Ozarovsky (Ozarovsky, 1901), S. V. Tomilin (Tomilin, 1901), A. I. Grigorovich (Grigorovich, 1906), and others who shared the experience of organization regimental museums, raised the problematic issues and offered ways of their solution, produced manuals with recommendations on the workflow settings of museums.

At the beginning of the 20th century, during the military assemblies of most military units of the Imperial Russian Army in close cooperation with the officers' libraries regimental museums began functioning, which served the most effective way of providing moral and psychological support to the personnel of the military unit and educating young officers in the glorious military traditions of older generations.

The process of forming and creating museums of military units which was deployed (formed) on the territory of Ukraine, that had Ukrainian roots, inextricably linked with Ukrainian military traditions and its own history of the military unit. It is known that on the territory of Ukraine there were military-historical museums of some regiments (MCH, 1912: 6).

**Research analysis.** Information on the activities of regimental museums has been highlighted in various publications on different topics and genres. The periods of creation and characterization of the funds of the eleven regimental museums of the Imperial Russian Army found some coverage in the first publication of the magazine of the Moscow Department of the Imperial Russian Military Historical Society (MCH, 1912: 6).

From the earliest articles bearing the historical character, it should be noted articles of P. O. Bobrovsky (Bobrovsky, 1901) and M. Sokolovsky, S. Gulevich (Sokolovsky, 1912: 15–44). However, these works devoted to the development of the genre of regimental historical literature in the XVIII – first half of the XIX century and indirectly reveal the formation of a military museum on the territory of Ukraine in the specified period. Statistical information on the number of regimental stories and monuments is contained in the preface to the bibliographic guide, compiled by A. I. Grigorovich (Grigorovich, 1913). Nevertheless, it is quite difficult to track the Ukrainian roots presented in the military units directory, although they are listed there.

Big interest represent publications such as «Russian disabled», «Scout», «Journal of the imperial Russian military history society» and others. In the chronicles section, detailed reports on the celebration of troop pieces are regularly published on their anniversaries, anniversaries of battles, regimental holidays and other holidays on a regimental scale. In these publications, various documents were published – orders, circulars, and etc. Partially documents on the topic of research published in full composition of the laws of the Russian Empire. These are the highest orders for the change of seniority and the date of the regiments of holidays of troops, the awarding of rewards, honorary titles, the need for each reform to have its own regimental museum, the introduction of famous soldiers and officers into the list of regiments, etc. (Khokhlov, 2006).

In the same military periodical magazines there were several articles devoted to the museums of specific regiments, the articles had descriptive character (Scout, 1903; Russian

disabled, 1901; Russian disabled, 1913). Usually they describe the history of the museum, indicate the initiators of this event, describe some interesting exhibits. A detailed description of the museum of the 115th Vyazma Infantry Regiment is contained in the work of B. F. Gillebrandt (Gillebrandt, 1913). In it you can find information about the composition of the collections, the structure of the military museum and the (Marx, 1912) represents the only attempt at the moment to compile a reference book on the regimental museums of the Russian Army with a presentation of the short history and content of the collection of each museum. However, there was the descriptions of only eleven museums created in the regiments – which participated in the Patriotic War of 1812, including six regiments of the Army Infantry – 11th Fanagory Grenadier, 13th Belozersky Infantry, 39th Tomsk Infantry, 65th Moscow Infantry, 104th Ustyug Infantry and 118th Shuisky Infantry. In addition, in the introduction the author proposed his scheme of systematization of material in the regimental museum (Khokhlov, 2006). And again, these publications do not pay attention to the Ukrainian aspect of military museums, although there were and were formed on the territory of Ukraine, that is, they had Ukrainian origin, regiments of the Russian Empire, which had their own military museums and were completed mostly by Ukrainians.

The most notable work devoted to the history of museums of military units is the research of T. P. Spiridonova (Spiridonova, 2005). The dissertation deals with the issues of formation and development, organization and functioning of museums of military units of the Imperial Russian Army in the XIX – beginning of XX century. The chronology of their development is given, the time and circumstances of creation in the first regimental museum are substantiated. However, this study is mainly based on the materials of the museums of the Guard Regiments – the Life Guards of the Preobrazhensky, the Semenovskiy Life Guards, the Finnish Life Guards, the Cavalier Gardens Regiment, and the Horse Life Guards.

The museum of the last regiment is devoted to one of the three chapters of the dissertation. Apparently, this is due to the fact that the Guards had the most rich and exemplary organized museums. In addition, the author has set itself the goal of identifying the features of the functioning and historical and cultural significance of regimental museums, which can also be effectively done on materials of Guards museums. At the same time, the museums of the Army infantry regiments did not fully fall into the field of view of T. P. Spiridonova. In particular, in the list of military units that had museums directly before 1914, there were no more infantry regiments: the 35th Bryansk Infantry (Kandaurova, 2001: 108), the 86th Wilmanstrand Infantry (GIANO. F. 480, Content 1, Case 4957, Sheet 1–2), the 182nd Grokhovskiy Infantry (Voronov), the 20th Galician Infantry, the 22nd Nizhny Novgorod Infantry (Petrov, Afanasev, 1997: 55).

The aforesaid indicates that the generalized comprehensive scientific work concerning the study of the activity of the regimental museums of military units of the Imperial Russian Army, which had Ukrainian origin, today does not have Ukrainian historiography.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze the preconditions for the creation of regimental museums of the Imperial Russian Army with the detailed functioning of museums of military units in the territory of Ukraine at the beginning of the XX century. To achieve the stated goal, there is a need to compile a reference book of military units of the Imperial Russian Army, which had military museums during the period from 1910 to 1917, conducting a study of each regiment on the subject of Ukrainian origin and the study of their military museums.

**Presenting main material.** The process of forming regimental museums in the military units of the Imperial Russian Army has its historical background, which relates to the stage



of organizing the collection of books and newspapers to meet the spiritual requests of officers in the form of libraries. Perhaps this activity contributed to the rapid development of officers' clubs (meetings). Thus, at the end of the XIX century, officer meetings began work on the collection and preservation of a collection of military items of military units reflecting the prowess of the militants, which was later realized in the work of regimental museums (Kuznetsov, 2007: 57).

More details about it. And so, the problem of the emergence and development of the activity of officers' meetings of the Imperial Russian Army by researchers is analyzed only on the basis of legal documents of the officers' meeting, the main stages of development of which took place in the second half of the XIX century. At the same time from the point of view of the authors fall the period of formation of spiritual needs in the organization of leisure officers, which later formed the basis of the activities of officers' clubs (meetings) of the Imperial Russian Army.

According to M. Y. Tarasov (Tarasov, 2008: 82), the prototype of the officers' meeting of the Imperial Russian Army were aristocratic meetings held at the end of 1718, which at the end of the XVIII century turned into a gathering of officers for evening entertainment. For such short meetings, the place of gathering is often used by the duty room of the unit. From reports in city newspapers it became known about the creation in 1779 of the club headquarters and chief officers of the Novgorod Infantry Regiment (SPV, 1779), and in 1782 – the Military Club in St. Petersburg (Zet, 1911).

At the beginning of the XIX century, a small basement facility was set up at the Finnish Life Guards Regiment, where officers could read books and newspapers, play cards and discuss news with others officers (Scout, 1906). Thus, the directions for leisure activities that were necessary for the military community appeared and which were further developed during the formation of the activity of the officers' meetings of the Imperial Russian Army.

The main form of satisfaction of the spiritual needs of the officers was the library of military units. One of the first military libraries is considered to have been created in 1810, the regimental library of the Semenovskiy Life Guards. On October 1, 1811, the regimental library of the Preobrazhenskiy Lifeguard Regiment was created, in which over 100 people took part (Panchenko, 2005: 12). On August 10, 1832, the library of the Kronstadt Maritime Assembly was founded, for which separate rooms were allocated and contributions from each club member were introduced for the needs of the library (Tikhomirov, 2009: 153–157). The staff of the library consisted of seven people (KMS, 1902). Already by the middle of the XIX century, in many parts of the army, the activity of libraries was organized, with their work regulated by the regiment of officer libraries (St. Petersburg, 1838). Libraries' funds had a large number of different editions. Thus, the library of the Finnish Life Guards Regiment in 1866 numbered 3223 titles of books (St. Petersburg, 1906).

Acquisition of the fund of officer libraries has few sources. Very often the replenishment of the fund took place at the expense of donating personal books of officers of the regiment. There were not many cases when officers bequeathed their books to officer assemblies or regimental libraries. But still the main source of replenishment of the fund of libraries was the monthly contributions of members of the fees to the library fund, which were determined by the additional rules of the officers' meeting. In addition, in some parts there were contributions when recording in the library as a quorum, as well as visitors (Goldman, 1872: 13). Sometimes, apart from other expenses, the commanding officers allocated funds for the ac-

quisition of literature from the internal funds of military units (Archive of VIMAIViVS. F. 51, Content 96/1, Case 52, Sheet 24).

This period is characterized the creation of public officers clubs, whose activities were based on forms of work aimed at increasing scientific and professional knowledge, leisure activities. Thus, in the early 1860s, a circle of officers-engineers emerged in St. Petersburg, while in the free time they gathered in the Peter and Paul Fortress to (VE, 1911: 612).

In the middle of the XIX century there were few more forms of work among the officers community. One of them is a regimental dining room (buffets). The organization of this form of work at the initial stage of formation experienced difficulties with means, service personnel and facilities. Thus, in 1857, the commander of the Finnish Life Guards Regiment reported that there was no money for the camp in the general dinner officer table (St. Petersburg, 1906: 374). In those days, some officers were so poor that they were forced to be content with food prepared for soldiers in their everyday lives. The seventy years have become a turning point in the introduction of general officer dining room in the regiments, when the dining room (buffets) at the officers' meeting started to be organized everywhere.

The practice of officers' meetings in the middle of the XIX century showed that the main measures of popular non-commissioned forms of work with officers of the Imperial Russian Army were held in officers' clubs (meetings), whose activities were not regulated by the military department. Therefore, in 1869, a special commission was set up at the military department to resolve the question of the location of military collections and military libraries. The report on the results of the commission and the draft statute of the officers' meeting were published in 1871 on the pages of military press (VS, 1871: 57–95). The materials indicated that all meetings were organized on the basis of the same documents, the measures are held in the premises of the military department, the fees are kept at the expense of membership fees and money received for carrying out paid activities, and the work of such institutions was recognized as positive. Thus, the military department has confirmed the significance of such a new public organization as a military (officer) meeting. And already in 1873, in the order of the military service number 8, it was proposed to release troops a certain amount of funds for the installation and maintenance of officers' fees, common dining rooms and libraries (St. Petersburg, 1873).

On the basis of the collected material, the commission summarized the main forms of military (officer) duties and defined the objectives of this type of activity: to provide the military community with funds for the approaching of its members and entertainment in time-free from service; promote the development of military education officers and reduce the spending for lives of officers. And on the 4th of November, 1874 was adopted to guide the work of the general legal and regulatory document on the organization of the work of the officers' meeting of the Imperial Russian Army and the Navy – the Statute of the military assembly (St. Petersburg, 1874).

In order to achieve the stated goals, a library, dining room (buffet), fencing and gymnastics halls, chess, billiards and card games, lectures and conversations, military games, dance and music evenings, and temporary accommodation for officers from other military units were organized in. A few years later, a special commission was established, the main task of which was to prepare a new legal document on the work of officer assemblies, taking into account the current living conditions and service of officers. The provisional document was developed and introduced by order of the Commander of the Guards and the St. Petersburg Military District on August 26, 1881, for all parts of the military district

as a temporary Provision on the officers' meeting in separate military units (St. Petersburg, 1881). Unfortunately, some researchers mistakenly believe that this Regulation is the main document on the organization of the further work of the officers' meeting of the Imperial Russian Army until 1917 (Morikhin, 2004: 47). But this document was valid for three years only for the officers' meeting in the Petersburg military districts, and, after summarizing the materials on the work of these meetings, some articles of the Regulations were changed. And only on September 15, 1884, by order of the Military Office number 279 was introduced the main guideline – Regulations on officer assemblies in separate military units (St. Petersburg, 1885: 1084–1091).

In Kiev, participants of officers' meetings organized evening classes for German and French for willing officers and members of their families. For conducting classes the steering committee of the meeting invited the best teachers of the city. Unfortunately, poor information notes do not allow to feel the spirit of the events, but they can fill literary and artistic works in which the officer assemblies of the regiment became full-fledged heroes of the story (Kuprin, 1906).

The main forms of officer meetings of the Imperial Russian Army and Navy lasted until the abolition of the officers' meeting in December 1917. In the newspapers and magazines, the officers' proposals were supplemented with amendments to the current normative-legal documents, changes were made in the work of the officer's charges, which concerned the acquisition (disposition) of the property of the officer's meetings (VS, 1885: 19–56).

At the end of the XIX century, another form of work arose in the officers' meeting – the collection and preservation of a military items of military units reflecting the prowess of the soldiers, which was later realized in the work of regimental museums (Kuznetsov, 2007: 57).

The widespread distribution of the regimental (military) museums to the beginning of the 1910s forced to the desire to establish common principles for their scientific organization and methods of processing stored and exhibited in them materials. The question of the development of the Regulations on military museums was first raised in December 1912 in Moscow during the All-Russian Congress of Museum figures.

The Imperial Russian Military Historical Society (VIO, 1911) and its Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and Finland branches united persons directly working in the field of military history or contributed to the expansion of military-historical knowledge and the organization of archival affairs. Assistance in the creation of regimental museums was provided by the special department of the society «The section of regimental and shipyard stories». In addition, the company contributed to the conservation, restoration and construction of military monuments, the production of military-archaeological excavations and trips to battlefields. In accordance with the Charter of the Society, its field offices helped historians in writing military history works, creating reference bureaus, museums of military antiquity, libraries, publishing military history works etc.

Later, the necessity of holding a congress of representatives of regimental museums for the development of uniform normative documents, exchange of experience of museum work appeared. On the initiative of the Moscow Department of the Imperial Russian Military History Society in the Moscow Military District on April 20, 1913, the first congress of heads of regimental museums took place.

Subsequently, there appeared the necessity of holding a meeting between representatives of regimental museums for the development of uniform normative documents, exchange of experience of museum work. On the initiative of the Moscow Department of the Imperial

Russian Military History Society in the Moscow Military District on April 20, 1913, the first congress of heads of regimental museums took place.

At the «museum» congress representatives from almost all museums of military units and military educational institutions in the number of 53 people arrived. The work of the Congress was organized in 7 sections. As a result of the work of the congress, the Regulations on military museums and historical commissions, which collect materials for the history of the part, were adopted. The Regulation added the structure of the museum, that is, the description of the group (divisions), of which should consist of regimental museums. Group IX was called «Library».

It was proposed to include to the group: «1. Stories of the sovereigns. 2. The resume of the chefs. 3. Chronicles, Stories and Sights of the Part. 4. The same, only other parts. 5. Part officers work. 6. Printed patronizing of the regiment. 7. Collections of regimental, rock and other parts of the song. 8. Statutes and Regulations. 9. Cutting from newspapers and magazines. 10. Catalogs and description of museums and libraries» (St. Petersburg, 1913).

The prepared draft Regulations on military museums were sent for further discussion in the commission of military archeology and archaeography of the Russian military-historical society, and later it was published on the pages of the «Journal of the Imperial Russian Military Historical Society» for discussion in the Army and Navy Officers' Meeting (ZHIVIO, 1914: 298–311).

The Regulation formulated the main task of museums – to be «a powerful tool for the correct military education of all the ranks of the military unit in the spirit of unlimited devotion to the Throne and the Motherland». Rules of the project Regulations began to use the leaders of regimental museums, including museums of military units of Ukrainian descent.

The author for the purpose of the article was compiled on the study conducted by Tamara Spiridonova, a reference book of the military units of the Russian Empire, which had military museums in its structure (see Appendix). The total number of them was 234 museums, 55 (24%) of them existed in the military units of the Imperial Russian Army, which had Ukrainian origin.

A brief description of several museums of military units stationed on the territory of Ukraine is presented below.

The 1st Sumy Hussar Regiment named after the Danish King Frederick VIII was formed in 1651 as the Sloboda Sumy Regiment. The regimental museum was formed in 1906. The commander of the museum in the same year was appointed Lieutenant Colonel A. F. Rachmaninov. The museum kept a copy of the family portrait of its first commander – Colonel G. Kondratyev, his father, a sword, a pistol, two bottles, a bag, and three original letters of the kings of John and Peter Alekseevich to his descendants. In the first department, which was called «Reserve» there were: three St. George's standards of the Emperors Alexander I (1814) and Nicholas I; four letters of Nicholas I (1826) and the letter of Alexander II for the bravery during the Turkish War (1877 – 1878); twenty-two Georgian squirrel tubes (1812) (Mashtalir, 2015: 87–92).

The 9th Kiev Hussar Regiment was founded in 1866. The museum of the regiment was founded in 1910 and possessed such relics as a portrait of the XVII century of I. Novytsky, who was the first commander, the cannon with the inscriptions of the same time, the letters of the rebellion of the regiment to the kings of John and Peter Alekseevichs in 1682, portraits and battle paintings, historical documents, dating back to the seventeenth century, the regimental church dish of 1169. The regimental museum of the 9th Kiev Hussar regiment

retained a regimental gun found by the descendants of the first regimental commander – Colonel of the Zaporozhian Army I. Novytsky and delivered to the military unit by Colonel S. Bondarev. On the gun, the inscription: «Casted by Joseph Timofeevich for the diligence of his Pan Elias Novitsky, Colonel Zaporozsky's army. It was casted in Glukhov town. Sniatine 1692» (Fedorova, 2013: 167–177).

The Museum of the 4th Kharkov Uhlans Regiment, which was founded in 1911, retained a portrait of Rittmeister F. Lysenko captured by T. Kostiuska, Uhlans hats in 1813 and 1849, the letter of 1763 and the colonel universal in 1690. The trophies of the regiment consisted of 24 silver pipes, the regimental icon of The Intercession of the Theotokos was given to the Empress Maria Feodorovna in 1869. The icon was accompanied by a regiment during the Russian-Turkish War of 1877 – 1878. There were also saved church utensils and images belonging to the Chuguev Cossacks (Gabaev, 1912).

The 10th Ingrian Hussar of his royal Highness of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar Regiment existed in 1704 – 1918 (TsDIAUK, F. 1196, Content 1, Case 20, Sheet 4). The Museum of the Ingrian Regiment (Chuguev) was opened in 1908, although its birth began in 1904. In 1911, the museum has a standard with the monogram of Peter I and the five standards of the Irkutsk dragoons regiment in 1707 (TsDIAUK, F. 1196, Content 1, Case 61, Sheet 1).

Thus, by analyzing the list of the military units (see Appendix), it can be argued that all military units had their own military museums, which were under the control of their chairman and were the key to the moral strength of the troops. Museums have become an integral part of the regiments and one of the military traditions in the army. The archival materials stored in officer libraries provided great help in their creation.

Officers who possessed a high level of education and culture were not professional museum workers, but in real life turned out to be excellent «museum workers». They were led by officers-librarians or custodians of museums. Officers' libraries and regimental museums became the first step from which the writing of regimental stories began. A visit to the military units of the Russian emperors, the highest figures, the military ministers, the entry into service of young officers and lower ranks, as a rule, began with visiting museums.

B. V. Adamovich was right when he made an admission record in his book: «To the esteemed Konstantin A. Voensky from his companion for the establishment of the Military Historical Society. Believe that we love the past of our regiments. B. Adamovich 5.VII.1908 Kyiv» (Panchenko, 2014: 93–104).

On the eve of the events that took place in October 1917, the military-museum network of the Russian Empire consisted of 15 military museums and about 280 museums of military units and military-educational institutions.

The October Revolution of 1917 became a turning point in the history of the development of military-museum affairs. Regimental museums actually ceased to exist along with the Imperial Russian Army. Upon coming to power, the Bolsheviks directed the country to build the world's first socialist state. One of the primary tasks of the power of the young Soviet republic was seen in explaining to the working people the essence of the events taking place, the upbringing of man in fundamentally new ideological settings. Among the means to achieve these goals were seen the rich collections accumulated in the museums of imperial Russia.

**Conclusion.** The research showed that, since the XIX century, both commanding units and officers of the Russian army had a great desire to arrange meetings or clubs of officers. And most importantly – the officer's charges have become widespread due to the fact that they came from the desire of the officers themselves who need communication. This kind of

public organization was in demand for an officer society of the Russian army. Therefore, it is no coincidence that many forms of the activity of the officers' meeting of the Russian Army found a decent continuation in the work of the structures of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and later in the Soviet Armed Forces and the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

It should be emphasized that the designated activity of regimental museums was professional at all stages of their functioning. The origin of the museums of the military units of the Russian Empire in the beginning of the 20th century, which was stationed on the territory of Ukraine or had Ukrainian roots, became the main center for the popularization of military history. A detailed study of all aspects of the activity of museums of military units is an important contribution to the study of the theory and practice of the development of military museum affairs. To the utilitarian function of military museums, which consisted in the collection and storage of military history items, an educational function was added that retained its relevance to our day.

Summing up the research, it is safe to assert that the Ukrainian component in the regimental museums of the Imperial Russian Army was and occupied 24 percent of the total military-historical network, which created so-called regimental museums.

One of the main conclusions of the article is the idea of the exclusive role of officer assemblies in the formation of museums of military units. Without calling into question this opinion, we consider it necessary to dwell in more detail on the role of the regimental churches in this issue. The most recent upsets in the military units of museums, and often afterwards, played the role of memorial complexes in honor of the events of regimental history, duplicating partly the function of regimental museums. But this is the basis for further research.

Appendix

**The list of military units of the army of the Imperial Russian Army,  
which had military museums**

A general list of regiments			
№	Name of the regiment (brigades)	Location	Ukrainian origin
1	The 10th Ingrian Hussar of his royal Highness of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar Regiment	Chuguev, the Kharkiv province.	Yes
2	The 57th Modlinsky Adjutant General Kornilov Infantry Regiment	Kherson	Yes
3	The 121st Penza General Field Marshal County Milutin Infantry Regiment	Kharkiv	Yes
4	The 122nd Tambov Infantry Regiment	Kharkiv	Yes
5	The 123rd Kozlovsky Infantry Regiment	Kharkiv	Yes
6	The 124th Voronezh Infantry Regiment	Kharkiv	Yes
7	The 52nd Wilensky His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Kirill Volodymyrovich Infantry Regiment	Feodosiya Tauride province	Yes
8	The 56th Zhytomyr's Imperial Highness of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich Infantry Regiment	Tiraspol Kherson province	Yes



<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
10	The 10th Novgorod of His Royal Highness Prince Wilhelm of the Wurttemberg Dragoon Regiment	Sumy Kharkov province	Yes
11	The 45th Azov General Field Marshal County Golovin, later – His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Boris Volodymyrovych Infantry Regiment	Starokostyantynov Volyn province	Yes
12	The Crimean Her Majesty the Empress Alexandra Fedorovna Horse Regiment	Simferopol Tauride province	Yes
13	The 51th Lithuanian Imperial Highness of the successor of Tsesarevich Infantry Regiment	Simferopol Tauride province	Yes
14	The 49th Brest Imperial Highness of Grand Duke Mikhail Mikhailovich Infantry Regiment	Simferopol Tauride province	Yes
15	The 127th Putivl Infantry Regiment	Rivne Volyn province	Yes
16	The 33rd Eletsy Infantry Regiment	Poltava	Yes
17	The 34th Sevsk General County Kamensky Infantry Regiment	Poltava	Yes
18	The 11th Emperor Nicholas I Sapper Battalion	Odessa Kherson Province	Yes
19	The 16th Emperor Alexander III Infantry Regiment	Odessa Kherson Province	Yes
20	The 14th General Field Marshal Gurko Infantry Regiment	Odessa Kherson Province	Yes
21	The 48th Odessa Emperor Alexander I Infantry Regiment	Mohyliv-Podilsky	Yes
22	The 9th Odessa His Royal Highness Austrian Archdeacon Franz Ferdinand Ulan Regiment	Bila Tserkva Kyiv province	Yes
23	The 11th Izyum General Dorokhov, later – His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia Hussar Regiment.	Lutsk Volyn province	Yes
24	The 129th Bessarabian His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich Infantry Regiment	Kyiv	Yes
25	The 130th Kherson His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Andriy Volodymyrovych's Infantry Regiment	Kyiv	Yes
26	The 131st Tiraspol Adjutant General Vannovsky Infantry Regiment.	Kyiv	Yes
27	The 132th Bender Infantry Regiment	Kyiv	Yes

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
29	The 9th Kazan Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna Dragoons Regiment	Zhytomyr Volyn province	Yes
30	The 11th Chuguevsky Her Majesty Empress Maria Feodorovna Ulan Regiment	Dubno Volyn province	Yes
31	The 41st Selenga Infantry Regiment	Dubno Volyn province	Yes
32	The 75th Sevastopol Infantry Regiment	Gaisin temporary place – Ladyzhin Podillya province	Yes
33	The 7th Kinburn Dragoon Regiment	Volodymyr-Volynsk temporarily – Kovel Volyn province.	Yes
34	The 68th Borodnian Emperor Alexander III Infantry regiment	Volodymyr-Volynsk Volyn province.	Yes
35	The 7th Belarusian Emperor Alexander I Hussar regiment	Volodymyr-Volynsk Volyn province.	Yes
36	The 73rd Crimean His Imperial Highness, Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich Infantry Regiment	Vinnitsa Podillya province	Yes
37	The 9th Kiev General Field Marshal Prince Nikolai Repnin Hussar Regiment	Vasilkov Kyiv province	Yes
38	The 67th Tarutinsky Great Duke of Oldenburg Infantry Regiment.	Kovel Volyn province	Yes
39	The 10th Odessa His Highness of the Grand Duke of Luxembourg and Nassau Ulan Regiment	Octopus Kharkiv province, temporarily – Belgorod	Yes
40	The 29th Chernihiv General Field Marshal Count Dibicha Zabalkansky Regiment	Warsaw	Yes
41	The 4th Kharkov Ulan Regiment	Bialystok Grodno Province	Yes
42	The 17th Chernigov Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizabeth Fedorovny Hussar Regiment	Orel	Yes
43	The 1st Sumy His Majesty King of the Danish Frederick VIII Hussar Regiment	Moscow	Yes
44	The 12th Okhtirsky General Denis Davydov, Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna Hussar Regiment	Mezhibuzhye Podillya province	Yes
45	The 12th Starodubsky Dragun Regiment	Volochysk Volyn province	Yes
46	The 133rd Simferopol Infantry Regiment	Katerinoslav	Yes

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
48	The 4th Mariupol General Field Marshal Prince Wittgenstein Hussar Regiment	Bialystok Grodno Province	Yes
49	The 13th Artillery Brigade	Sevastopol Tavria province	Yes
50	The 12th Belgorod His Majesty of the Austrian Emperor, King of the Hungarian Franz Josef I Ulan Regiment	Proskuriv Podillya province	Yes
51	The 5th Kiev His Imperial Highness heir Tserevich Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	Yes
52	The 36th Orlovsky General Field Marshal Prince of Warsaw County Paskevich-Yerevan Infantry Regiment	Kremenchug Poltava Province	Yes
53	The 182nd Grohovsky Infantry Regiment	Kyiv	Yes
54	The 20th Galician Infantry Regiment	Zhytomyr Volyn province	Yes
55	The 35th Bryansk Infantry Regiment	Kremenchug Poltava province	Yes
56	The 6th Volyn Ulan Regiment	Tsekhanov temporarily – Lomza	
57	The 15th of the Pereyaslavl Emperor Alexander III Dragoons Regiment	Plock	
58	The 134th Feodosia Infantry Regiment	Katerinoslav	
59	The 135th Kerch-Enikolsky Infantry Regiment	Pavlograd Ekaterinoslav province	
60	The 3rd Life Guard Artillery Brigade	Warsaw	
61	The 181th Ostrolensk Infantry Regiment	Yaroslavl	
62	The 95th Krasnoyarsk Infantry Regiment	Yuriev Lifland province	
63	The 5th Caucasian His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Georgy Mikhailovich Artillery Regiment	Yerevan	
64	The 8th Estonia Infantry Regiment	Field Marshal Gurko's headquarters. Near Yablonnaya Station	
65	The 14th Miatev Hussar Regiment	Czestochowa Petrokovskaya province	
66	The 6th Turkestan General Chernyaev Rifle Regiment	Chardzhui (Bukhara)	
67	The 2nd Life Guard Tsarskoe Selo Infantry Regiment	Tsarskoe Selo St. Petersburg province	
68	The Life Guards Husar His Imperial Highness Regiment	Tsarskoe Selo St. Petersburg province	
69	The 4th Imperial Family Life Guard Infantry Regiment	Tsarskoe Selo St. Petersburg province	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
71	The 65th Moscow His Majesty Infantry Regiment	Kholm Lublin province	
72	The 16th Tver His Imperial Highness Heir Cesarevich Dragon Regiment	The crown of the Tsar's Colosseum Tiflis province	
73	The 13th Yerevan Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich Life Grenadier Regiment	Manglish tract Tiflis province	
74	The 14th Georgian His Imperial Highness, the successor of the Tsarevich Grand Prince Alexei Nikolayevich Grenadier Regiment	Biliy Kliuch tract Tiflis province	
75	The 11th Pskov General Field Marshal Prince Kutuzov-Smolensky Infantry Regiment	Tula	
76	The 15th Tiflis His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich Grenadier Regiment	Tiflis	
77	The 16th Mengrelian His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Dmitry Konstantinovich Grenadier regiment	Tiflis	
78	The 17th Nizhny Novgorod His Majesty dragoons regiment	Tiflis	
79	The 1st Caucasian General Field Marshal Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich Infantry Regiment	Tiflis	
80	The Caucasian Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolayevich Grenadier Artillery Brigade	Tiflis	
81	The 1st Horse Artillery Division	Tver	
82	The 1st Battery of Horse Artillery Brigade	Tver	
83	The 1st Moscow Emperor Peter the Great Life Dragoon Regiment	Tver	
84	The 2nd Battery of Horse Artillery Brigade	Tver	
85	The 8th Moscow Grand Duke Mecklenburg-Schwerin Friedrich-Franz IV Grenadier Regiment	Tver	
86	The 1st Turkestan Infantry Regiment	Tashkent Sirdaryo Region	
87	The 27th Vitebsk Infantry Regiment	Tambov	
88	The 62nd Suzdal Generalysimus Prince Suvorov Infantry Regiment	Suvorov headquarters (near the station of Monky Pryvlishavskoy railway)	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
90	The 20th Infantry Regiment	Suwalki	
91	The 2nd Pskov Her Majesty Empress Empress Maria Feodorovna Life-Dragoon Regiment	Suwalki	
92	The Life Guards Horse-Grenadier Regiment	Starii Petergoph St. Petersburg province	
93	The Life Guard Dragoon Regiment	Starii Petergoph St. Petersburg province.	
94	The 83rd Samursky Infantry Regiment	Stavropol	
95	The 63rd Uglich General Field Marshal Apraksin Infantry Regiment	Sokilka Grodno province	
96	The 2nd Sofia Emperor Alexander III Infantry Regiment	Smolensk	
97	The 3rd Narva General Field Marshal Prince Mikhail Golitsyn Infantry Regiment	Smolensk	
98	The 4th General of Kopor, Count Konovnitsyn, later – His Majesty the King of the Saxon Infantry Regiment	Smolensk	
99	The 118th Shuya Infantry Regiment	Slonim Grodno province	
100	The 140th Zaraisk Infantry Regiment	Skopin Ryazan province	
101	The 163rd Lankaran-Nasheborsky Infantry Regiment	Simbirsk	
102	The 5th Lithuanian his Majesty the King of Italy Victor Emmanuel III Ulan Regiment	Simbirsk	
103	The 3rd Siberian Infantry Regiment	Shkotovo village	
104	The 156th Yelisavetpolsky, Prince Tsitsyanov Infantry Regiment	Sarikamish village Karsky region	
105	The 1st Siberian His majesty Infantry Regiment	Razdolne village Primorsk region	
106	The 13th Narva His Majesty of the Emperor of Germany King of Prussia William II Hussar Regiment	Sedlets	
107	The 185th Bashkadiklarskii Infantry Regiment	Saratov	
108	The 145th Novocherkassk Emperor Alexander III Infantry Regiment	St. Petersburg	
109	The 1st Railway Regiment	St. Petersburg	
110	The Guards Horses and Artillery Brigade	St. Petersburg	
111	The Cavalry Guards Her Majesty Empress Empress Maria Feodorovna Regiment	St. Petersburg	
112	The 1st Artillery Life Guard Brigade	St. Petersburg	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
114	The 3rd His Majesty Life Guards Infantry Regiment	St. Petersburg	
115	The Atamansky's Life Guard's His Imperial Highness heir Cesarevich Regiment	St. Petersburg	
116	The Grenadier Life Guard Regiment	St. Petersburg	
117	The Jogging Life Guard Regiment	St. Petersburg	
118	The Ismailovsky Life Guard Regiment.	St. Petersburg	
119	The Cossacks His Majesty Life Guards Regiment	St. Petersburg	
120	The Horse Life Guard Regiment	St. Petersburg	
121	The Moscow Life Guard Regiment	St. Petersburg	
122	The Pavlovsky Life Guard Regiment	St. Petersburg	
123	The Preobrazhensky Life Guards Regiment.	St. Petersburg	
124	The Engineer Life Guard Battalion	St. Petersburg	
125	The Semenovskiy Life Guard Regiment	St. Petersburg	
126	The Finnish Life Guard's Regiment	St. Petersburg	
127	The Palace Grenadier Company	St. Petersburg	
128	The 192nd Rimnin Infantry Regiment	Samara temporarily – Orenburg	
129	The 5th Alexandria Her Imperial Majesty Alexandra Fedorovna Husar Regiment	Samara	
130	The 24th Simbirsk General Neversonsky Infantry Regiment	Saltykovskiy headquarters (near Ostrov) Lomzhinska province	
131	The 137th Nizhyn Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna Infantry Regiment	Ryazan	
132	The 138th Volkhovskiy Infantry Regiment	Ryazan	
133	1st Nevskiy His Majesty King Ellins Infantry Regiment	Roslavl Smolensk province	
134	The 117th Yaroslavl Infantry Regiment	Rogachev Mogilev province	
135	The 115th Vyazma Infantry Regiment	Riga Livonia province	
136	The 116th Maloyaroslavskiy Infantry Regiment	Riga Livonia province	
137	The 16th Irkutsk His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich Hussar Regiment	Riga Livonia province	
138	The 1st St. Petersburg General Field Marshal prince Menshikov Ulan Regiment	Rzhev Tver province	



<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
140	The 89th Bilomorsk Infantry Regiment	Revel	
141	The 91st Dvina Infantry Regiment	Revel	
142	The 4th Shirvansky His Majesty's Infantry Regiment	Pyatigorsk Terskaya region	
143	The 6th Klyastichsky His Royal Highness The Grand Duke of Hessen Ernst Ludwig Hussar Regiment	Pultusk temporarily – Kulnevsky headquarters near Mlavy Shtopka province	
144	The 7th Revelsk General Tuchkova IV Infantry regiment	Pultusk Warsaw province	
145	The 93rd Irkutsk His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich Infantry Regiment	Pskov	
146	The 96th Omsk Infantry Regiment	Pskov	
147	The 194th Trinity-Sergius Infantry Regiment	Perm	
148	The 141st Mozhaisk Infantry Regiment	Orel	
149	The 147th Samara Infantry Regiment	Oranienbaum St. Petersburg province	
150	The 3rd Yelisavetgradsky His Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna Hussar Regiment	Olgin headquarters (near Mariampol of Suwalki province)	
151	The 108th Saratov Infantry Regiment	Olita	
152	The Life Guard Ulani Her Majesty Empress Alexandra Fedorovna regiment	Novii Peterhof St. Petersburg province	
153	The 148-й піхотний Каспійський полк	Novii Peterhof St. Petersburg province	
154	The 17th Novomirgorod Ulan Regiment	Novohopersk Voronezh province	
155	The 13th Volodymyr Ulan Regiment	Novo-Minek Warsaw province	
156	The 85th Vyborg His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the German King of Prussia Wilhelm II Infantry Regiment	Novgorod	
157	The 21st Siberian Her Majesty Empress Alexandra Fedorovna Infantry regiment	Nikolsk-Ussuriysky Primorsk region	
158	The 37th Yekaterinburg Infantry Regiment	Nizhny Novgorod	
159	The 38th Tobolsk General Count Miloradovich Infantry regiment	Nizhny Novgorod	
160	The 10th Artillery Brigade	Nizhny Novgorod	
161	The 6th Glukhiv Empress Katherine the Great Dragoon Regiment	Nizhny Novgorod headquarters (near the city Ostrolenka)	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
163	The 12th Astrakhan Emperor Alexander III Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
164	The 1st Alexander II, Emperor Alexander II Life Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
165	The 1st General Field Marshal Count Bruce Artillery Grenadier Brigade	Moscow	
166	The 2nd Rostovsky His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
167	The 3rd Pernovsky King Friedrich-Wilhelm IV Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
168	The 4th Nesvizh General Field Marshal Prince Barclay de Tolly Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
169	The 6th Tavriya General Field Marshal Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolayevich Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
170	The 7th Samogitian Adjutant General Count Tottleben Grenadier Regiment	Moscow	
171	The His Imperial Highness, Grand Duke Petr Nikolaevich Engineer Grenadier Battalion	Moscow	
172	The 19th Archangelgorodskii Dragoon Regiment	Mitava Courland province	
173	The 14th Turkestan general-adjutant Skobelev Infantry Regiment.	Merv Zaskarpaysky region	
174	The 69th General Ryazan Field Marshal Prince Alexander Golitsyn Infantry Regiment	Lublin	
175	The 13th Bilozersky Count Lassi, later – Field Marshal of the Prince Volkonsky Infantry Regiment	Lomza	
176	The 1st Infantry Regiment	Lodz Petrokovskaya region	
177	The 1st Hopersky Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Anastasia Mikhailovna of the Kuban Cossack Army Regiment	Kutaisi	
178	The 61st Infantry Regiment of Vladimir	Fortress Osovets	
179	The 12th Siberian Infantry His Imperial Highness Heir Tsesarevych Grand Duke Alexei Nikolayevich regiment	Fortress Vladivostok Primorsk region	
180	The 11th Siberian Her Majesty Empress Empress Maria Feodorovna Infantry Regiment	Fortress Vladivostok Primorsk region	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
182	The 39th Tomsk His Imperial Highness, Erz-Duke of the Austrian Ludwig-Victor Infantry Regiment	Kozlov Tambov province	
183	The 3rd of Novorossiysk Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Volodymyrivna Dragoons Regiment	Kovno	
184	The 53rd Volyn General Field Marshal of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich Infantry Regiment	Chisinau Bessarabia province	
185	The Lubensky Hussar Regiment	Chisinau Bessarabia province	
186	The 14th Yamburg Her Imperial Highness, Grand Duchess Mary Alexandrovna Ulan Regiment	Celtic	
187	The 79th General-Field Marshal Prince Vorontsov, later – His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Pavel Alexandrovich Infantry Regiment	Kare	
188	The 80-й піхотний Кабардинський генерал-фельдмаршала князя Барятинського полк	Kare	
189	The 14th Malorossiysk Crown Prince of Germany and Prussia Dragoon Regiment	Kamin	
190	The 2nd Courland Emperor Alexander II Life Ulan Regiment	Calvaria Suwalki's province	
191	The 10th Novoingermanlandskii Infantry Regiment	Kaluga	
192	The 9th Ingermanlandskii Emperor Peter the Great Infantry Regiment	Kaluga	
193	The 5th Kargopol Dragun Regiment	Kazan	
194	The 25th Siberian Lieutenant-General Kondratenko Infantry Regiment	Irkutsk	
195	The 66th Butyrsky General Dokhturov Infantry Regiment	Zamost'e Lublin province	
196	The 21st Murom Infantry Regiment	Zabalkan headquarters (near Rozhany) Lomzhinskaya province	
197	The 139th Morshansky Infantry Regiment	Egorievsk Ryazan province	
198	The 98th Yuriyevsk Infantry Regiment	Dvinsk Vitebsk province	
199	The 99th Ivangorod Infantry Regiment	Dvinsk Vitebsk province	
200	The 97th Livelian General Field Marshal Count Sheremetev Infantry Regiment	Dvinsk Vitebsk province	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
202	The 2nd Dagestan His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich Infantry Regiment	Groznii Teres'k region	
203	The 101st Perm Infantry Regiment	Hrodna	
204	The 4th Army General Adjutant Engineer Battalion	Hrodna	
205	The 60th Abkhazian Infantry Regiment	Gomel Mogilev province	
206	The 3rd Finnish Infantry Regiment	Helsingfors Uusimaa Province	
207	Her Majesty the Great Imperial Highness of the Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna Life Guard Cuirassier Regiment	Gatchina St. Petersburg province	
208	The 13th Military Order of Field Marshal of Count Minich Dragoon Regiment	Garvolin Sedletsky province	
209	The 25th Smolensk General Rayevsky Infantry Regiment	Voronezh	
210	The 198th Alexander Nevsky Infantry Regiment	Vologda	
211	The 10th Malorossiysk Field Marshal Count Rumyantsev-Zadunaysky Grenadier Regiment	Vladimir	
212	The 9th Siberian General Field Marshal Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich Grenadier Regiment	Vladimir	
213	The 81st Absheron Empress Katherine the Great, later – His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Georgy Mikhailovich Infantry Regiment	Vladikavkaz	
214	The 100th Ostrowskii Infantry Regiment	Vitebsk province	
215	The 105th Orenburg Infantry Regiment	Vilna	
216	The Volinsky Life Guards Regiment	Warsaw	
217	The Grodno Life Guards Hussar Regiment	Warsaw	
218	The Kexholm Emperor of the Austrian Life Guards Regiment	Warsaw	
219	The Lithuanian Life Guard Regiment	Warsaw	
220	The St. Petersburg King Friedrich-Wilhelm III Life Guard Regiment	Warsaw	
221	The Ulan His Imperial Highness Life Guard Regiment	Warsaw	
222	The 152nd Vladikavkaz General Yermolov Infantry Regiment	Brest-Litovsk Grodno province	

<b>A general list of regiments</b>			
<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the regiment (brigades)</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Ukrainian origin</b>
224	The 204th Ardagan-Mikhailovsky Infantry Regiment	Batum Kutaisi province	
225	The 206th Salyan His Imperial Highness Heir Tsereyevich Grand Duke Alexei Nikolayevich Infantry Regiment	Baku	
226	The 77th Tengin Infantry Regiment	Akhalkalaki Tiflis Province	
227	The 78th Navagin Infantry Regiment	Akhalkalaki Tiflis Province	
228	The 153rd Baku His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich Infantry Regiment	Aleksandropil Yerevan province	
229	The 18th Seversky King of the Danish Christian IX Dragoon Regiment	Aleksandropil Yerevan province	
230	The 3rd Smolensk Emperor Alexander III Ulan Regiment	Alexandrovsky headquarters (nearby Wilkowski)	
231	The 104th Ustyugin General of Prince Bagration Infantry Regiment	Bagration Headquarters. Augustov Suwalka province.	
232	The 22nd Nizhegorodskii Infantry Regiment	Ostroleka	
233	The 4th Novotroitsk-Yekaterinoslav Field Marshal of the Prince Potemkin-Tavriysky Dragoon Regiment	Potemkin Headquarters near the Grave Shchuchinsky District Lomzhinskaya province	
234	The 86th Wilmanstrandskii Infantry Regiment	Staraya Russa Novgorod province	

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### **DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITIES BETWEEN THE STATE SECRETARIAT OF MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE INITIAL TEAM OF THE GALICIAN ARMY**

*The author of the article investigates the powers of the State Secretary of Military Affairs of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the Initial Team of the Galician Army during the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918 – 1919. Also, military issues were considered in which these powers were divided and intersected. The main sources for writing the article were orders and communications from the leadership of the State Secretary of Military Affairs («Dispositions», «Charging», «Statements») published in the official publication of the State Secretary of Military Affairs «Vistnik».*

*In the article, the author concludes that the powers of the armed forces of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, – Ukrainian troops, – were divided between the State Secretary of Military Affairs and the Initial Team of the Galician Army. It was done according to a pattern of division of powers in the army of Austria-Hungary. The State Secretary of Military Affairs obeyed the head of the State Secretariat and acted on behalf of the Ukrainian National Council. Formally, the head of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was the president of the Ukrainian People's Republic – he was subordinated to the Initial Team of the Galician Army.*

*The name of the Armed Forces of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in the Ukrainian historiography, the «Galician Army», was used in documents of the State Secretary of Military Affairs, was used only to the part of the troop that was on the front and was subordinated to the Initial Team of the Galician Army. The powers of the Initial Team of the Galician Army can be equated to the current powers of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and the powers of the State Secretary of Military Affairs to the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. The scope of competence of both abovementioned state bodies of military management was divided not only functionally, but also territorially. Consequently, after the departure of Lviv on Nov. 21, 1918, the leadership of the State Secretary of Military Affairs and Initial Team of the Galician Army was in different settlements. The activities of the State Secretary of Military Affairs were aimed at solving back issues: of military-political, military-administrative, military-material, military-legal and military-financial character. The military unit of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic paid special attention to mobilizing soldiers for the army. Sometimes the activities of the military ministry of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic crossed the activities of other ministries. State Secretary of Military Affairs has directed its policy to improve the various areas of life of the soldier in the rear. In particular, it was engaged in raising the fighting spirit in the army.*

*The State Secretary of Military Affairs in its powers did not interfere in the conduct of hostilities at the Initial Team of the Galician Army front, however, it had to meet the needs of the front in refueling personnel, ammunition and ammunition. In its operational activities, Initial Team of the Galician Army was independent of the Military Ministry of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic.*

**Key words:** *Western Ukrainian People's Republic, State Secretary of Military Affairs, the Initial Team of the Galician Army, Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918 – 1919.*

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## **РОЗПОДІЛ ПОВНОВАЖЕНЬ МІЖ ДЕРЖАВНИМ СЕКРЕТАРІАТОМ ВІЙСЬКОВИХ СПРАВ ЗАХІДНО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАРОДНОЇ РЕСПУБЛІКИ ТА НАЧАЛЬНОЇ КОМАНДОЮ ГАЛИЦЬКОЇ АРМІЇ**

*Автор статті досліджує повноваження Державного Секретаріату Військових Справ (ДСВС) Західно-Української Народної Республіки (ЗУНР) та Начальної Команди Галицької Армії (НКГА) у ході польсько-української війни 1918 – 1919 рр. Також розглянуто воєнні питання, у яких ці повноваження розділялись та у яких перетинались.*

*Права та обов'язки НКГА можна порівняти до сьогодшніх повноважень Генерального Штабу Збройних сил України, а ДСВС – до Міністерства оборони України. Повноваження двох вищезазначених державних органів військового управління були розділені і територіально. ДСВС не поширював свою сферу управління на командування армією на фронті, де свою владу розповсюджувала НКГА і яка була незалежною від військового міністерства.*

*Основною метою діяльності Державного секретаря військових справ ЗУНР було задоволення потреби фронту, зокрема у питаннях поповнення кадрів, боєприпасів та амуніції. Інколи діяльність ДСВС перетиналась із роботою інших міністерств уряду ЗУНР. У структурі військового міністерства держави галичан та буковинців було 14 відділів, кожен з яких відповідав за свій напрям роботи, а також канцелярія. Політика ДСВС була спрямована, зокрема, і на підняття бойового духу в армії, що, як засвідчила історія збройних сил ЗУНР, було основною зброєю у веденні війни проти у рази сильніших окупантів українських земель. Військове міністерство хоч і не втручалось в оперативну діяльність НКГА, проте в окремих наказах Державний секретар військових справ вносив корективи в умови перебування військових на фронті.*

*Діяльність Наказного отамана Галицької Армії була спрямована на вирішення тиллових питань, зокрема військово-політичного, військово-адміністративного, військово-матеріального, військово-правового та військово-фінансового характерів. У своїй структурі НКГА поділялася на: оперативний та організаційно-матеріальний відділи. Перший відповідав за бойові дії і мав у підпорядкуванні чотири підвідділи, другий – десять підвідділів.*

*Розподіл повноважень у збройних силах ЗУНР між ДСВС та НКГА вповні відповідав австро-угорському принципу розподілу військової влади на тилову та фронтову.*

**Ключові слова:** Західно-Українська Народна Республіка, Державний Секретаріат Військових Справ, Начальна Команда Галицької Армії, польсько-українська війна 1918 – 1919 рр.

**The statement of the problem.** In the conditions of the present-day Russian-Ukrainian confrontation in Donbas, Ukraine's Ministry of Defence. and Joint Staff of the Armed forces of Ukraine pay a special attention to their cooperation which efficiency, in many cases, depends on the correct distribution of authorities. In the given context, studying of a corresponding cooperation of the State Secretariat of Military Affairs (hence, SSMA) of the West Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) and the Supreme Command of the Galician Army during 1918 – 1919 Polish-Ukrainian war.

**The analysis of recent researches.** The Ukrainian historiography has no research which would thoroughly study the question of distribution of authorities between the SSMA and the Supreme Command of the Galician Army. Certain separate aspects of this question were elucidated by Olexander Dedyk in his work «The Chortkiv offensive. Part I» (Dedyk, 2015). The author shortly relates the history of interrelations of both state structures of military command of ZUNR. In his book «Ukrainian-Polish War of 1918 – 1919» Mykhailo Lytvyn analyzes the way of conducting of military-mobilization activity by the SSMA (Lytvyn,



1998) was spent. The authors of «History of the Ukrainian army (from princely times to the 1920s)» raise a question of the responsibility of the SSMA and the Supreme Command of the Galician Army for defeat of the Galicians in the Polish-Ukrainian war (Krypyakevych, 1992). In Natalia Shuminska's dissertation «The establishment of Galician Army, the peculiarities of bringing up to strength and staff preparation (November, 1918 – November, 1919)» the history of the formation of Galicia's armed forces in the specified period is investigated (Shuminska, 2016). Natalia Vovk in her dissertation «Information support of the Ukrainian Galician Army (a November. 1918 – July, 1919)» illuminates the information-press activity of State Secretary of Military Affairs, in particular, the edition of «Vistnyk» («Herald») of the State Secretary of Military Affairs (Vovk, 2015). Orders, instructions, and reports of the administration of the SSMA published in the printed issue of the military ministry «Vistnyk» became the basic scientific sources for the writing of this article.

**The article's purpose** is on the basis of orders and reports of the administration of the SSMA («Orders», «Instructions», «Statements»), which were published in the «Vistnyk» of the SSMA to establish the distribution of authorities between the SSMA and the Supreme Command of the Galician Army.

**The statement of the basic material.** In the beginning of their existence the armed forces of the West Ukrainian National Republic received the name «the Ukrainian army» (Prysiha, 1918: 1). The Ukrainian General Command, created on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918, was the main military body to plan the defence of the country, administration and maintenance of the Ukrainian army. On November 8<sup>th</sup> it was renamed as the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Army (SCUA). Its competence extended on the front and the nearby strip. In questions of conducting operations, SCUA was independent of the SSMA, however, it was subordinated to it in affairs of daily functioning and development of the armed forces. The functional duties of the Supreme Command of the Galician Army can be compared with the duties of today's Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

During the Polish-Ukrainian fights for Lviv, for the purpose of development of the armed forces of ZUNR, on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1918 the SSMA was created. It was subordinated to the Head of the State Secretariate and executed its activity on behalf of the Ukrainian National Rada (Prysiha, 1918: 1). In today's understanding, the SSMA had the authorities of Ministry of Defence.

During its existence the SSMA was headed by captain Dmytro Vitovskyi (till February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1919) and colonel Victor Kurmanovych (till the end of May, 1919). With the introduction of a post of the Supreme Leader (Commander-in-chief), the authority of the SSMA passed to the Command of the Rear.

On February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1919 the SCUA was renamed in the Supreme Command of Galician Army. It took place through the introduction on January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919 of the official name «Galician Army» for front-line units of ZUNR (Rozporiad XIII, 1919: 6). The renaming of front-line units of the army of the West Ukrainian National Republic, obviously, was made for the sake of preserving for the Galician army of its local name after the declaration of the Act of Unification. Likewise, the name of ZUNR was changed in the «Western Region of the Ukrainian National Republic». A commander headed the SCUA/SCGA. At various times this post was occupied by: captain Dmytro Vitovskyi (since October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1918), colonel Hryhoriy Kossak (since November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1918), colonel Hnat Stefaniv (since November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1918), general Mykhailo Omelianovych-Pavlenko (since December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918), general Olexander Hrekov (since June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1919), general Myron Tarnavskyi (since July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1919), and general Osep Mykytka (since November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1919).



In its structure the SSMA had 14 departments, each of which was responsible for its direction of work and its office. Their military ministry the Galicians formed on the sample of the corresponding ministry structure of Austro-Hungary (Lytvyn, 1998: 32). The departments of the SSMA were such: 1<sup>st</sup>, which was responsible for personnel questions of officers, «Vistnyk» of the SSMA, and publication of military literature; 2<sup>nd</sup>, which was responsible for personnel questions of pidstarshynas and riflemen; 3<sup>rd</sup>, which had duties connected with military training and supplying of ammunition; 4<sup>th</sup>, which was responsible for mobilisation; 5<sup>th</sup>, responsible for the condition of weapons, ammunition, etc. (CSAAB of Ukraine).

In its activity the SCGA comprised two departments, operative and organizational-material. The first was responsible for operations and had four sections in submission: operative, intelligence, interconnection, and replenishments. The second totaled ten sections: staff, technical, ammunition, rear, technical, sanitary, veterinary, quartermaster, judicial, field clergy, and aviation (Lytvn, 1998: 279).

After the Galician militaries had left Lviv on November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1918, the SSMA and SCGA had different places of dislocation. The SSMA in November of 1918 moved to Ternopil, and in December, 1918, he went to Stanislaviv. Yet before the transition of Galician Army behind the Zbruch river, the Secretariat moved together with the government of ZUNR: through Buchach, Chortkiv, and Zalishchyky. From November, 1918 to May, 1919 the SCGA was in Berezhany, Bibrka, and Khodoriv, and with the transition of the power and army of ZUNR across the Zbruch in July, 1919, it was dislocated in Vinnytsia.

The first orders (rozporiady) of the military ministry of the West Ukrainian National Republic are dated on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1918. Primarily, they had an expressively military-political character. In one of them, dd. November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1918, it went about that all military formations of Austro-Hungary, which were on the territories of ZUNR, and all military formations which got recruited from the territory of Galician state should be demobilized. It is worthy of note, that this document, except the State Secretary of Military Affairs Dmytro Vitovskyi, was signed also by President of the state secretaries Konst' Levytskyi, which fact testifies to the political character of this point in question (Rozporiad /Order/ III, 1918: 2). The like samples with several signatures of the State secretaries or the President of the State secretaries on the SSMA orders are numerous. Also, it is necessary to consider the Zariadzhennia (in our contemporary understanding – order) of December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918, as a political decision of the SSMA, which announced that the foreigners who come back from captivity through the territory of ZUNR, were not subject to audits, but it was necessary to deprive them from weapons and ammunition (Zariadzhennia dd. December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918, 1919: 1–2).

The activity of the SSMA was, sometimes, crossed with a migratory policy of ZUNR. Rozporiad № XXXV of April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1919, dealt with a question of a regulation of delivery of travel permits and passports for the civilians, on which State secretaries of Internal and Foreign Affairs also put signatures (Rozporiad XXXV, 1919: 1).

To the competence of the SSMA належала and military-administrative activity. By Rozporiad (alias Order) of November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1918 the territory of ZUNR was divided into three military areas, namely, Lviv, Ternornopil, and Stanislaviv (Rozporiad III, 1918: 2) and into 12 military districts (Rozporiad V I, 1918: 4). Rozporiad of November 18<sup>th</sup> the military area was created, which comprised military districts of Stryi, Sambir, and Peremyshl. Colonel Hryhoryi Kossak was appointed the commander of that formation (Rozporiad VII, 1918: 1).

The fact that the activity of the SSMA was directed at the development of the armed forces is certified by a number of documents, in which the necessity to bring the infrastructure of the West

Ukrainian National Republic into a military condition was underlined. In particular, Rozporiad of November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1918 on the mobilisation announcement can be referred to in this context (Rozporiad VI, 1918: 2–3). On November 19<sup>th</sup>, the SSMA demanded the preparation of military barracks for the newly arrived soldiers. Also, the necessity of gathering foodstuff for the just mobilised was underlined there (Zariadzhennia of November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1918, 1918: 1). The service in an army demanded from the doctors (Zariadzhennia of December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1918, 1918: 3) to examine the military patients every day (Tymchasove, 1918: 3–4). Foreigners were also invited for mobilisation (Rozporiad XXI, 1919: 7–8). The definition of categories which were not subjected to mobilisation also belonged to the competence of the SSMA (Rozporiad XLV, 1919: 7). Besides, together with the State Secretariat of Education, the SSMA guaranteed the renewal of the mobilized into the training process in educational institutions (Rozporiad XXI, 1919: 2).

The SSMA was responsible also for military-material maintenance of the armed forces of ZUNR. The information about the foodstuffs, equipment and transport structures in military units was subject to rigid control. The data about their condition had to be sent the Command of Galician Army on the 10<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and the last day of each month to the SSMA and SCG. Although all the storehouses in delivery questions were submitted to the SSMA, in cases of urgent necessities, in order to bypass the state bureaucracy, they were «surely be subordinated to the Supreme Command of Galician Army» (Order for the district commands, 1918: 8), which fact testifies to the front character of the latter's activity. For the purpose of feeding the army, on April 15<sup>th</sup> in the rear and at the front special departments purposed to purchase food for the military were created. The commanders of the «Purchase-loan departments» in the front were appointed by the SCGA, and in the rear – by the SSMA. In the rear the post name of the commander of the specified department was called «the purchasing-lending district starshyna (foreman)» (Rozporiad XLIII, 1919: 4–5). By the highest administration of ZUNR the Commissariat the SSMA was established which managed the policy of military-material maintenance of the army of the West Ukrainian National Republic (Rozporiad XLVIII, 1919: 1).

The military ministry of ZUNR supervised military arsenals and distribution of weapons from them. Order of December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1918, prescribed the main military arsenal to be located in Ternopil. Each command should make an audit of its weapons and to send that which was not used to the main military arsenal. The information about the arms audit had to be sent into the SSMA. The district commands, which were at the front line, in case of a need in ammunition were forbidden to ask for its replenishment directly from Ternopil, and it was necessary to do it through the Supreme Command of the Galician Army. Other commands had to solve this question through the reviewer of the weapon of the SSMA (Order to district commands, 1919: 8). It certifies that the authorities were distributed between the Supreme Command of the Galician Army and the State Secretariat of Military Affairs not only functionally, but also territorially.

To the competence of the State Secretariat of Military Affairs the military-legal activity also belonged: in Rozporiad VI of November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1918 a question of creation of 12 district military courts, which «temporarily» should be guided in their activity by the Austrian legislation (Rozporiad VI, 1918: 4) and which received the name «The field courts of a district command in...» (Rozporiad VIII, 1918: 3). The competence of the field courts the Supreme Command of the Galician Army included the solution of affairs which were connected with the front life: «all the affairs of officers, of spies, and of enemy's tends...» (Rozporiad of January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919, 1919: 7). The State Secretariat of Military Affairs resolved to the military authorities in the consent with the political authorities to impose the contribution on those who was with hostility adjusted to the existence of ZUNR (Order of February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919, 1919: 6).

The military ministry of the West Ukrainian National Republic, though it did not interfere with operative activity of the Supreme Command of the Galician Army, but, nevertheless, a number of Rozporiadki introduced corrective amendments about the conditions of the remaining of the militaries at the front. For example, it founded the structure the higher spiritual government (in today's understanding – the institute of military chaplain) which made the military ministry of the West Ukrainian National Republic the same as of the Supreme Command of the Galician Army (Order of February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919, 1919: 6). The State Secretariat of Military Affairs established a delimitation between the front, sub-front, and rear territories (Rozporiad XLVIII, 1919: 5). In one of Rozporiadki it was prescribed that recalled militaries should be maintained by that station a command where they arrived (Rozporiad of January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919, 1919: 7). The order of payments to the military implied each 1<sup>st</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> day every month (Dopovnennia, 1919: 7).

The Supreme Command of the Galician Army tried to establish a positive microclimate inside of the army. For raising of the fighting spirit Zariadzhennia was issued by the District Military command to begin educational work in the districts. To charge it, it was recommended to foremen, «that already during the war were engaged in raising of the fighting spirit, took part in educational work in the army or – before the war – among the the people» (Zariadzhennia of April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919, 1919: 11–12).

To the competence of the State Secretariat of Military Affairs also a question of creation of the uniform for the army belonged (Zariadzhennia of December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918, 1919: 1).

The State Secretariat of Military Affairs supervised the finance of the Ukrainian army of the West Ukrainian National Republic. A special department was created for this purpose. All districts should direct their accounting certificates to this department, all formations which were at the front had to send them to a special department by the Supreme Command of the Galician Army.

**The conclusions.** Summing up, a conclusion can be made that the activity of the armed forces of the West Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR), or the Ukrainian troops, was distributed between the State Secretariat of Military Affairs and the Supreme Command of the Galician Army. By the «Galician Army» only that part of the army was named which conducted operations at the front line. The authorities of both aforementioned state structures of military management were divided not only it functional, but also in territorial ways. The State Secretariat of Military Affairs in the authorities did not interfere at operation conducting at the front where the authority was extended by the Supreme Command of the Galician Army. However, the military ministry of ZUNR should satisfy requirements of the front, particularly, in questions of replenishment of the cadres, ammunition, and weaponry. The Supreme Command of the Galician Army in the operative activity was independent of the SSMA. The activity of the latter was directed to the solution of rear questions, in particular, of military-political, military-administrative, military-material, military-legal, and military-financial character. Also, the policy of the State Secretariat of Military Affairs was directed to raising of fighting spirit in the army, which, as the history of the armed forces of ZUNR certified, was the basic weapon of the struggle in the war against the much stronger invaders of the Ukrainian lands.

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### **PICKED UP BY THE ELEMENTS: A VIEW ON THE PEASANT INSURGENT MOVEMENT FOR THE RESUMPTION OF UNR THROUGH ARCHIVAL- CRIMINAL CASES ON ITS ORDINARY PARTICIPANTS**

*Archival-criminal cases on participants of 1921 – 1925 peasant insurgent movement for the resumption of the Ukrainian National Republic make up a massive and little studied part of the documents of the state security bodies of Soviet Ukraine. First of all, the attention is drawn to the cases concerning the «political banditry» of ordinary insurgents and members of their families. Thousands of such cases are kept in the funds of the Branch state archive and archives of temporary keeping of Security service regional bodies of Ukraine. A considerable part of the repressed peasants are not rehabilitated till today. In the overwhelming majority of cases to their destinies no attention was paid on behalf neither of historians, nor of representatives of the public, nor of their relatives.*

*Behind numerous archival-criminal cases many great tragedies of human lives remain latent, in particular, broken and spoilt destinies of ordinary peasants, torn off from their land and picked up by elements of revolutions, civil and national-liberation wars. In the articles characteristic destinies of those whom the Bolshevik extrajudicial repressive bodies defined as «bandits» are investigated, such as conscious, irresponsible, and conditional insurgents, as well as insurgents' brothers, mothers, and brides.*

*Not only unjustified cruelty of their punishment, but also recognitions by the recent time «competent bodies» and the current legislation of independent Ukraine of their «guilt» as such that does not provide rehabilitation are common to the destinies of figurants of the investigated cases. The push to a new powerful rehabilitation have, with a supports of the state, public, and science figures should be given by Law of Ukraine on rehabilitation of victims of political repressions in a new wording dd. March 13th, 2018.*

**Key words:** UNR, insurgent movement, political banditry, antibolshevist revolt, repressions, archival-criminal case.

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### **ПІДХОПЛЕНІ СТИХІЄЮ: ПОГЛЯД НА СЕЛЯНСЬКИЙ ПОВСТАНСЬКИЙ РУХ ЗА ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ УНР КРІЗЬ АРХІВНО-КРИМІНАЛЬНІ СПРАВИ НА ЙОГО РЯДОВИХ УЧАСНИКІВ**

*Масивну й малодосліджену частину документів органів держбезпеки Радянської України становлять архівно-кримінальні справи на учасників селянського повстанського руху 1921 – 1925 рр. за відновлення Української Народної Республіки. Насамперед, привертаємо увагу до справ, за якими репресовано за «політбандитизм» рядових повстанців і членів їх сімей. Таких справ у фондах Галузевого державного архіву та архівів тимчасового зберігання регіональних органів Служби безпеки України зберігаються тисячі. Значну частину репресованих селян і досі*

не реабілітовано. У переважній більшості їхніми долями не цікавилися ні історики, ні представники громадськості, ні родичі.

До повстанських загонів, попри героїчну жертвовність окремих патріотів, більшість селян ішла не свідомо, а у зв'язку із проголошеною отаманами примусовою мобілізацією, або ж ухилившись від такої ж примусової мобілізації до лав Червоної армії, або ж у відповідь на конфіскацію більшовиками продуктів харчування і майна. Страх за долю рідних, бажання уберегти від погрому власні господарства та сподівання на обіцяну амністію спонукали багатьох самовільно залишити повстанські загони вже через кілька днів після проведеної отаманом мобілізації. Під час перебування в повстанцях селяни відстоювали, насамперед, родинний добробут і безпеку і дуже часто просто ставали заручниками обставин.

За численними маленькими архівно-кримінальними справами сховані великі трагедії людського життя, зокрема зламані та знівечені долі звичайних селян, відірваних від землі й підхоплених стихією революції, громадянської та національно-визвольної воєн. У статті досліджено характерні долі тих, кого більшовицькі позасудові репресивні органи визначили «бандитами»: свідомого, несвідомого й умовного повстанців, а також повстанських брата, матір і наречену.

Фігурантів досліджуваних справ поєднують не лише невиправдана жорстокість їх покарання, але й визнання до недавнього часу компетентними органами і чинним законодавством незалежної України їхньої «провини» такою, що не передбачає реабілітацію. Поштовх новій потужній реабілітаційній хвилі за підтримки держави, громадськості та науковців повинен дати Закон України про реабілітацію жертв політичних репресій в новій редакції від 13 березня 2018 р.

**Ключові слова:** УНР, повстанський рух, політичний бандитизм, антибільшовицьке повстання, репресії, архівно-кримінальні справи.

**The statement of the problem.** Studying of the contemporary history of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle, particularly, the peasant insurgent movement of 1921 – 1925 for the resumption of Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) is one of priority directions of development of the domestic historical science nowadays. Archival documents of the bodies of state security of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukr.SSR) make up an important source for this study. Archival-criminal cases on «Petliura's political bandits» form a massive and little studied part of these documents. The specified cases nowadays are mainly kept in Branch state archive (BSA) and archives of temporary preservation of the regional bodies of Ukraine's security service (SSU). In the 1990s a certain part of the corresponding cases has been transferred for keeping to the Central state archive of public associations of Ukraine and regional state archives.

On the occasion of the 100 anniversary of the Ukrainian 1917 – 1921 revolution the researcher hopes to draw the attention of the state and public to small, not remarkable from outside archival-criminal cases from the of Bolshevik totalitarianism. These cases hide great tragedies of human lives, particularly, of broken and spoilt destinies of peasants, torn off from their native land and picked up by the elements of revolutions, civil wars, and national-liberation wars.

**The analysis of researches.** The scientists have not yet managed to conduct a thorough research and a proper analysis of archival-criminal cases on ordinary participants of the Ukrainian insurgent movement.

From numerous contemporary domestic researchers of the national-liberation insurgent movement of the beginning of the 1920s the archival materials of the Soviet bodies of state security (mainly information-analytical documents) are most intensively referred to by R. Podkur (Podkur, 2000; Podkur, 2005). The materials of the BSA SSU of the fund of a collection of printed editions of the Committee for State Security of the USSR, as well as separate archival-criminal cases have been used by D. Arkhireyskiy and V. Chentsov in the

joint publications (Arkhireyskiy, Chentsov, 1999; Arkhireyskiy, Chentsov, 2000) and, also, by Y. Faizulin in his thematic article (Faizulin, 2012). A certain contribution to the popularization of little-known archival-investigatory cases, first of all, on the insurgent movement's leaders, has been made by the author of this article (Vasylenko, 2008; Vasylenko, 2011b).

From among the historiographic and source-studying works on the subject an view V. Shcherbatiuk's thesis for the degree of Senior Doctor (Shcherbatiuk, 2013) and PhD theses by the aforementioned R. Podkur (Podkur, 1998) and V. Chentsov (Chentsov, 1992) can be primarily singled out.

Besides, the large scale and selfless organising activity R. Krutsyk, nowadays – honourable chairman of Kiev organisation of V. Stus «Memorial» society who prepared and updated a museum exposition «The National War of 1917 – 1932» (2010) should also be mentioned. In publishing of important documents he was assisted by the administrations of the aforementioned central and regional archival establishments. Many known historians, archivists, and regional specialists have joined the archival-search and research work. A printed version of the specified works appeared in 2011 (Krutsyk, 2011). In an exposition little-known documents of numerous archival-criminal cases were used, but the cases themselves still need thorough professional research.

In recent years an inevitable process of the rehabilitation of participants of the insurgent movement for the resumption of UNR has eventually begun. Chairman of Historical club «Kholodnyi Yar» R. Koval, contrarily to moderate historians and country specialists, not only carefully investigated into the destinies of Petliura's atamans Orlyk (F. Artemenko), Haievyi (I. Hrysiuk), L. Zavhorodniy, and many other ones, in particular, by using the materials of their archival-criminal cases, and popularized them as national heroes in numerous popular scientific works (Koval, 2007; Koval, 2010a; Koval, 2010b; Koval, 2015; Koval, 2016); he also managed to initiate a process of their rehabilitation before competent bodies.

**The article's purpose** is to draw the attention of scientists, public and state organizations to the destinies of, primarily, ordinary participants of the insurgent movement for the resumption of UNR for the purpose of their further rehabilitation.

**The statement of the basic material.** The study of numerous investigatory and judicial documents on ordinary participants of the national-liberation insurgent movement leads to an unfavourable conclusion: in the development of the Ukrainian state in 1917 – 1920, the national idea, unfortunately, did not embrace the whole countryside population. Most of the peasants, contrary to heroic sacrifice of separate patriots, did not join insurgent groups consciously, but in connection with a the compulsory mobilisation, proclaimed by atamans, or evading from the like compulsory mobilisation to the Red army, or in reply to the confiscation of foodstuff and property by the Bolsheviks, and so on. The fear for the destiny of the relatives, desire to save their own households from pogroms, and expectation on the promised amnesty induced peasants desert the insurgent groups in some days after their mobilisation by the ataman. Hence, the problem of desertion among insurgents was more actual than in the The Red Army units, and the strength of insurgent groups was always conditional. During their stay in insurgent groups peasants defended, first of all, their families' well-being and safety, very often becoming hostages of circumstances.

According to one of such unremarkable from outside investigatory cases, on March 12th, 1921, being guided by the «red terror» and «revolutionary sense of justice», an extraordinary revolutionary trio at special section № 2 of special department of Kharkiv military district (SD KhMD) sentenced «the active bandit» Marukhna Yefrem Ihnatovych to death by shoot-

ing (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 3893. S. 8; Vasylenko, 2011a: 103, 132). Who was Y. Marukhna and did the crime he had committed really deserve the hardest punishment possible even by such respectable arguments by which the revolutionary trio was guided at the pronouncement of the judgement on the investigatory case?

That «active bandit» was an 18 years old inhabitant of the village of Aleksandrivka of Pavlohrad county in Katerinoslav gubernia. In October, 1920 the insurgents of ataman Brova visited the manor of his parents. For them the father had no sufficient provisions and equipment, therefore he was made to send his son into the insurgents' army. Thus, compulsorily and under the fear of the promised repressions to his family, E. Marukhna replenished the ranks of ataman Brova's group, which during 3 months raided through the villages between Kryvyi Rih and Luhansk. He was afraid to desert home at once for the above-stated reasons, but somewhere from under Luhansk he eventually fled under the condition of the favorable possibilities. On the way back, on January 24th, 1921, he was arrested by The Red Army men of the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Turkestan cavalry division and, as a member of Brova's «band», was directed to SD KhMD.

As is obvious from the protocols of the interrogation of the interrogated, he frankly told about everything that he knew; pouring out on paper the entire despair and hopelessness of his position and even expressed his wish to join the ranks of the the Red army. In his accusatory conclusion of the case the investigator presents a full understanding of his situation, underlines all the softening circumstances and still, obviously obeying some preliminary received instructions, suggests the extraordinary trio to define the degree of punishment the «bandit» according to the requirements of the «red terror» (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 3893. S. 7; Vasylenko, 2011a: 102–103, 130–131).

The unjustified cruelty towards E. Marukhna does not give an accurate representation about the relation of Bolshevik justice to the so-called to «political banditry». By the application of decree «On amnesty», proclaimed by the Fifth All-Ukrainian Congress of Councils on March 5th, 1921, for the identical «crimes» one could either be released or sentenced to several years of imprisonment in a concentration camp, or be shot, being guided by a necessity of the implementation of the «red terror». The studies of hundreds of similar archival-investigatory cases do not allow the researchers to notice any regularity in this question (Vasylenko, 2011a; Vasylenko, 2012; Vasylenko, 2017).

In 1919 – 1921 by the investigatory and retaliatory powers concerning representatives of the enemy camp predominantly out-of-court bodies were endowed, such as revolutionary military tribunals and special departments of the All-Russian extraordinary commission by the revolutionary military councils of military districts, fronts, and active armies, extraordinary trios and boards of provincial and district extraordinary commissions of the All-Ukrainian extraordinary commission, and district and provincial extraordinary trios in 1922 in the struggle against banditry. Limitless powers in the destinations of human fates – along with the limited legal literacy – often exposed those under the jurisdiction as dependent players of the «hussars' roulette».

For the sake of the confirmation of the aforementioned material let's track the criminal history of one more «bandit». Again an 18 year-old, but already married and the dweller of the village of Dubovi Makharintsi of Berdychiv district in Kiev gubernia. Bezeliuk Dmytro Pylypovych was caught by the district militia on May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1921, during a round-up in a woody district where the insurgents of Petliura's ataman Hazel operated. At his detention the guy had the gun with cartridges and made an attempt to escape, which fact gave the grounds

for the Berdychiv county extraordinary commission to accuse him in «banditry». The arrested person obstinately did not admit his fault: he claimed that he had found the weapon and bullets. So, due to D. Bezeliuk's preliminary investigatory conclusion of him as a conditional bandit, he had to be sentenced to a concentration camp for 2 years. However, Berdychiv security officers by their joint decisions on August 6th, 1921, and, later, on January 5th, 1922 obstinately tried to authorise for him the death sentence in Kiev. For the first time the Kiev gubernial extraordinary commission (KGEC) returned the investigatory materials for a supplementary examination, whereas his incriminated by D. Bezeliuk for the second time guilt, although it was recognised, but instead of his execution by shooting they sentenced him to a concentration camp for 5 years (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 6173).

As it is known, today the work and execution of military service in difficult and hazardous to health and life conditions are not unreasonably counted as a year for one and a half or even three. The constant hard life of the peasant in days of civil war became intolerable for human existence. For this reason, the year lived over by a family peasant-housholder under the conditions of the civil war, factual anarchy, chaos, continuous robberies and prosecutions was worthy, perhaps, of the all ten years. One can only imagine what horrors the parents of E. Marukhna endured. Likewise, the documents of archival-criminal case on an indictment of the inhabitants of the village of Trostynka of Barakhta district in Vasylykivsk county of Kiev gubernia as participants of the Antibolshevist insurgent movement (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 9866). One of figurants of the case is Horbatenko Tykhin Ovsyievych who, although he was not an insurgent, kept on the relations with his brother (the local insurgent ataman). In the accusatory conclusion of January 6th, 1921, the authorised by the SSU body in Bila Tserkva county Y. Kuprin characterises the 38 years old Tykhina as already an elderly man. That characteristic became one of the softening circumstances of the substantiations concerning his sentence: «Citizen Horbatenko, who had a connection with his brother, the leader of a band who did not act actively, taking into consideration his advanced age (he is 38) and his poor position, and, also, his illiteracy and irresponsibility in the crime he made, should be imprisoned in a concentration camp for a period of three years» (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 9866. S.18 reverse). That investigatory case was transferred to a supplementary examination, and, according to his corpse inspection certificate, T. Horbatenko died of the heart paralysis on February 22nd, 1921 (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 9866. S. 38).

As can be understood, the Bolshevist justice defined the guilty ones not only the «bandits», but also those who supported them, that is, fed them, sheltered them, and informed them of the danger. First of all, those were the relatives and close people of T. Horbatenko, which is far from being uniform example. Still more tragic appear the destinies of the inhabitants of the village of Maidan Verbetskyi of Letychiv county in Podillia gubernia of Horodetskyi Nartsis Hnatovych (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 11381), his mothers Horodetska Mykhailyna Yanivna, and, possibly, bride Kviatkovska Pelaheia Karlivna (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 11350). The 22 year old boy was arrested on November 28th, 1922, and his mother and girl were arrested on next day. They passed by different investigatory cases, but all were made guilty of «banditry». N. Horodetskyi was accused as one who, in May-October, 1922, as a member of the insurgent formation of ataman Ya. Halchevskyi and the subordinated to him ataman Khmara's horse group, took part in the attacks on the towns of Bar and Letychiv and the villages Hryshky and Lozna of Letychiv county, the villages of Uladivka and Bahryntsi of Litynia county, the village of Pyrohivtsi of Proskuriv county. Under the pressure of military units he crossed the border to Poland, but in November of the same year he returned home



and was hiding until he was arrested. The women «had the impudence» not to inform the power on them being secretly visited by their husbands-»bandits». By the obviousness of the committed «crime», on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1922, the extraordinary trio on banditry liquidation in Podillia decided to shoot both to death already the next day (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 11350. S. 29–30). The death sentence for the insurgent was pronounced by the military department of the Podil gubernial revolutionary tribunal on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1923, he was shot on the night of February 19<sup>th</sup> (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 11381. S. 24–26).

Having responded to the eternal national aspirations, 1991 presented to the Ukrainians their state independence. Primary acquaintance with the cases, their removal, expert estimation, and the decision on the expediency of their direction for the consideration of competent bodies were carried out by the departments of BSA SSU and investigatory departments of regional SSU bodies according to their keeping place.

The viewing of almost all investigated in this publication cases about possible rehabilitations of their figurants was entrusted to the investigatory department of the AUSS (Administration of Security Service of Ukraine) in Kiev and Kiev region. According to its reference of October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1994, Y. Maruhna, accused of banditry, does not fall under the influence of Law of Ukraine on rehabilitation (BSA SSU. F. 5. D. 1. C. 3893. S. 9). This conclusion is very doubtful and without any argument. As far as in 1921 the cheka's «revolutionary consciousness of justice» did not allow to save the life of the young boy, the attempt to do his posthumous rehabilitation in 1994 was done due to the archival-criminal sources analyses and their generalization.

It should be noticed that the acknowledgement by the responsible SSU officers of the argumentation of the condemnation by the Bolshevik of the extrajudicial retaliatory bodies of the incontestable fighter for Ukraine's freedom N. Horodetskyi in the third year of its independence looks inconsistent for common sense, but not for the current legislation of our sovereign state. The already dated Law of Ukraine «On the rehabilitation of victims of political repressions in Ukraine» of April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1991, actually, until recently did not provide the rehabilitation of those who rendered armed resistance to the occupational power or simply deserted from the Red Army.

The strong reasons against the rehabilitation of a great number of the subjected to repressions peasants were the brought by the Bolshevik invaders' charges of the illegal keeping of weapons, which to this day, according to the current legislation, is considered a crime. So, the establishment of the true guilt of peasant D. Bezeliuk (his service in Petliura's insurgent group or illegal owing of a sawn-off shotgun and cartridges) would not positively affect the process of his rehabilitation. But how the refusal of Horodetska Mykhailyna Ivanivna to inform on her own son-insurgent could be really treated as a crime? And how was it possible, during the consideration of the case on not reporting on the «bandit», not to notice one more shot for it «criminal», P. Kviatkovska. Likewise, even despite the imperfections of the Law, there are enough grounds for the rehabilitation of the «assistant of the bandits» T. Horbatenko.

Finally, it is necessary to underline that in the unrepresentable cases of 1919 – 1920 the only source of indictment was the hand-written texts of the decision of extrajudicial retaliatory bodies in which the verdict was substantiated by such accusatory Cheka stamps as «counter-revolution» and «banditry».

**The conclusions.** During several recent decades the Ukrainians actively return to themselves the forgotten bright names of the nation's leaders of the previous century, who from



the times of the liberation struggle of 1917 – 1921 built up and defended the Ukrainian statehood, suffering and dying for their «nationalist» convictions. A vivid wave of rehabilitation has passed through the country, which has recently touched the leaders and separate ordinary participants of the insurgent movement for the resumption of UNR.

Hopefully, Law of Ukraine on the rehabilitation of victims of political repressions in a new wording of March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018 will generate a push to a new comprehensive rehabilitation wave. From the suggestions of the scientists and insistence of the public all conscious patriots who fought for the Ukrainian statehood during the XX century with arms in their hands should get into this wave as well as the members of their families and the «whole army» of ours less conscious fellow countrymen who as much suffered from the Bolshevik autocracy, such as the «active bandit» Y. Marukhna.

### *The documents*

#### ДОКУМЕНТ № 1.

Висновок ОВ ХВО за слідчою справою на Є. Марухну,  
обвинуваченого як повстанця загону отамана Брови.

#### ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

1921 года марта 11-го дня я, военследователь особотделения № 2 особого отдела Харьковского военного округа Гарут Б.Г., рассмотрев следственный материал по делу № 40 по обвинению гражд. села Александровки той же волости Павлоградского уезда Катеринославской губ. Марухну Ефрема Игнатьевича, 18 лет, в бандитизме, нашёл следующее: названный Марухна был препровождён в особотделение № 2 при отношении начальника штаба 2-й Туркавдивизии 24-го января с/г., как перебежчик, бежавший из банд Бровы и пойманный фуражами 4-го полка.

Допрошенный в качестве обвиняемого Марухна показал, что жил всё время дома, в селе Александровке, при отце, занимаясь сельским хозяйством. Три месяца тому назад, считая со дня его ареста, в село Александровку вместе со своим отрядом прибыл бандит Брова, явился к отцу его, Марухне. Узнав, что у последнего имеется семь наделов земли и потому, считая его богатым и кулаком, стал требовать денег. Получив же, вследствие отсутствия таковых, отказ, отца поставили к стенке и грозили ему расстрелом, если сын его, т.е. он, обвиняемый Марухна, не пойдёт вместе с ним, Бровой, вследствие чего он, Марухна, принужден был присоединиться к Брове и разъезжал с его отрядом по разным сёлам в течение трёх месяцев, пока ему не удалось на новый год по старому стилю под Луганском бежать, после чего он направился домой в село Александровку, но за 15 верст от этого села на хуторе того же названия был задержан солдатами киргизами 4-го полка и препровождён в город Павлоград. Ездил он с Бровой из села в село по принуждению, не принимая личного участия в грабежах и насилиях над населением, и не мог бежать раньше, ибо ему сказал командир эскадрона, что в таком случае его, Марухну, и его семью предадут смертной казни. Раньше он ни в каких партиях не состоял и показывает всё по чистой совести, ничего не скрывая, просит простить его невольную вину и принять его в ряды Красной армии.

Принимая во внимание изложенное показание обвиняемого, из коего видно, что он, хотя и попал в банду Бровы и находясь в последней, по его словам, не добровольно, а под угрозой расстрела его самого и его семьи, всё же, фактически, состоял в названной банде в течение трёх месяцев. Потому, безусловно, он является активным участником в

бандитизме. Но с другой стороны, при отсутствии в деле какого-либо обвинительного материала, имеем в виду чистосердечное признание обвиняемым его вины и просьбу принять его в Красную армию, а равно, что обвиняемый был задержан ещё 24-го января с/г, но затем, заболев тифом, до сего времени находился в госпитале на излечении. Предлагаю: следствие по делу № 40 считать законченным и следственный материал по сему делу вместе с обвиняемым Марухной Ефремом передать на рассмотрение чрезвычайной тройки при особотделении № 2 для применения к обвиняемому меры наказания, согласно красного террора, по рассмотрению тройки.

Военследователь (підпис)  
Согласен стар. военследователь (підпис)

Марта «12» дня 1921 года      УТВЕРЖДАЮ:  
гор. Павлоград      Начособотделения № 2 (підпис)

*ГДА СБУ. – Ф. 5. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 3893. –  
Арк. 7. Оригінал. Машинопис.*

ДОКУМЕНТ № 2.

Постанова від 12 березня 1921 р.<sup>1</sup> надзвичайної революційної трійки  
при особливому відділенні № 2 ОБ ХВО за слідчою справою на Є. Марухну

ВЫПИСКА ИЗ ПРОТОКОЛА ЗАСЕДАНИЯ ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНОЙ РЕВ. ТРОЙКИ  
при особотделении № 2 особотдела Харьк. военного округа по делу № 40

Согласно КРАСНОГО ТЕРРОРА, при наличии ясных доказательств фактов преступления, совершенных гражданами Екатеринославской губернии Павлоградского уезда села Александровки, гр-на Марухну Ефрема Игнатьевича, 18 лет, в участии банды Махно в течение трёх месяцев.

Руководствуясь революционным правом сознания, чрезвычайная революционная тройка постановила:

подвергнуть высшей мере наказания – расстрелу.

Пред. Чрезвевтрійки: /Вецгай/

Члены: /Зиновер/

/Таранов/

С подлинным верно:

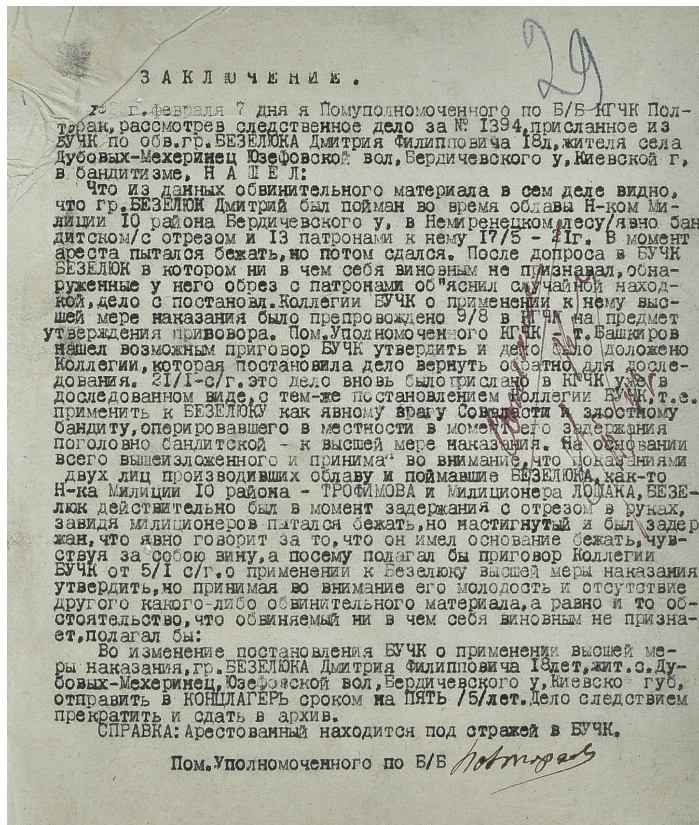
секретарь: (підпис, печатка)

*ГДА СБУ. – Ф. 5. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 3893. –  
Арк. 8. Оригінал. Машинопис на бланку.*

<sup>1</sup> Дату винесення вироку стосовно Є. Марухни встановлено за його обвинувальним висновком і датованим витягом із протоколу засідання цієї ж трійки із архівної кримінальної справи № 5027.

ДОКУМЕНТ № 3.

Висновок слідчого Полторака, уповноваженого в боротьбі з бандитизмом КГНК, за справою з обвинувачення Д. Безелюка в бандитизмі



Заключение.

1922 г. февраля 7 дня я, пом. уполномоченного по Б/В КГЧК Полторака, рассмотрев следственное дело за № 1394, присланное из БУЧК, по обв. гр. Безелюка Дмитрия Филипповича, 18 л., жителя села Дубовых Мехеринец Юзефовской вол. Бердичевского у., Киевской г. в бандитизме, нашёл:

Что из данных обвинительного материала в сём деле видно, что гр. Безелюк Дмитрий был пойман во время облавы н-ком милиции 10 района Бердичевского у. в Немирненском лесу (явно бандитском) с обрезом и 13 патронами к нему 17/5 – 21 г. В момент ареста пытался бежать, но потом сдался. После допроса в БУЧК, в котором Безелюк ни в чём себя виновным не признавал, обнаруженные у него обрез с патронами объяснил случайной находкой, дело с постановл. коллегии БУЧК о применении к нему высшей меры наказания было препровождено 9/8 в КГЧК на предмет утверждения приговора. Пом. уполномоченного КГЧК т. Башкиров нашёл возможным приговор БУЧК утвердить, и дело было доложено коллегии, которая постановила дело вернуть обратно для исследования.

21/1. с.г. это дело вновь было прислано в КГЧК уже в исследованном виде с тем же постановлением коллегии БУЧК, т.е. применить к Безелюку, как явному врагу со-

власти и злостному бандиту, оперировавшему в местности в момент его задержания поголовно бандитской, высшую меру наказания.

На основании всего вышеизложенного и принимая во внимание, что показаниями двух лиц, производивших облаву и поймавших Безелюка, как то н-ка милиции 10 района Трофимова и милиционера Лошака, Безелюк действительно был в момент задержания с обрезом в руках; завидя милиционеров, пытался бежать, но, настигнутый, был задержан, что явно говорит за то, что он имел основание бежать, чувствуя за собою вину. А посему полагал бы приговор коллегии БУЧК от 5/1 с.г. о применении к Безелюку высшей меры наказания утвердить. Но принимая во внимание его молодость и отсутствие другого какого-либо обвинительного материала, а равно и то обстоятельство, что обвиняемый ни в чём себя виновным не признаёт, полагал бы:

Во изменение постановления БУЧК о применении высшей меры наказания, гр. Безелюка Дмитрия Филипповича, 18 лет, жит. с. Дубовых Мехеринец Юзефовской вол. Бердичевского у. Киевской губ., отправить в концлагерь сроком на пять (5) лет. Дело следствием прекратить и сдать в архив.

Справка: арестованный находится под стражей в БУЧК.

Пом. уполномоченного по Б/Б (підпис Полторака)

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Арк. 29. Оригінал. Машинопис.

ДОКУМЕНТ № 4.

Витяг із протоколу засідання колегії КГНК від 26 лютого 1922 р.  
за слідчою справою на Д. Безелюка

Выписка из протокола № 5  
ЗАСЕДАНИЯ КОЛЛЕГИИ  
Киевской Губернской чрезвычайной комиссии  
от 26 февраля 1922 года.

Присутствовали: предгубчека – Лившиц, нач. СОО – Кравченко, нач. админорготдела – Вальтер, зав. губюстом – Михайлик, представитель губкоматов – Реут, вр. секретарь КГЧК – Михновский.

СЛУШАЛИ	ПОСТАНОВИЛИ
Дело № 1394 гр. Безелюка Дмитрия Филипповича, 18 лет, по обв. его в бандитизме. Справка: арестованный находится под стражей в БУЧК.	В виду доказанности обвинения, Гр. Безелюка Дмитрия Филипповича, 18 л., заключить в концлагерь сроком на пять лет с переводом в Допр. Дело следствием прекратить и сдать в архив.

С подлинным верно:

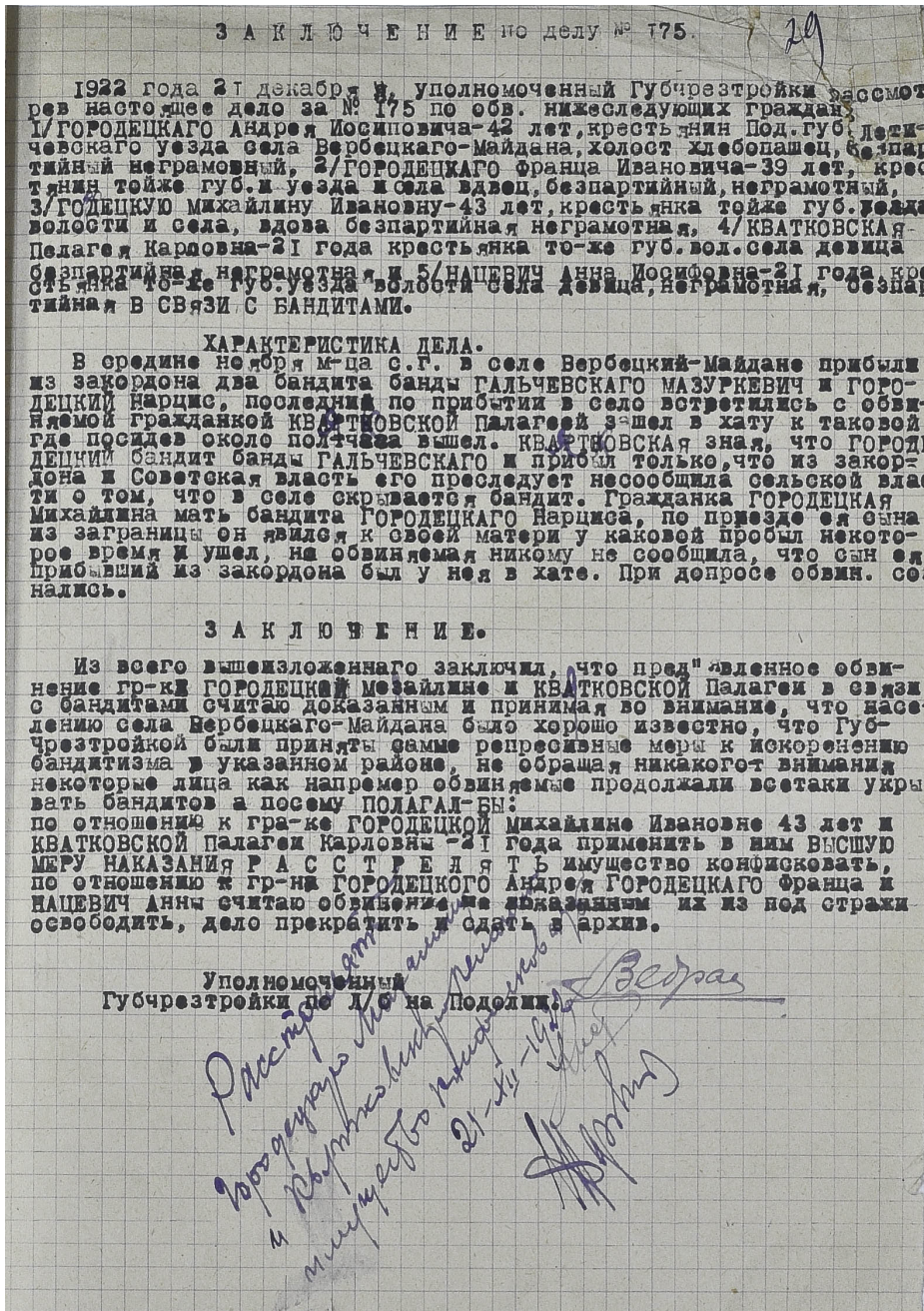
Секретарь К.Г.Ч.К. (підпис Міхновського)

ГДА СБУ. – Ф. 5. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 6173. –  
Арк. 22. Оригінал. Машинопис на бланку.



ДОКУМЕНТ № 5.

Висновок губернської надзвичайної трійки з ліквідації бандитизму на Поділлі від 19 грудня 1922 р. за справою з обвинувачення М. Городецької та П. Квятковської у стосунках з «бандитами»



ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ по делу № 175.

1922 года 21 декабря я, уполномоченный Губчрезстройкой, рассмотрев настоящее дело за № 175 по обв. Нижеследующих граждан:

Городецкого Андрея Иосифовича – 42 лет, крестьянин Под. губ. Летичевского уезда села Вербецкого Майдана, холост, хлебопашец, беспартийный, неграмотный; 2) Городецкого Франца Ивановича – 39 лет, крестьянин той же губ. и уезда и села, вдовец, беспартийный, неграмотный; 3) Городецкую Михайлину Ивановну – 43 лет, крестьянка той же губ., уезда, волости и села, вдова, беспартийная, неграмотная; 4) Квятковская Пелагея Карловна – 21 года, крестьянка той же губ., вол., села, девица, беспартийная, неграмотная; 5) Нацевич Анна Иосифовна – 21 года, крестьянка той же губ., уезда, волости, села, девица, неграмотная, беспартийная В СВЯЗИ С БАНДИТАМИ.

ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА ДЕЛА.

В середине ноября м-ца с.г. в село Вербецкий Майдан прибыли из-за кордона два бандита банды ГАЛЬЧЕВСКОГО МАЗУРКЕВИЧ и ГОРОДЕЦКИЙ Нарцис. Последний по прибытии в село встретился с обвиняемой гражданкой КВЯТКОВСКОЙ Пелагеей, зашел в хату к таковой, где посидев около получаса, вышел. КВЯТКОВСКАЯ, зная, что ГОРОДЕЦКИЙ – бандит банды ГАЛЬЧЕВСКОГО и прибыл только-что из-за кордона и Советская власть его преследует, не сообщила сельской власти о том, что в селе скрывается бандит. Гражданка ГОРОДЕЦКАЯ Михайлина – мать бандита ГОРОДЕЦКОГО Нарциса. По приезде ее сына из-за границы он явился к своей матери, у каковой пробыл некоторое время, и ушел. Но обвиняемая никому не сообщила, что сын ее, прибывший из-за кордона, у нее в хате. При допросе обвин. сознались.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ.

Из всего выше изложенного заключил, что предъявленное обвинение гр-ке ГОРОДЕЦКОЙ Михайлине и КВЯТКОВСКОЙ Пелагее в связи с бандитами считаю доказанным и, принимая во внимание, что населению села Вербецкого Майдана было хорошо известно, что Губчрезстройкой были приняты самые репрессивные меры к искоренению бандитизма в указанном районе. Не обращая никакого внимания, некоторые лица, как например обвиняемые, продолжали все-таки укрывать бандитов. А посему полагал бы:

По отношению к гр-ке ГОРОДЕЦКОЙ Михайлине Ивановне – 43 лет, и КВЯТКОВСКОЙ Пелагее – 21 года применить к ним ВЫСШУЮ МЕРУ НАКАЗАНИЯ: РАССТРЕЛЯТЬ, имущество конфисковать; по отношению гр-н ГОРОДЕЦКОГО Андрея, ГОРОДЕЦКОГО Франца и НАЦЕВИЧ Анны считаю обвинение не доказанным. Их из-под стражи освободить, дело прекратить и сдать в архив.

Уполномоченный

Губчрезстройкой по л/б на Подолии (підпис нерозбірливий)

*ГДА СБУ. – Ф. 5. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 11350. –  
Арк. 29. Оригінал. Машинопис.*

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### **THE RESTORATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE PROSVITA SOCIETY'S READING ROOMS IN DROHOBYCH LAND IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

*The article treats of a process of the restoration, establishment, and activity of reading rooms of the Prosvita society in Drohobych county in the 1920s – 1930s. On the basis of archival documents the information on the dates of creations and closings of the society's reading rooms by the Polish power is presented, their quantitative structure, material condition, and surnames of the responsible for the reading rooms persons are specified. The main reasons which hampered the functioning of reading rooms, in particular, obstacles of the power during restatements of their statutes and creating of artificial barriers in their work, shortages of qualified and active cadres, and influences of the leftist ideas on educational activity are defined. The achievements and non-realized possibilities of reading rooms of the Prosvita society are elucidated, the relations between them and the Polish state administration are cleared out. It is proved that the reading rooms of the Prosvita society in the interwar period acted as a driving force and a component of the all-Ukrainian cultural and educational movement, assisted the transformation of the Ukrainians of the land into a well organized community, formed national consciousness and patriotism.*

**Key words:** Drohobych land, the Prosvita society, reading room, interwar period.

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### **ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ ТА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЧИТАЛЕНЬ «ПРОСВІТИ» НА ДРОГОБИЧЧИНІ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД**

*У статті досліджується процес відновлення, становлення й діяльність читалень «Просвіти» у Дрогобицькому повіті в 20 – 30-х рр. ХХ ст. На основі архівних документів подано інформацію про дати створення та закриття польською владою читалень товариства: їх кількісний склад, матеріальний стан, прізвиська керівників. Визначено головні причини, які гальмували розвиток читалень, зокрема, перешкоди польської влади під час перезатвердження статутів, створення штучних перепон у функціонуванні товариства, нестача кваліфікованих і активних кадрів. Відзначено, що основною причиною відновлення праці товариства була реакція українців на колонізаційні процеси, що відбувалися у Галичині. Встановлено, що початок 1920-х рр. був досить складним періодом для відновлення діяльності читалень «Просвіти» на Дрогобиччині через вплив лівих політичних сил на просвітницький рух.*

*Висвітлено, наполегливу організаційну діяльність голови дрогобицького товариства «Просвіти» Степана Витвицького та виділу філії по відновленню та створенню розгалуженої мережі просвітніх осередків у повіті. Встановлено, що головами читалень «Просвіти» були місцеві парохі та поважні селяни-господарі або місцеві інтелігенти. У більшості сіл читальні мали власні дома, у деяких у 1930-х рр. здійснювали будівництво. Робота читалень контролювалася*

філією та Головним віділом. Інспекторські перевірки поживлявали просвітню працю читальень, забезпечували контроль за діяльністю й популяризували нові форми і методи освітньої роботи. Висвітлено здобутки й нереалізовані можливості читальень «Просвіти», вказано на стосунки між ними й польською державною адміністрацією.

Доведено, що читальні «Просвіти» у міжвоєнний період виступали рушійною силою і складовою частиною загальноукраїнського культурно-просвітнього руху, сприяли перетворенню українців краю у добре організовану спільноту, формували національну свідомість та патріотизм.

**Ключові слова:** Дрогобиччина, товариство «Просвіта», читальня, міжвоєнний період.

**The statement of the problem.** The Prosvita society played an important role in the national and cultural revival of Ukrainian Galicia. In the conditions of the inter-war period the organizational structure of the society was the optimal for Ukrainians form of self-organizing and self-defence for the purpose of upholding their national interests. That is why the gained experience of the organizational activity of the county's reading rooms of the Prosvita society on Drohobych land and carrying out of cultural-educational work by them in the interwar period gives a chance to more fully comprehend the essence, value, and a role of public organizations in the contemporary Ukrainian state. A number of problems, which nowadays arise before the Ukrainian society, are similar to what the Ukrainians in the interwar period faced: the confirmation of spirituality, formation of the national consciousness and a civilized society, and so on. The organizational inheritance, experience, and working activity of the reading rooms of the Prosvita society have not lost the topicality for today's time.

**The analysis of recent researches.** In independent Ukraine the theme of the Prosvita society's activity in the Western Ukraine during the inter-war period is investigated by a significant amount of scientists. Among the great amount of the works on the specified topic, I. Zuliak's work (Zuliak, 2005) and, also, Zh. Kovba's publications (Kovba, 1993), as well as a lot of other researches are well-grounded. However, speaking generally, the specified problem has not found a full enough illumination in scientific publications. On the Prosvita society's activity on Drohobych land there is some information in the four-volume edition «Drohobychyna – the land of Ivan Franko», in particular, the studies of I. Skochyliak (Skochyliak, 1973), M. Havryliuk (Havryliuk, 1997), P. Soviak (Soviak, 1997), M. Romaniak (Romaniak, 1997), L. Kitsyla (Kitsyla, 1997), Y. Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 1997), and others. But, as a matter of fact, these publications, as a rule, are grounded on the eyewitnesses' memoirs and have no appropriate base. Recently, the research work concerning the educational movement on the regional level, in particular, on Drohobych land, have become more active. The question is elucidated in the scientific works by B. Dobrianskyi (Dobrianskyi, 1995), M. Chepil (Chepil, 1997), T. Borduliak (Borduliak, 2003), M. Shalata (Shalata, 2012), O. Shved (Shved, 2010), M. Haliv (Haliv, 2013; 2014), I. Chava (Chava, 2014), I. Zuliak (Zuliak, 2017), Y. Komarnytskyi (Komarnytskyi, 2017), and others.

**The article's purpose** is on the basis of archival documents to analyse the process of restoration, establishment, and functioning of the Prosvita society's reading rooms on Drohobych land during the period between the two world wars.

**The statement of the basic material.** As is known, the branch of the Prosvita society in Drohobych was founded on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1903. Father Mykhailo Bachynskyi (1866 – 1912), parish priest of the village of Ripchytzi, was elected its Chairman. In the following year the organization's Chairmen were Yaroslav Olesnytskyi, again Father M. Bachynskyi, and Volodymyr Chapelskyi. In 1910 in the Drohobych branch the Prosvita society 54 reading rooms were functioning (Borduliak, 2003: 6, 8). The beginning of the First World War and

the arrival of the Russian troops caused a termination of the activity of the Prosvita's reading rooms for a certain period. After the defeat of the Ukraine's national-liberation competitions and the loss of its statehood, in the majority of the towns the Prosvita houses were requisitioned, and the activity of the reading rooms was suspended. The attitude of the Polish power to the Ukrainian society was quite hostile and included desperate resistance to the restoration of the Prosvita's reading rooms. An ordinary example of such an attitude of the power to the society's activity can be the reading room of the village of Opaka community which was founded in 1905 by the permission of the former ruled by the governor-general region in Lviv and included under P. 265 in the cadastre of societies of Lviv voivodeship. The reading room owned a small house in which a cop-shop was located. After the war the Prosvita's reading room in the village was restored, the latest general meeting took place on 7.15.1923, at which Stas' Dub was elected chairman. At the meeting there were the representatives of the starostvo and the election was accepted into account. When life in the reading room began arising, the starostvo took off its confirmed statute and, then, the local gendarmerie closed the reading room (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 1). One of the Prosvita society's member Vasyl Mudryi wrote as follows: «the Prosvita society at its beginnings carried out its tasks under very difficult and adverse circumstances, having against itself a strong then Moskwophile camp, the Polish administration, and all the Galican landlords who opposed the spread of education among our people» (Mudryi, 1958: 2).

The Drohobych branch the Prosvita society restored its activity in 1921, but it did not inform the Main department of the society in Lviv of it. Antin Horbachevsky (1856 – 1944) became Chairman of the restored Drohobych branch of the Prosvita society, and at the meeting in September, 1921 V. Chepelskyi was elected its Chairman. In the report of 1922 he so explained the not productive activity of the branch in the county: «Because not all the existing before the war reading rooms were registered, the administration found only three reading rooms functioning according to the regulations, whereas during its activity... three more were restored due to the hard measures and interventions in the government's authorities» (Shwed, 2010: 137). It is possible to assume that in the time of the incorporation of Drohobych land in the structure of the Austro-Hungarian empire many reading rooms could exist formally, but stay idle.

It is necessary to specify, that in the early twenties on Drohobych land the Ukrainian social-democratic party (USD) had a significant party influences and actively spread political propaganda throughout the county. At a branch general meeting of the Prosvita society on January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1923 the «social democratic cell» was elected. By the way, the leftists' provocations were frequent, particularly, in 1926 – 1931 when they tried to receive their management of libraries and to supervise over their basic work. In 1934 the staff of Drohobych branch addressed to the Main department of the the Prosvita society with the request to exclude Vasyl Shikh from the list of the society's members as «a demagogue who with his speeches expressing extremely leftist views does much harm at any questionnaire or branch meeting of the Prosvita society in Drohobych and equally negatively pronounces about the Prosvita society's activity in his village of Kolptsi (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2295. S. 86, 88). As V. Mudryi remarked in his report on a trip to Drohobych on July 7–8<sup>th</sup>, 1923 (he was sent there by the Main department of the Prosvita society to get acquainted with the situation): «... All the fault for the election of this staff lies only on the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Drohobych which escape from work, does not show a crumb of initiative in any field and is resting as if in a condition of some drowsiness and insensitive to the national needs» (Dilo, 1923: 3; Shwed, 2010: 137).



In 1924 an inspector, signed by letters H. P., in his report on his trips in Drohobych and Boryslav wrote about the indifference of the inhabitants of county's towns and villages to the «national-cultural issues»: «I have an impression that this part of the population is entirely cut off from any cultural world, no work is carried out among them and nobody and nothing serves for maintaining of their national consciousness... In Boryslav, due to the efforts of priest Leshchynskyi, almost all conscious population is involved in membership in the Prosvita society, but there is a lack of solidarity between workers and intelligentsia». On the margins of the report presented to head of the organizational commission Petro Petryk, in pencil the following is written: «So it will not be. We must operate» (Kovba, 1993: 78–79). As is obvious, the majority of representatives of Drohobych intelligentsia did not wish to be engaged in cultural-educational work which demanded self-return, use of free time, and not always yielded fast results.

With the returning of Stepan Vytvytskyi (1894 – 1965) to Drohobych in 1924, the situation in educational movement really changed. On November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1924, at the general meeting of Drohobych branch of the Prosvita society he was elected its Chairman (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 17, 18). It is necessary to give due to S. Vytvytskyi's tireless work who during the 1920s – 30s visited almost all towns and villages of the county. Here is what he wrote in his reminiscences: «My trips took place by means of a common at that time transportation, which was a simple rural horse-drawn cart; usually on Sundays, but when the trip was long, then on Saturdays the cart called at me and I was driven to a village. The people gathered in a reading room, filling its small apartment, and so our meeting took place. Sometimes there were mean tricks from the left activists, but I should say that, in general, I was accepted favourably, hospitably, and that these meetings with peasants in their houses belong to my best recollections» (Vytvytskyi, 1973: 10).

In the 1920s – 1930s old reading rooms gradually revived and new ones were founded. From archival materials, by the condition for 1925, we have the information on the activity of reading rooms of the Prosvita society in the villages of Skhidnytsia, Nahuievychi, Modrychi, Rykhtychi, Ripchytsi, Hubychi, Bania Kotivska, and Volia Yakubova.

The reading room in Skhidnytsia held the latest gathering on March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1925, had 111 members; Yakym Pron' was elected Chairman; there were 592 zlotys and 65 groshes in the cash desk; the library had 180 books, of which 154 had been read, and 6 magazines; the amateur theatre group organized 2 performances; the reading room had no house of its own.

Nahuievychi: the general gathering was held on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1925; the number of the members is 40; Ilko Badynsky was elected Chairman; there were 142 zlotys and 90 groshes in the cash desk; the library contained 60 books, of which 20 had been read, and 3 magazines; there was a theatre group which showed 4 performances; the reading room had its own house; the holiday of the Prosvita society was celebrated.

Hubychi: the general gathering took place on January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1925, there were 150 members; gymnasium professor Mykola Hryhorchuk was elected Chairman of the reading room; cash receipts – 3598 zl. and 90 hr.; the library had 300 books, of which 80 had been read, and 4 magazines; the theatre group gave 6 performances; a chorus was organised; the reading room had its own house.

Ripchytsi: the reading room had 90 members; Father Panteleimon Maletskyi was elected Chairman; 8 sessions were held; the receipts amounted to 105 zl., the expenses were 89 zl.; in the library there were 20 books and magazines; there functioned an amateur theatre group which gave 5 performances; the reading room has its own house.

Rykhtychi: the latest general gathering was held on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1925; there were 27 members; Petro Stasyk was elected Chairman; the receipts were 15 zl.; the reading room had a wandering library from the branch of the Prosvitasociety which consisted of 16 books and one magazine; it had its own house.

Modrychi: the latest general gathering took place on November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1925; there were 36 members; Vasyl Kovtsun was elected Chairman of the reading room; the receipts made up 111 zl., the expenses were 44 zl., 50 gr.; in the library there were 102 books; there was an amateur theatre group which produced 5 performances; 2 reports were read; the reading room had its own house.

Bania Kotivska: the latest general gathering was held on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1925; there were 48 members; Mykola Ivanchuk was elected Chairman; the receipts were 366 al., 78 gr.; there was an amateur theatre group which had given 5 performances; there were 2 magazines and 2 reports were read; it had its own house.

Volia Yakubova: the general gathering took place on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1925; the members counted 114 persons; Stefan Kulyniak was elected Chairman; the receipts were 352 zl., the expenses were 177 zl.; in the library there were 80 books, of which 122 had been read, and 3 magazines; there was an amateur theatre group which had shown 4 performances; 3 reports were read; the reading room was placed in the village People's House (alias Narodnyi dim), the holiday of the Prosvita society was celebrated, and the concert in honour of Taras Shevchenko was organized (CSHAUL is held. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 44, 44 rev.).

The power neglected the rights of the Ukrainians, suppressed any displays of their national development, regularly conducted checks, audits, created artificial obstacles in the society's functioning. For each meeting and each lecture the power demanded a special permission. The texts of speeches and even songs passed censorship. There were cases of the intervention of policemen during the carrying out of reading rooms' gathering, – for example, in the villages of Pochaievychi and Neudorf (now Nove Selo). In Opaka, the policeman who had arrived from the copshop in Pidbuzh, demanded 6 zlotys for a cart and «the reading room paid in order to get rid of the trouble and to have rest». In Pidbuzh reading room, during an audit on December 22nd, 1927, the police took away «History of Ukraine» by Mykola Arkas as «anti-state, illegal, and not censored» (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 112 rev., 113). The actions of the Polish power testified to the purposeful and violent assimilating policy concerning the Ukrainians, that limited their natural and inalienable right to their native language and original national culture.

Lviv voivodeship issued orders with which the county's reading rooms of the Prosvita society could be liquidated, – as, for example, in the village of Solets (on 16.04.1928), for the gathering of the parents of the school children for to settle the question of the school plebiscite, or in Nahuievychi (on 17.06.1930), for reason that the organization «Selrob-Yednist» had held a meeting in the reading room on purpose to incite to a strike of «carriers of timber from the state forests», and, also, for an allegation that two members of the reading room had been elected to the committee structure, but their surnames were not specified. After the branch of the Prosvita had carried out an investigation, it appeared that the participants of the meeting «rushed into the reading room by using force, without informing and without the permission of the reading room's staff». In Skhidnytsia (18.06.1930) – for singing of the national anthem at a concert, for which local priest, Father Volodymyr Maryshchak was brought to judicial responsibility and – by the decision of the county court in Drohobych – was dismissed from punishment; in Mykhailevychi (21.06.1930), for the political content of

the report of the branch delegate Ivan Horodyskyi (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 83, 110a, 111, 114 rev.; Dilo, 1930: 3).

The reading rooms were also closed in Sniatynka (on 12.03.1928), Dobrivliany (1928), Bania Kotivska, Uniatchi (on 22.07.1929), Hayi Nyzhni, Yasenytsia Silna, Opaka, Ranevychi (on 27.11.1928), Roliv (1928), Hrushiv (Krasne), and in Modrychi (in June, 1930). In Sniatynka – for a political speech of Vol[odymyr] Martyn at a meeting in February, 1928; in Opaka – for the fact, that the reviewer explained the matter of the Polish budget; in Hayi Nyzhni – for the advisory meeting for the creation of a reading rooms of the Plast organization; in Uniatchi – for the use of the reading room's seal by the secretary in «a private letter»; in Ranevychi – for the fact that some members of the reading room belonged to the illegal Communist party of the Western Ukraine and for the reception by them of this party's books from Berlin; the rest closures were motivated mainly for singing of the national anthem (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 114, 114 rev., 121–122). On the basis of the statute, the property of the closed reading rooms passed at the disposal of Chairman of the society's branch S. Vytvytskyi, on which fact it was necessary to inform the Voivodeship in Lviv and Starostvo in Drohobych. All in all, by the middle of July, 1930, in Drohobych filial county 12 reading rooms were closed, and this number was constantly increasing.

However, despite the power's oppressions, the process of restoration of reading rooms of the Prosvita society in the county went on. Numerous appeals of Drohobych branch of the society to its Main Committee with the request to send the statutes testify to it. On May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1930 the reading room in Kolptsi, which had been closed on 17.04.1926, renewed its activity. On July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1930 a new reading room was created in Pochaievychi (Vasyl Kovalenko was elected its Chairman). Here the meeting took place without informing of the Starostvo and «a policement arrived by the end of the meeting and made a denunciation for an illegal meeting without the permission of the power». This case was transferred for consideration into court (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 121, 122, 123).

On June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1932, in the report at an annual general meeting, Chairman of the branch of the Prosvita society in Drohobych S. Vytvytskyi remarked that of 49 reading rooms 43 were active, and 40 of them had sent their annual report. The power allowed the activity of 16 reading rooms which testifies to a considerable progress. It should also be noticed that the leftist influences which at the meeting was presented by 9 persons, declined and was limited only to personal attacks. Four Drohobych reading rooms opened kindergartens, the same ones had to be created by the reading rooms elsewhere in the county. Also, such other creations were noted: 1 female section, 3 sections of youth, 32 theatre groups (187 performances), 9 choruses (19 concerts), and 1 wind band. Besides, the reading rooms and libraries received 6846 books and 114 magazines (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2295. S. 18; Business, 1932: 5).

On July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1932 Drohobych branch sent to the Main department the statutes of the founded reading rooms in Oriv for the purpose of their entering to into the Voivodeship. In the report it was underlined that «this is only a formality as the reading room in Oriv already exists, but in [1]924 it had not inserted new statutes, or had not renewed them...». It turned out that the statutes were in the office of the Main society for more than a month. The same concerns the statutes from Boryslav (Bania Kotivska), what had been sent by the branch yet on 9.05.1932. The branch also asked to respond to the creation of the student reading rooms of the Prosvita society in Drohobych and forwarded the report of the constituent assembly on the creation of a new (the second) reading room in Hrushiv-Stare Selo and Krynytsia (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2295. S. 27, 27 rev., 28).

In a letter to the Main department of the Prosvita society in Lviv, dd. April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1933, Drohobych branch informed the society on the activity of such reading rooms in the county: Binychi, confirmed by order of 23.06.1928 and was «a sub-settlement of the community of Hayi Nyzhni»; Hukova Hora, confirmed 6.01.1926 and belonged to the town of Great Boryslav; in Hayi Vyzhni the reading room was formed earlier, but its new statutes were confirmed by the Voivodeship later, on 30.12.1932. The general gathering took place on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1933, Vasyl Huk was elected its Chairman; in Dovhe Pidbuzhetske the reading room restored activity thanks to the initiative of Father Severyn Matsiurak who was elected Chairman at a general meeting on April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1933; in Nahuievychi it was restored by order of 17.06.1930, but the sent representation to the Ministry was rejected, therefore, there was no reading room there; in Ripchytsi the reading room was registered and functioned (registration date was not specified), its Chairman was Father Panteleimon Maletskyi; in Lastivky «the reading room is active enough», the general gathering took place on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1933, Father Teofil Klish was elected Chairman; the reading room in Tyniv was «5 years not active», but on April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1933 it held a meeting and elected Yosyp Markov Chairman; the reading room in Litynia – sub-settlement «Hrudy» – was not active for several years, but at the initiative of Dean Lev Stetsev on 19 February 1933 it held a general gathering on which it elected him Chairman. «The reading room starts to develop correctly, is located in a parochial house and is in constant contact with the Branch; the reading room in Luzhok Dolishniy develops poorly as it has no corresponding premise «(thanking to Old Ruthenians)». In the summer of 1932 the branch sent its delegate Olexa Veselovskyi to the reading room, which resulted in a «misunderstanding with the local dudes» and the case appeared in court. For these reasons the reading room is almost idle. The latest general gathering took place on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1932 and elected Hryts Fedyk Chairman; the reading room in Pidbuzh starts building «its own big house», its activity is visible thanking to «the mobility of the local youth» and, also, the new lawyer Volodymyr Kuzyk who was elected Chairman at a general meeting on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1933. It had a constant contact with the branch; the reading room in Rybnyk was «inactive, there was no force to wake it up from its sleep»; the reading room in Roliv was restored on 12.12.1928, a representation was sent to the Ministry which made no respond to it, hence – the reading room did not exist and all cultural-educational work was done by the Ridna Shkola society; as to the restoration of the activity of the reading rooms in Sniatynka, Skhidnytsia, and Uniatychi, the power did not permit it, motivating its negative decision by the fact that «these are only detour statutes, and continuation of the activity of the old reading room». Therefore, in these villages no reading rooms were present, while the cultural-educational work in Sniatynka is conducted by a local co-operative, in Skhidnytsia it was done by the Silskyi Hospodar society, and in Uniatychi the Ridna Shkola society (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2295. S. 62, 62 rev., 63).

In the second half of the 1930s the process of creation of new reading rooms went on. In June, 1933 Drohobych branch addressed to the Main department with the request to create a reading room staff in Urizh, as well as to correct the matter with the statute in Bystrytsia as «the people interrogate us what is the matter with the statutes for which they have to wait so long». The reading room in Stebnyk and Oriv-Zymivky was restored (under the other name) in 1936, and the community of the village of Radelychi asked a permission to establish the reading room of the Prosvita society (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2295. S. 66–67, 190). In January of 1938 the permissions to create reading rooms of the Prosvita society in Kolpitsi, Uniatychi, and Hayi-Potik were received, but, at the same time, no such permissions were re-

ceived from the county Starostvo in Drohobych by Hayi Vyzhni-Potic, Smilna, and Uniatychi (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2299. S. 47, 79).

Reading rooms were the lowest link in the structure the Prosvita society which administration was elected at the meeting and consisted of the chairman, assistant, secretary, librarian, cashier, and house-keeper. The activity of reading rooms depended on many factors: number of members, financial capability, presence or absence of competing structures, etc. Often communication between a reading room and the branch became complicated through the absence of effective means of communication. Chairmen of reading rooms of the Prosvita society were local clergyman, respectable peasants, or local intelligentsia. In the majority of villages a reading room had its own house, in some villages (Urizh, Hayi Nyzhni Lutsiovi) in the 1930s new buildings were under construction (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2299. S. 5). Members of the Prosvita society gathered in the reading rooms on Sundays and on holidays after the matins were served in churches. Lending of books, loud reading, and providing discussions concerning the read magazines, conversations on political themes, listening to convenient reports and speeches of the local or invited visitors, - such were the subjects of the reading room meetings. A special attention was devoted to the decoration of the premises of reading rooms during holidays, as it created a solemn mood in their visitors, while the holiday strengthened their national feelings. Of the most frequently anniversaries celebrated by the reading rooms of the Prosvita society on Drohobych land were these of T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, S. Petliura, and M. Shashkevych, and of the holidays most often celebrated were that of the Prosvita society, Kruty, the Unification Day, November revolt, and other. Each room had its library and formed various amateur groups. Reading rooms became the centres of cultural and educational life in villages.

All reading rooms in the county should pay monthly payments, and also necessarily subscribe to magazines «Narodnia Prosvita» and «Amateur Theatre» (the annual subscription of both magazines cost 4 zl.). Besides, the reading room staff had to be members of the Prosvita society and pay membership dues in the sum of 2 zl. (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2292. S. 69). Sometimes, the poorer reading rooms, than those which built separate houses, were dismissed from the payment. In a leaflet of the society's Main department of May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1930 there is a mention that the reading room of the Prosvita society in Hrushiv did not pay «the dues to to the maternal society for 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929». There were branch pleas to the Main department with the request to release the reading rooms in Bilche, Bilche-Bolonia, Vynnyky, Hrushiv, Hukova-hora, Dovhe (near Medenychi), and Opari from «membership dues» (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2299. S. 40).

The work of reading rooms was supervised by the branch and the Main departments. Twice for a year the county organizer of the branch or an employee of the office carried out a basic check of the activity and an economic condition of the reading room. Besides, every year work of reading rooms was checked by the inspector from the Main office of the Prosvita society in Lviv. In 1926 29 trips to the reading rooms of Drohobych county were made with the purpose of checking and reading reports on historical, literary, and social themes.

In 1936 – 1939 Y. Andrusiecko, O. Kobiv, and V. Tatomyr visited Drohobych. After each check reports were written which were then discussed at the sessions of the branch with the reading room staffs and heads of groups present, in which also the achievements were analyzed, plans were prepared, the experience was exchanged, and new forms of work were studied. So, on December 17–25, 1937 inspector Y. Andrusiecko checked the activity of reading rooms in Drohobych county. The remarks made by him allow the contemporary researcher to estimate



their work. What concerns the positive conclusions, these were as follows: the sessions of the reading rooms' staff took place «almost correctly»; in each reading room regular and planned «loud readings» about Ukraine's history and geography, and with attention to the literature about the liberation struggle was conducted; the organisation of teaching courses for the illiterate (three such were in Oriv, Dobrohostiv, and Kropyvnyk); the carrying out by the branch of training preparation (studies on Mondays during several years) of the heads of self-educational groups and of Moloda Ukraïna (Young Ukraine); the presence of theatrical groups almost in each reading room; the practice of reception of permissions from the power for carrying out of the actions by the branch of the Prosvita society was good, as was, also, the control of the branch over the cash of each reading room. As to the drawbacks, they were such: the absence in some reading rooms of appropriate office-work «on the attributed printed matter»; the number of libraries should be increased and the stock-taking of books should be done; it was necessary to carry out an inventory of the property with the specified cost of each unit of possession; the cash-books should be checked each quarter, as well as the library, economy, office-work, and the work of the reading room on the whole. Medenychi reading room was noted to be weak in the organisation of work (CSHAUL. F. 348. D. 1. C. 2299. S. 46–46 rev.).

In the report of Drohobych branch of the Prosvita society for 1938 such achievements of the organization were underlined: the creation of the office; the division of the branch into 12 areas – Drohobych, Boryslav, Skhidnytsia, Pidbuzh, Bronytsia, Hrushiv, Rykhtychi, Medenychi, Voroblevychi, Dovhe (near Medenychi), Haii Nyzhni, Dobrohostiv (each comprising from 2 to 13 reading rooms and co-ordinating their work); the opening of a library; a subscription of 31 magazines, and so on. In general, Drohobych branch numbered 74 reading rooms (of which 48 worked «well» and 20 worked «poorly»). The total of the members of the staffs of all the reading rooms of the county was 7 229 persons (4605 men and 1213 women) (Dilo, 1938: 5).

**The conclusions.** Renewing of the activity of the Prosvita society's reading rooms in the interwar period was an absolute must of time and became a manifest evidence of the survivability of the educational idea of the Prosvita, the dynamics of the society's progress in the realisation of the national cravings of the Ukrainians. Their activity took place in extremely difficult conditions. The main reasons which braked the development of the Prosvita society's reading rooms, were such: obstacles of the power during the restatement of statutes, a lack of active cadres, and influences of the leftist political ideas on the Prosvita's activity. The persecution of the Ukrainian educational movement (Ukrainian «prosvita» means «enlightenment») was a bright illustration of the fact that the power created artificial obstacles and barriers in the functioning of the Prosvita's local centers and tried to limit its influence on the formation of the national consciousness.

The organizational advance of Drohobych branch of the Prosvita society was characterised by a constant expansion of a network of reading rooms, increase of the quantity of the society's members for the sake of giving the education-cultural work a mass character and for the strengthening of the opposition to Polonization and assimilation. The 1930s were particularly fruitful years in the activity of reading rooms of the society on Drohobych land, which became the period of transition from inertness to a hard work. After all, the development of all cultural and educational movement in the area depended on the branched out network of reading rooms of the Prosvita society and the quantities of Ukrainians involved in its membership. The reading rooms the Prosvita society in Drohobych county were among the main carriers of the Ukrainian national idea, their activity assisted in the increase of the conscious and educated Ukrainians.



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**PUBLIC-POLITICAL VIEWS OF GREEK-CATHOLIC PRIESTS  
OF DROHOBYCH COUNTY IN MID 1920s  
(ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS OF THE POLISH POLICE)**

*The article's purpose is to publish and analyze a document of the Polish police (1925) which gives the characteristic to political and public views of Greek-Catholic clergy of Drohobych county of Lviv voivodeship in the Polish republic. The analyzed document is kept in the State archive of Lviv region. It is entitled «Index of Greek-Catholic Priests of Drohobych County» and is written, of course, in the Polish language, dated on September 16th, 1925 and signed by the county commissioner of the state police. The published document is an important historical source not only for the researchers of political processes, but also for those working in the branch of the local lore study and prosopography.*

**Key words:** *Greek-Catholic priests, Ukrainian-Polish relations, Drohobych county, Lviv voivodeship, Polish police*

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**ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПОГЛЯДИ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКИХ  
СВЯЩЕНИКІВ ДРОГОБИЦЬКОГО ПОВІТУ У СЕРЕДИНІ 1920-х РОКІВ  
(ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ПОЛЬСЬКОЇ ПОЛІЦІЇ)**

*У статті публікується та аналізується документ польської поліції (1925), який дає характеристику політичним та громадським поглядам греко-католицького духовенства Дрогобицького повіту Львівського воєводства Польської республіки. Аналізований документ зберігається у Державному архіві Львівської області (фонд 1137 «Повітове староство в Дрогобичі. Відділ безпеки», опис 3, справа 27). Він має назву «Виказ греко-католицьких священиків повіту*

дрогобицького», написаний, звісно, польською мовою, датований 16 вересня 1925 р. і підписаний повітовим комісаром державної поліції.

Машинописна інформація документа укладена у формі таблиць, що включали такі графи: порядковий номер; ім'я та прізвище; службова характеристика (фах, родинний стан і місце проживання); поведінка з політичного погляду; поведінка з громадянського погляду; належність до політичної партії; заувага. У «Виказі» наведено характеристику 61 особи. Загалом, зазначений документ є синтезованим і схематичним зібранням наявної у Дрогобицькому повітовому комісаріаті поліції інформації, яку, вочевидь, зосереджували поліцаї та їхні агенти на місцях впродовж кількох місяців або й років.

Поведінка священників з огляду на політичні погляди та діяльність польськими поліціантами характеризувалася різними термінами: «український шовініст», «вороже налаштований до польської держави», «наполегливий пропагувальник української ідей», «без закиду». Громадянську поведінку учителів польські поліціанти характеризували термінами «лояльно», «мляво», «непевно», «нелояльно». Щось середнє між цими характеристиками становило поняття «виконує обов'язки», яке стосувалося не лише громадсько-політичних візій та дій священників (а саме виконання громадянських обов'язків), але й професійної діяльності. Відтак після означення політичної та громадянської позиції учителів, працівники поліції у «Виказі» намагалися дати загальну оцінку особі «з огляду на інтерес держави». Така оцінка найчастіше формулювалася термінами «шкідливий», «нешкідливий», «може бути шкідливий», рідше – «непевний». Загалом 28 священників зі 61 визнано «нешкідливими».

Публікований документ є важливим історичним джерелом не лише для дослідників суспільно-політичних процесів, але й тих, хто працює у річищі краєзнавства та просопографії. У цих таблицях наведено цікава інформація про відомих громадсько-політичних діячів краю о. Северина Сапуна, о. Антонія Рудавського, о. Онуфрія Венгриновича. Документ вважаємо достатньо репрезентативним для з'ясування ставлення польських властей до українського греко-католицького кліру Дрогобицького повіту в середині 1920-х рр., виявлення громадсько-політичних поглядів і симпатій місцевих педагогів, розкриття окремих елементів біографій деяких громадських і педагогічних діячів краю.

**Ключові слова:** Греко-католицькі священники, українсько-польські відносини, Дрогобицький повіт, Львівське воєводство, польська поліція.

**The statement of the problem.** Ukrainian-Polish relations on East Galician lands in the interwar period form a difficult and multidimensional problem which research demands the attraction to the historical science of a considerable complex of sources. Official documents of Polish authorities, administration, law and order protection, and, in particular, polices take an appreciable place among them. They provide a chance to generate an accurate idea about the attitude of Polish authorities both to separate representatives of the Ukrainian community, and to the Ukrainian society on the whole.

**The analysis of recent researches.** The position of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the interwar Polish republic was a subject of researches of many Ukrainian and foreign scientists. First of all, it is necessary to mention the works of T. Sliwa (Sliwa, 1980), E. Prus (Prus, 1985; Prus, 1999), S. Stępeń (Stępeń, 1990), V. Mich (Mich, 1992), Y. Ważniewska (Ważniewska, 2002), F. Rzemieniuk (Rzemieniuk, 2003), and many others. A historiographic analysis of the scientific studies of the specified problem were carried out by V. Stefaniv (Stefaniv, 2008) and V. Futala (Futala, 2012). Continuing V. Futala's thought about the need for the researchers in the future to concentrate attention on such aspect of the problem as the creation and activity of clerical parties (Futala, 2012: 336), the author of this article underlines that historians should more actively work over the question of political activity and political visions of Greek-Catholic clergy in the 1920s – 1930s. Thanks to revealing and elaborating of new archival materials, the factological basis of the previous researches in this domain can be expanded.

**The article's purpose** is to publish and analyze a document of the Polish police (1925) which gives the characteristic to political and public views of Greek-Catholic clergy of Drohobych county of Lviv voivodeship in the Polish republic.

**The statement of the basic material.** The analyzed document is kept in the State archive of Lviv region (Fund 1137 «The County Starostvo in Drohobych. Safety Department.», D[escription] 3, C[ase] 27 «Lists of Teachers, Secretaries of Rural Gminas and Civil Servants of not Polish nationality, with the Characteristic of their Political Reliability») (SALR. F. 1137. D. 3. C. 27. S. 38–38 reverse, 41). It is entitled «Index of Greek-Catholic Priests of Drohobych County» and is written, of course, in the Polish language, dated on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1925 and signed by the county commissioner of the state police (the signature illegible).

The typewritten information of the document is concluded in the form of tables, which included such columns: ordinal number; name and surname; office characteristic (speciality, family condition, and place of residence); behaviour from the political point of view; behaviour from the civil point of view; accessory to political parties; NB. In the «Index» the characteristics of 61 persons are mentioned. In general, the specified document is the synthesized and schematic compilation of the information available to Drohobych county commissariat of police which, obviously, policemen and their agents concentrated in the locality within several months or years.

Unfortunately, no accompanying documents have been found out, such as orders and instructions, which would have obliged policemen to report on the corresponding information. Nevertheless, it seems that it was the county starostvo, headed by Stanislaw Porembalsy, that was main customer of this information, otherwise, it could have been the voivodeship's administration in Lviv, which could claim for the corresponding information from the counties.

As has been already mentioned, in the «Index» the information on 61 county priests is gathered, of whom 60 were Greek-Catholics and one was – an Evangelist pastor. As is too obvious, the police collected no information on Roman-Catholic priests, as their political positions caused no doubts and suspicions of the Polish authorities. The national identity of 59 Greek-Catholic priests is designated by the officially accepted and spread by the Poles name «Ruthenian», because terms «Ukraine» and «Ukrainian» in interwar Poland were eliminated from the political dictionary. What concerns one Greek-Catholic priest, namely, Father Marian Povkh, who belonged to the monastic order of St Basil the Great (ChSBG) also served at St. Trinity Church in Drohobych, his national identity is not specified (SALR. F. 1137. D. 3. C. 27. S. 38 reverse). Probably, that occurred through the oversight of police officers, and it is necessary to consider Father M. Povkh a Ukrainian («Ruthenian alias Rusyn»). Evangelist pastor Paul-Samuel Roye was a German and carried out service duties in the village of Jozefsberg, founded yet by Austrian colonists in the end of the XVIII century. Almost all the priests were married (or widowers), only fathers belonging to the ChSBG were marked as «unmarried», of course.

The behaviour of priests from the viewpoint of their political views and activity was characterized by Polish policemen with different terms: «the Ukrainian chauvinist», «lacks hostility towards to the Polish state», «persistent propagandist of Ukrainian ideas», «without a reproach». The last word combination characterised the activity of persons who could not be reproached with anything from the political point of view or on whom the police had no necessary information. Situational notions, which specify on the



known by the policemen facts («a supporter of the conciliatory movement», «the Ukrainian chauvinist») or already formed estimations («an outstanding Ukrainian figure», «a moderate Ukrainian figure») were sometimes used. Here and there political positions of the priests were outlined by a mere statement: «the Ukrainian figure».

On the whole, the Polish police could not politically reproach 24 priests for unreliable behaviour (Evangelist pastor among them), and in 37 persons (60.7 %) it found certain political guilt». So, 12 priests were claimed to have the enemy attitude to the Polish state, 7 were called «Ukrainian chauvinists», and 10 were named «Ukrainian figures» (the majority of which appeared to be «moderate» and «adherents of the conciliatory direction»). Only one of them (Father Teodor Popel), being a «moderate figure», in the opinion of the Polish police turned out «the great enemy of the Polish state».

The civil behaviour of the teachers was characterised by Polish policemen as «loyal», «inert», «uncertain», «disloyal». The characteristic «fulfils the duties» was something average among these characteristics and concerned not only political views and actions of the priests (namely, performance of civic duties), but also their professional work. For example, Drohobych ChSBG vicar Father Martyn Kokhovysh, according to the information of the Polish police, by 1925 had not accepted the Polish citizenship and had not made the oath of allegiance to the Polish state. The same position held Father Onufriy Vennrinovysh from Droobych, whose political position, however, tend to «the conciliatory direction».

According to the police data, 37 of 61 priests (60.7%), the Evangelist pastor among them. showed a loyal relation to the Polish authorities and laws. So, the civic stand only of 24 priests caused cautions in the police. Among those priests such were who were classified as persons with a «languid» display of their civic position (for example, the known composer and art figure from Drohobych Father Severyn Suprun), or even «hidden» (the most interesting among which is the psychological characteristic of Father Mykola Horbovskyi from the village of Storona – «closed in himself»). As can be seen, this figure somewhat does not counterbalance the quantity of politically unreliable persons, such as «chauvinists» and «with hostility towards the Polish state». The policemen's logic, at the first sight, is not clear: why the Greek-Catholic priest from the village of Urizh Father Mykhailo Horodyskyi, recognised by the police as «the Ukrainian chauvinist», was designated as «loyal» in the document. Probably, the police workers indicated «the enemy attitude» through the fixation of certain statements (often emotional) or through the confirmation of participations in the activity of uncertain (for the Poles) Ukrainian parties from the political point of view. At the same time, a priest's loyal position was defined by his cooperation with the bodies of the power. Obviously, for the Polish police there was nothing inconsistent between the concepts of the chauvinist and the loyal citizen.

As a matter of fact, the Polish policemen defined one's belonging to a political party rather indistinctly. What is meant is, first, that to political parties public organisations were also enlisted (for example, UPS – the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society), and, secondly, the party accessory was often designated not just by the name of party, but by the party's political direction («supporters of the left-wing trends», «an old Ruthenian»). A number of the priests was non-parties (gymnasium catechism teacher from Drohobych Father Onufriy Hadzevich, Evangelist pastor Paul-Samuel Roye, parish priest of the village of Skhidnytsia Father Yosyp Marushchak, parish priest of the village of Hubychi Father Dmytro Horodyskyi, and parish priest of the village of Popeli Father

Vasyl Matsiurak). A considerable part of the Greek-Catholic priests (26 persons as the party members and 2 adherents) belonged to the Ukrainian national labour party (former Ukrainian national-democratic party). By the way, on July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1925, the prevailing part of the Ukrainian national labour party was a branch of the Ukrainian national-democratic association, so, by September of the same year, when the Drohobych policemen were compiling their «Index», the labour party did not exist any more.

Moreover, in the «Index» 10 «old Ruthenians» were mentioned. It should be noticed that the name «Old Ruthenian party» was used for the informal designation of a moskvophile trend since the end of the XIX century. For example, Ivan Franko in 1889 mentioned «Old Ruthenian party» in his article «Political Sidings In Galicia» (Franko, 1985). In 1900 the moskvophiles formed the Russian people party which, nevertheless, stopped existing after 1909. Then, right after the First World War, they formed the «Russian executive committee», which right wing searched compromises with the Polish authorities and, eventually, in 1923, formed the political «Russian national organisation» (Orlevych, 2003: 201–204). Probably, the specified priests belonged to it, or they only continued to profess the moskvophile views.

Thus, after defining of political and civic stand of the teachers, the police workers in the «Index» tried to state the general estimation to the person «considering the interest of the state». Such an estimation most frequently was formulated by the epithets «harmful», «harmless», «potentially harmful», more rarely by «uncertain». In general, 28 priests of 61 were recognised as «harmless» (45.9%), that correlates with the percentage of the «loyal» priests. It is interesting, that the «Old Ruthenians» (Father Mykola Baranetskyi from the village of Volia Yakubova, Father Semen Dudkevych from the village of Hrushiv, Father Semen Chyzhovych from the village of Luzhok Dolishniy, Father Lev Chapelskyi from the village of Voroblevychi, Father Antoni Rudavskyi from the village of Haii Nyzhni, and others) appeared for the Polish police equally «harmless», as well as the majority of the members of the Ukrainian pedagogical society (Father Ivan Leshchynskyi from the town of Boryslav, Father Yulian Andriianovych from the village of Tustanovychi, Father Kamil Kuzyk from the village of Modrychi). Only the members of Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (UPS), in particular, Father Teofil Tatomyr from the village of Staryi Kropyvnyk, Father Stepan Ilnytskyi from the village of Bystrytsia, Father Teofil Klish from the village of Lastivka, Father Ivan Valiukh from the village of Truskavets, and Father Petro Mykelytka from the village of Stebnyk, on a consideration of their active promotion of «the Ukrainian idea», were recognised as such that can be harmful.

**The conclusions.** Summing up, it should be notice that the published document is an important historical source not only for the researchers of political processes, but also for those working in the branch of the local lore study and prosopography. In these tables the interesting information about the known public-political figures of the country is presented, including Father Severyn Saprun, Father Antoni Rudavskyi, and Father Onufriy Venhrynovych. The document is considered representative enough for finding-out of the attitude of the Polish authorities to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy of Drohobych county in the mid 1920s, revealing of the political views and sympathies of the local pedagogues, disclosing of separate elements of the biographies of some public and pedagogical figures of the land. The document is for the first time entered into the scientific circulation and is presented in the source language (Polish). In the original to the document the table contains the column «NB», but as it was not filled at its publication, it is left out.

*The document*

L.p.	Imie i nazwisko	Charakter służbowy, względnie zawód, stan rodzinny i miejsce zamieszkania	Zachowanie się pod względem politycznym	Zachowanie się pod względem obywatelskim	Przynależność do partii politycznej	Ocena ze względu na interes państwa
1	Ks. Saprun Seweryn	katecheta, żonaty, rusin, Drohobycz, ul. św.Jana	wybitny działacz ukraiński i wrogo Państwu usposobiony	opieszale	czł[onek] partii trudowej	wywiera szkodliwy wpływ na dzieci
2	Ks. Wenhrynowicz Onufry	katecheta, żonaty, rusin, Drohobycz, ul. św.Jana	[...] wybit[ny] działacz ukr[aiński], zwolennik kierunku ugodowego	nie przyz[naje] się do obyw[atelstwa] polsk[iego]	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkod[liwy] wpływ na dzieci
3	Ks. Popiel Teodor	probosz, żonaty, rusin, Drohobycz, ul. św.Krzyża	umiarkowany działacz ukr[aiński], wielki wrog państwa Polskiego	lojalne	czł[onek] partii trudowej	obecnie bez wpływów
4	Ks. Podolak Piotr	probosz, żonaty, rusin, Drohobycz, ul. Słony Stawek	umiarkowany działacz ukr[aiński], zwolennik kierunku ugodowego	lojalne	czł[onek] partii trudowej	obecnie bez wpływów
5	Ks. Kamiński Konstanty	kapelan więźni na Gorce, Zakład Karny, Drohobycz, rusin	działności swej nieu rozwija, wrogo państwu usposobiony	lojalne	- // -	może być szkodliwy
6	Ks. Pouch Marjan	przeor OO. Bazyljanów, wolny, Drohobycz, plac św. Trójcy *	umiarkowany działacz ukraiński, zwolennik kierunku ugodowego	lojalne	zwolen[nik] part[ii] trudowej	nieszkodliwy
7	Ks. Kochowycz Marcin	wikary OO. Bazyljanów, wolny, rusin, Drohobycz, plac św. Trójcy	wrogo do państwa usposobiony	nie przyz[naje] się do obyw[atelstwa] polsk[iego]	zwolen[nik] part[ii] trudowej	może być szkodliwy
8	Ks. Żuraweckiy Sylwester	wikary OO. Bazyljanów, wolny, Drohobycz, pl[ac] św. Trójcy, rusin	wrogo do państwa usposobiony	opieszale	zwolen[nik] pradów lewicowych	może być szkodliwy
9	Ks. Haniszczaek Cyprjan	wikary OO. Bazyljanów, wolny, rusin, Drohobycz, pl[ac] św. Trójcy	wrogo do państwa usposobiony	opieszale	zwolen[nik] pradów lewicowych	może być szkodliwy
10	Ks. Hadzewicz Onufry	katecheta himn[azyjny], żonaty, rusin, Drohobycz, ul. Zielona	dotychczas bez zarzutu	lojalne	rzekomo bezpartijny	może być szkodliwy
11	Ks. Mokrycki Matwij	probosz, żonaty, rusin, 1 dziecko, Dobrowlany	bez zarzutu	lojalne	czł[onek] partii trudowej	nieszkodliwy
12	Ks. Baraniecki Mikołaj	probosz, żonaty, 4 dzieci, rusin, Wola Jakubowa	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy

13	Ks. Dudkiewicz Semion	probosz, wdowiec, rusin, Hruszów	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
14	Ks. Nebożuk Andrzej	wikary, żonaty, 1 dziecko, rusin, Hruszów	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	opieszale	U.P.T.	szkodliwy
15	Ks. Myhal Szymon	proboszcz, wolny, rusin, Tynow	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	spełnia obowiązki	U.P.T.	może być szkodliwy
16	Ks. Czyżowicz Semeon	proboszcz, żonaty, 6 dzieci, rusin, Łużek dolny	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
17	Ks. Józwiak Mikołaj	proboszcz, żonaty, 4 dzieci, rusin, Bronica	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	pełni obowiązki	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
18	Ks. Jaciów Aleksander	proboszcz, żonaty, 1 dziecko, rusin, Rolow	działacz ukraiński	pełni obowiązki	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
19	Ks. Czapelski Leon	proboszcz, żonaty, bezdzietny, rusin, Wróblowice	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
20	Ks. Steciów Leon	dziekan, wdowiec, 2 dzieci, rusin, Litynia	działacz ukraiński	pełni obowiązki	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
21	Ks. Mikołajewicz Antoni	proboszcz i dziekan, rusin, żonaty, 3 synów, Podbuż	szowinista ukraiński	spełnia obowiązki	czł[onek] partii trudowej	niepewny
22	Ks. Horbowski Mikołaj	proboszcz, rusin, żonaty, 4 dzieci, Stronna	szowinista ukraiński	zamk[nięty] w sobi, okazuje ugod[owstwo]	czł[onek] partii trudowniczej	szkodliwy
23	Ks. Horodyski Michał	proboszcz, żonaty, 4 dzieci, rusin, Uroż	szowinista ukraiński	lojalne	czł[onek] partii trudowniczej	szkodliwy
24	Ks. Beń Mikołaj	wikary, żonaty, rusin, bezdzietny, Opaka	szowinista ukraiński	spełnia obowiązki	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
25	Ks. Jachno Jakob	proboszcz, żonaty, 6 dzieci, rusin, Załokieć	szowinista ukraiński	opieszaly i skryty	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
26	Ks. Hruszkiewicz Teodor	proboszcz, żonaty, bezdzietny rusin, Smolna	szowinista ukraiński	opieszaly i skryty	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
27	Ks. Kiszyk Stefan	proboszcz, żonaty, 2 dzieci, rusin, Opaka	bez zarzutu	lojalny	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
28	Ks. Krućko Semen	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Medenice	wrogo usposobiony do państwa polskiego	spełnia obowiązki	UPT oraz part[ia] trudowa	szkodliwy
29	Ks. Małecki Pantalemon	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Rabczyce	wrogo usposobiony do państwa polskiego	spełnia obowiązki	UPT oraz partia trud[owa]	szkodliwy
30	Ks. Pańkowski Hilary	proboszcz, rusin, wdowiec, Bilcze	wrogo usposobiony do państwa polskiego	spełnia obowiązki	UPT oraz part[ia] trud[owa]	szkodliwy

31	Ks. Dutko Piotr	wikary, żonaty, rusin, Horucko	wrogo usposobiony do państwa polskiego	spełnia obowiązki	UPT oraz part[ia] trudowej	szkodliwy
32	Ks. Dućko Juljan	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Letnia	bez zarzutu	lojalne	Trudowa	nieszkodliwy
33	Ks. Romaniec Hryń	proboszcz, wdowiec, rusin, Krynica	wrogo usposobiony do państwa polskiego	spełnia tylko obowiązki	Trudowa	szkodliwy
34	Ks. Roye Paul-Samuel	ks. obrz[ądka] ewangelickiego, żonaty, niemiec, Josefsberg	bez zarzutu	lojalne	- // -	nieszkodliwy
35	Ks. Maruszczak Józef	proboszcz, wdowiec, rusin, Schodnica	bez zarzutu	lojalne	- // -	nieszkodliwy
36	Ks. Habliński Mikołaj	proboszcz, żonaty, 2 dzieci, rusin, Kropiwnik nowy	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	lojalne	U.P.T.	może być szkodliwy
37	Ks. Tatomir Teofil	proboszcz, żonaty, 2 dzieci, rusin, Kropiwnik stary	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	lojalne	U.P.T.	może być szkodliwy
38	Ks. Ilnicki Stefan	proboszcz, wdowiec, 2 dzieci, rusin, Bystrzyca	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	lojalne	U.P.T.	może być szkodliwy
39	Ks. Klisz Teofil	proboszcz, żonaty, 3 dzieci, rusin, Łastówki	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	lojalne	U.P.T.	może być szkodliwy
40	Ks. Kikła Paweł	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Uniatycze	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
41	Ks. Jednaki Michał	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Nachujowice	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
42	Ks. Durkot Włodzimierz	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Lisznia	bez zarzutu	lojalne	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
43	Ks. Nehrebecki Jan	proboszcz, wdowiec, rusin, Jasenica solna	bez zarzutu	lojalne	czł[onek] partii trudowej	nieszkodliwy
44	Ks. Myż Józef	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Niedzwiedza	bez zarzutu	lojalne	czł[onek] partii trudowej	nieszkodliwy
45	Ks. Leszczyński Jan	proboszcz, żonaty, 1 dziecko, rusin, Borysław	bez zarzutu	lojalne	U.P.T.	nieszkodliwy
46	Ks. Andrianowicz Juljan	dziekan, żonaty, 6 dzieci, rusin, Tustanowice	bez zarzutu	lojalne	U.P.T.	nieszkodliwy
47	Ks. Fedorowicz Karol	katecheta, żonaty, 3 dzieci, rusin, Tustanowice	bez zarzutu	lojalne	U.P.T.	nieszkodliwy
48	Ks. Szumski Leon	proboszcz, żonaty, 1 dziecko, rusin, Delawa	działacz i szowinista ukr[aiński]	lojalny	U.P.T.	nieszkodliwy
49	Ks. Szewczyk Iwan	dziekan, żonaty, 4 dzieci, rusin, Bolechowce	umiarkowany działacz ukrain[ski]	lojalny	U.P.T.	nieszkodliwy

50	Ks. Rudawski Antoni	proboszcz, wdowiec, 1 dziecko, rusin, Gaje niżne	bez zarzutu	lojalny	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
51	Ks. Waluch Jan	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Truskawiec	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	spełnia obowiązki	U.P.T.	szkodliwy
52	Ks. Mykelyta Piotr	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Stebnik	gorliwy propagator ideji ukraińskiej	spełnia obowiązki	U.P.T.	szkodliwy
53	Ks. Tymkiewicz Aleksander	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Rybnik	bez zarzutu	lojalny	czł[onek] part[ii] trudowej	nieszkodliwy
54	Ks. Szych Juljan	proboszcz, gr.kat, żonaty, rusin, Dołhe ad Podbuż	bez zarzutu	lojalny	starorusin	nieszkodliwy
55	Ks. Bodrewicz Daniel	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Ułyczno	umiarkowany działacz ukr[aiński]	lojalne	czł[onek] part[ii] trudowej	nieszkodliwy
56	Ks. Morawski Hieronim	proboszcz, wdowiec, rusin, Orów	umiarkowany działacz ukr[aiński]	lojalne	czł[onek] part[ii] trudowej	nieszkodliwy
57	Ks. Chtiej Aleksander	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Dobrohostów	umiarkowany działacz ukr[aiński]	pełni obowiązki	czł[onek] part[ii] trudowej	szkodliwy
58	Ks. Iwanusiow Mikołaj	proboszcz, wdowiec, rusin, Wacowice	wrogo usposobiony do państwa polskiego	spełnia obowiązki	czł[onek] partii trudowej	szkodliwy
59	Ks. Horodyski Dmytro	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Hubisze	bez zarzutu	lojalny	– // –	nieszkodliwy
60	Ks. Maciurak Wasyl	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Popiele	bez zarzutu	lojalny	– // –	nieszkodliwy
61	Ks. Kuzyk Kamyło	proboszcz, żonaty, rusin, Modrycz	bez zarzutu	lojalny	U.P.T.	nieszkodliwy

Drogobycz, dnia 16.9.1925  
Pow. Komissar  
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### DMYTRO PALIIV'S SCIENTIFIC MEMOIR PUBLICATIONS

*In the article D. Paliiv's scientific studies on the military history of Ukraine of the XX century, first of all, the history of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, November revolution of 1918 on the West Ukrainian lands, participations of Galician army in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918 – 1919, and the Ukrainian national-liberation movement in Poland in 1921 – 1939 are subjected to a due consideration. The value of a creative work of D. Paliiv for the development of the domestic military history is shown.*

**Key words:** Dmytro Paliiv, the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Galician army, national-liberation movement.

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### НАУКОВО-МЕМУАРНІ ПУБЛІКАЦІЇ ДМИТРА ПАЛІЄВА

*У статті проаналізовано наукові студії Д. Палієва з воєнної історії України XX ст. Показано цінність його творчого доробку для розвитку вітчизняної військової історичної науки, визначено його внесок в історіографію визвольних змагань України першої половини XX ст.*

*Загалом науково-мемуарну спадщину Д. Палієва (386 позицій) можна умовно згрупувати у такі проблемно-тематичні блоки: історія легіону Українських січових стрільців (1914 – 1918); Листопадова національно-демократична революція 1918 р.; Галицька армія, її участь в українсько-польській війні 1918 – 1919 рр.; український національно-визвольний рух у Польщі міжвоєнного періоду (1921 – 1939); українська проблема у роки Другої світової війни.*

*Важливі військово-політичні висновки Д. Палієв будує на основі дослідження Визвольних змагань 1914 – 1921 рр. Історичні події, що відбувалися в Україні в зазначений період, простежуються вченим у низці публікацій. Торкаючись питання про державотворчі можливості Галицької армії, він доходить висновку, що її тимчасові перемоги (Вовчухівська операція, Чортківський наступ) пояснювалися ініціативою кількох вищих старшин та енергією стрільцтва за відсутності теоретичних здібностей і практичного досвіду Начальної команди. Значна кількість праць Д. Палієва присвячений формуванню праворадикального табору національно-визвольного руху, зокрема політичним передумовам створення та ідеологічним засадам діяльності Фронту національної єдності (ФНС). Д. Палієв прагнув також узагальнити західноєвропейську філософську думку ідеалістичного спрямування другої половини XIX ст., до чого він захоплював редакцію журналу «Перемога».*

*У статті проаналізовано погляди Дмитра Палієва щодо початку Другої світової війни. Коли розпочалась радянсько-німецька війна, він стояв на тому, що українці повинні взяти в ній участь, і то не як партизани, розбиті на різні групи, а як вишколена військова одиниця.*

*Військово-політичний досвід та історичні традиції української державності 1917 – 1920 рр. залишилися, на думку Д. Палієва, недооціненими і, значною мірою, недослідженими, хоча їх вистачило б, щоб виховати цілі покоління державно мислячих, творчих особистостей. Основною умовою відродження української державності він вважав соборно-територіальну і політичну*

*едність суспільства. Спираючись на історичний досвід 20–30-х рр. XX ст., Д. Паліїв робить висновок: здійснення стратегічної мети – відродження незалежної соборної України – залежатиме, в першу чергу, від геополітичної ситуації в Європі, а також стосунків із сусідами і великими державами.*

**Ключові слова:** *Дмитро Паліїв, легіон УСС, Галицька армія, національно-визвольний рух.*

**The statement of the problem.** The science of Ukrainian military history was created after the liberation struggle in 1917 – 1921. Then the Ukrainian polticum generated the first national (not only by duty, but also by spirit) military formations which in 1918 – 1920 became the basis of the army of ZUNR and UNR. Actually, this military-political environment produced for Ukraine hundreds of foremen and – hence – dozens of combat organizations and organs of press round which lovers of history rallied, and the Ukrainian military-historical thought developed. In the cohort of military historians of Ukraine of the first half of the XX century, after M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko V. Petriv, O. Udovychenko, M. Kapustianskyi, M. Kakurin, L. Shankovskiyi, and D. Mykytiuk, the name of Dmytro Paliiv should be rightfully mentioned as one whose creative work deserves a special scientific consideration.

**The analysis of recent researches.** Unfortunately, D. Paliiv's scientific-memoir publications are only being compiled by bibliographers (in particular, by Lviv dweller M. Moroz and daughter Kh. Paliiv-Turcheniuk) and are under preparation for being published as a separate edition at I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies. A part of them is kept in the archive and department of scientific and informative editions of this institute.

The **purpose** of this article is to analyze Dmytro Paliiv's scientific-historical works, to define its contribution into the historiography of Ukraine's liberation struggle of the first half of the XX century.

**The statement of the basic material.** D. Paliiv's scientific-memoir and publicistic heritage can be conditionally grouped into such problem-thematic blocks:

1. History of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (1914 – 1918);
2. November national-democratic revolution (1918);
3. Galician army, its participation in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918 – 1919;
4. The Ukrainian national-liberation movement in Poland in the interwar period (1921 – 1939);
5. The Ukrainian problem in the time of the Second World War.

D. Paliiv constructs his important military-political conclusions on the basis of his research of the liberation struggle of 1914 – 1921. The historical events which take place in Ukraine during the specified period, are traced by the scientist in a number of publications. In particular, in his sketch «Twenty five years» which was printed in «Kalendar Bat'kivshchyny» for 1939, D. Paliiv analyzes the geopolitical position in Europe on the eve of the First World War and makes an attempt of socio-political analysis of the public thought of the region concerning a possible war and its course (Paliiv, 1938: 86). He also affirms: Galician society hoped that the war, probably, would change the European borders' outlines, and the Ukrainians with arms in hands would revive the national state (Paliiv, 1938: 86) He also describes a reaction of volunteers to the tsar's permission to accept only 2 thousand riflemen into the USSR Legion. D. Paliiv wrote this: «Now, this is the first time in our life that before us, young, the mysterious truth has stood up in full height: even the right to give your life should be got in struggle...» (Paliiv, 1938: 87).

According to D. Paliiv, in the autumn of 1917 the Russian army was not capable to conduct a high-grade struggle any more as it a lot of regiments in the Southwest front became

Ukranized. In his sketch «U. S. R. on a crossroad. Memoirs of 20 years past» the author in detail analyzes the fighting way of the USSR Legion in the Carpathians and Podolia, and its reaction to the Russian, and – later – Ukrainian national revolutions. «Beyond the Zbruch river all was a boiling caldron. Thus, oh God!, the outskirts of the Ukrainian state slowly began to appear from the chaos of the All-Russia revolution! Kiev already has its power and its own! The dream which the Riflemen cherished in 1914 was – though timidly – carried out. And together with that the spines become more straight, eyes look braver, and the Riflemen's faces become clearer» (Paliiv, 1936: 40).

In November of 1916 the emperor proclaimed the independence of Poland. In the beginning of 1917 it became obvious that Galicia would, probably, belong to the Polish state. An indignation arouse among the Ukrainian population. «The Riflemen were indignant. In our minds absolutely expressively the second front was already sketched. Not towards the east against the compatriots, but towards the West», – recollected D. Paliiv (Paliiv, 1936: 41).

Paliiv's historical-memoirs sketch «The November revolution» was substantial by its concrete historical material and with an original conclusion. It was published in 1929 by the Lviv publishing house «Chervona Kalyna». In it the activity of the Central military committee concerning the preparation of the November 1 armed revolt in Lviv and the region, and the CMC's role in the creation of the Supreme Command of Galician army are shown (the command, in the author's opinion, was created too late) (Paliiv, 1929: 16).

In his publicistic sketch «The First November» in the «Illustrated Ukrainian National Calendar for 1928», which was published in Peremyshl in 1927, this theme is mentioned again. The new edition was published under the aegis of the weekly «Ukranskyi Holos» («Ukrainian voice»). In the aforementioned publications the recent military in detail characterises the political and military situations on the eve of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy: «October, 1918. Nobody knows what the next days and weeks will bring about... On the basis of the emperor's manifesto four national states should have risen: German-Austrian, Czech, South-Slavic, and Ukrainian. However, as the question of Galicia was not yet clarified, so, the issue of the Ukrainian national state was with a question mark» (Paliiv, 1936: 41).

Dmytro Paliiv considered the November Revolution (alias November Deed) a great, but temporary political success of the Galicians. He defined the reasons of the political failure (on November 21–22) of the Ukrainians in Lviv. In his opinion, the revolution took place very much late. In the second half of October from the Polish kingdom thousands of Polish legionaries and members of various legal and underground military organizations were thrown to Lviv, and they created the cadres for the Polish insurgent army, which began fighting for the city. At the same time, the political leadership of Galician Ukrainians lingered with the revolt as it hoped that the Austrian government in Vienna would voluntary delegate the power to the Ukrainians according to the manifesto of Emperor Charles of October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1918. On October 20<sup>th</sup> on the square of St. George in Lviv, the representatives of the National Rada declared the decision to create the Ukrainian state. However, many Ukrainian politicians saw Ukraine's future as a part of the Austrian federation. In this connection Paliiv comes to an unfavourable conclusion: «The official policy of the nation was at rest in the hands of the people with the Austrian orientation» (Paliiv, 1936: 42). These Galician ambassadors of the «Austrian orientation» D. Paliiv criticizes in the aforementioned memoirs.

The second reason of the defeat Dmytro Paliiv saw in the great losses of the Legion in past, which made it rather weak for the creation in Austria of a military centre of the Ukrain-

ian revolution. «It is possible to affirm, that on Mountain Lysa and under Potutory the USSR lost almost all its active, they became absolute orphans... The November revolution took place without the Riflemen as an organisation» (Paliiv, 1936: 42). And really, the echelon with the USSR arrived from Chernivtsi to Lviv only on November 3–4, after the Polish insurgents had retaken from the Ukrainians the basic strategic objects, that is, the railway station, post-office, and airport. Dmytro Paliiv considered that to Lviv, it was possible to avoid catastrophic delay of the Legion, if the Riflemen operated at will, without orders or, even, against orders (Lytvyn, 1998, 140).

D. Paliiv makes a conclusion: the West Ukrainian national republic was a short-term state association as the local political leadership, which consisted mainly of intelligentsia, showed uncertainty and inability to creation of the sovereign state under the extremal war conditions (Paliiv, 1936: 42). He underlines that the November national-democratic revolution lacked a leader who would lead the people to what was so brilliantly initiated on November 1. President Yevheniy Petrushevych and a part of the National Rada did not, actually, participate in the revolution, being in Vienna on those critical November days; prime minister Kost' Levytskyi did not go with the retreating ZUNR government in the end of November; several times the commanders of the young armed forces were changed... In this connection Paliiv remarked: «For 21 day of fights in Lviv the army commanders changed thrice. What does it mean? That the man to head the revolution was already sought for... The mentioned facts confirm this unique tragical reality: there was no such man in the Western Ukraine, who could be the embodiment of the revolution» (Paliiv, 1934: 44). Probably, one can hardly agree with D. Paliiv's categorical conclusion, but that time skilled Galician politicians-ambassadors were really not always capable or cardinal political steps.

As has been already noticed, D. Paliiv resolutely defended a sovereign way of the state building of ZUNR and even made a speech on its unification with the UNR. Therefore, it is understood why he was elected a member of the delegation of the State secretariat which in December 1918 went in Fastiv on the preliminary negotiations about the unification and, also, agreed with the Directory of the UNR to appoint a skilled general as a commander of the Galician army, and the chief of its staff. The delegation then come back with general Mykhailo Omelianovych-Pavlenko and the staff colonel Yevheniy Myshkovskyi, who took the leading posts in the Galician army on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918. About the trip to the Dnieper Ukraine he writes article «A Bunch of Memoirs. A Pursuit for Generals» in the «Kalendar of Chervona Kalyna for 1935» (Paliiv, 1934: 40).

Concerning a question about the state-forming abilities of the Galician army, he comes to a conclusion that its temporary victories (the Vovchukhiv operation, the Chortkiv approach) were explained by the initiative of several foremen (starshyn) and energy of the Riflemen in the absence of the theoretical abilities and practical experience of the Supreme Commands (Paliiv, 1934: 40).

D. Paliiv analyzes not only the heroic (the autumn of 1918 – summer of 1919), but also the tragic stage of the fighting way of the Galician army, when, under the pressure of the superior forces of Polish general J. Galler's army (in fact, the Entante's forces) it retreated behind the Zbruch river and soon, captured by a typhus epidemic, signed the agreement with the armed forces of the «White» Russia. In article «Na chysty wody», which was published in Lviv's «Litopys Chervonoyi Kalyny» in 1930, platoon sergeant D. Paliiv as the former aide-de-camp of the Supreme Leader of the Ukrainian Galician army, general Myron Tarнавskyi tries to analyse the inconsistent actions of the foremen in order to find the truth about



the UGA. This «exit» was necessary for the UGA after the contract with Dobrarmy of general Denikin, which was drawn on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919 in Odessa. The author calls this contract «strange» as it was drawn by the Supreme command of the army which defended the sovereignty of Ukraine, with the party which to this sovereignty completely objected (Paliiv, 1930: 17).

After the defeat of the liberation struggle D. Paliiv, figuratively speaking, changed his revolver for a pen. So, the military-foreman became the politician and journalist. These sides of his personality often intertwine and it is difficult to differentiate them. As is known, the military-political journalism is a choosy sphere of action: you can not be a good publicist, if you are not informed in details of the political game of the society, in particular, of the society of the dependent nation, which all the time searches for a new way to reach its highest purpose, that is, to achieve the national sovereignty. The political publicism in which Dmytro Paliiv persistently was engaged, was a wide field of activity. However, then the fair professional journalist lived from this trade, but he lived in poverty and stingily, as the Ukrainian press on its native land under Poland between the two world wars stood as a means of earning, on one of the lowest steps. But publicism for Dmytro Paliiv was not only a way of earning money: his temperament, all his national-patriotic bearing, spontaneity, impatience, and impulsiveness prompted him to share all that boiled in him with his fellow countrymen. And, consequently, the newspaper was necessary to him not only as a source of scanty earnings, but also as a supplement to his own «ego».

His journalistic practice Dmytro Paliiv acquired in the political chronicle «Zahrava» («A Glow»), which was a publication of the Ukrainian party of national work. This issue existed as a month a bit more than a year. D. Paliiv opened it on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1923 with a headline «Our aims». To each issue the «Zahrava» he gave an ideological and thematically actual articles in which he brought up world outlook, financial and economic questions, physical training business of the young, problems of the Ukrainian university, and the question of journalistic ethics in the professional work. Some articles he did not rewrite al all, while separate of his articles are signed by pseudonym «D. Vesnianskyi».

The following block of his works devoted to the formation of the right-radical camp of the national-liberation movement, in particular, to the political preconditions of the creation and ideological bases of the activity of the Front of national unity (FNU). The initiators of the creation of a new political party were Dmytro Paliiv and Volodymyr Kokhan. For the distribution of the political ideals of the new organisation among the population of Galicia and Volhynia the publishing cooperative society «Bat'kivshchyna («Motherland») was founded. At the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the November Revolution, on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1933, the first issue of magazine «Peremoha» («Victory») was edited, which was the date of the establishment of the FNU). (Shanuovsky, 1958: 117). In the editorial headline this was written: «We carve out o new outlook! The destiny of the nation depends on us!» (Paliiv, 1933: 2). D. Paliiv aspired, that the new magazine was read, first of all, by not numerous Ukrainian intelligentsia, – teachers, priests, and co-operators. At first it was a biweekly, then a monthly, and in due course – a quarterly. The magazine was published from 1933 to 1936.

Dmytro Paliiv attentively observed the political process over the members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, criticising Stalin's regime for the prosecution of national-patriotic intelligentsia. He considered that «the intelligent should not refract under the pressure of the refined actions of the enemy» (Paliiv, 1933: 3).

Separately it is necessary to tell about Dmytro Paliiv's views concerning the Second World War beginnings. When the Soviet-German war was beginning, he stood on the ground that the



Ukrainians should take part in it, but not as the guerrillas broken into different groups, but as a schooled military unit (Paliiv, 1968: 107). It was clear that on public bases it was difficult to form such a military structure. Therefore, Paliiv supported that part of the OUN Melnykites which insisted on the creation of a regular department within the German army. He took an active part in the organisation of the Division and establishment of the structure of the Military Board. D. Paliiv not only called the able for military service Ukrainians to join the Division, but also himself joined it. The way he understood the Division's role is obvious from his report «Historical experiences», proclaimed before the foremen-Ukrainians in June, 1944 (Paliiv, 1968: 108). He considered the struggle of isolated guerrilla departments of the UPA against the well organized and armed Bolshevik army ineffectual. However, this Paliiv's thesis is debatable as the UPA, born in 1942 in Volhynia, was greatly supported by the Ukrainian population.

**The conclusions.** The military-political experience and historical traditions of the Ukrainian statehood of 1917 – 1920, according to D. Paliiv, remained underestimated and, appreciably, not investigated, though they would suffice to bring up several generations of state conceiving and creative personalities. This experience was not included into the treasury of the political culture of the people, and without it to generate a civil society seems not possible. So, the ideas of the national-political culture, conclusions concerning the necessity of preparation of professional military figures on the traditions of the princely and Cossack eras became the basis of D. Paliiv's military-political concept. He considered as basic the condition of the revival of Ukrainian statehood its sovereign-territorial and political unity. Grounding on the historical experience of the 1920s – 1930s, D. Paliiv makes such a conclusion: the realisation of the strategic target, namely – the revival of independent sovereign Ukraine, will depend, first of all, on the geopolitical situation in Europe and, also, on its relations with its neighbours and the Great states. One can hardly doubt this conclusion of military-politician D. Paliiv.

So, Dmytro Paliiv's political experience and creative heritage are of great importance for the formation of a multi-party system and, in general, of a civil society in the independent Ukrainian state, and for the improvement of military-patriotic preparation in the contemporary Armed forces of Ukraine.

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### **OPERATIVE-TACTICAL DEVICES OF THE INSURGENTS OF MILITARY DISTRICT – 4 «HOVERLIA» (1944 – 1949)**

*In the article, on the basis of new documents and materials, the most important questions of insurgent's activity, namely their operative-tactical devices are clarified. The new strategy and tactics are proved to concern practically all spheres of the insurgent's life. The article provides sufficient grounds for the confirmation that the bases, methods, and principles of their strategy and tactics were developed by the insurgents themselves on the basis of their own experience and were corrected and finished off in accordance with the struggle conditions. It is found out, that under the conditions, when the Soviet repressive system used a whole complex of special secret-service tricks, the successfully developed by the insurgents and constantly corrected strategy and tactics allowed them to struggle against the establishment of the Soviet administration on the West Ukrainian lands throughout almost ten years.*

**Key words:** *strategy, tactics, underground, program, Karpatskyi krai, MD-4 «Hoverlia», OUN, UPA.*

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### **ОПЕРАТИЧНО-ТАКТИЧНІ ПРИЙОМИ ПОВСТАНЦІВ ВО-4 «ГОВЕРЛЯ» (1944 – 1949)**

*Стаття присвячена одному з найбільш важливих питань повстанської діяльності – стратегії і тактиці. Проблема вивчення стратегії і тактики у діяльності повстанських структур ВО-4 «Говерля» не знайшла свого комплексного відображення у наукових дослідженнях. Саме відсутність комплексних робіт, присвячених різним напрямкам цієї діяльності, зумовлює актуальність даної розвідки. В умовах використання репресивно-каральною системою цілого комплексу агентурно-оперативних та спеціальних засобів вдало розроблена, постійно корегована стратегія і тактика дозволяла протягом майже десяти років вести боротьбу проти утвер-*

дження радянської адміністрації на західноукраїнських землях. Стратегія і тактика стосувалася усіх без винятку сфер повстанського життя. Засади, методи і принципи стратегії і тактики розроблялися повстанцями на основі власного досвіду та корегувалася і доопрацьовувалися відповідно до умов боротьби. Паралельно із розробленими засадами стратегії і тактики існувала чітка вимога щодо дотримання основних, базових правил. Розробка, впровадження і контроль за дотриманням стратегії і тактики забезпечували життєздатність підпілля. Усе це сприяло збереженню людських та матеріальних ресурсів, а відтак – тривалість боротьби. Починаючи з 1946 р. український визвольно-революційний рух почав переходити від форми масової повстанської боротьби до глибоко підпільної. Ця зміна тактики мала такі вияви: поспішно, відповідно до обставин і необхідності в окремих районах розформували відділи УПА, а їх членів, командирів і бійців переводили до підпільної сітки; побут і робота підпілля глибоко конспірувалися, на відміну від того, як це було у період масового розгортання дії УПА (головна мета цих дій – не дати ворогові розширити його вплив за область і райцентри).

**Ключові слова:** стратегія, тактика, підпілля, програма, Карпатський край, ВО-4 «Говерля», ОУН, УПА.

**The statement of the problem.** The strategy and tactics played a particularly great role in the activity of the insurgent and underground formations, because it was due to the successfully developed struggle principles that they managed to maintain the viability of their organizations and for long to resist the invaders. The UPA put on a high level the development of the strategy and tactics, their introduction into the activity of the insurgents, and the control over its observance, which influenced all spheres of life (organizational, personal, etc.). The reality dictated its rules and, with the struggle conditions changing, the strategy and tactics had to be corrected in accordance with the circumstances taking place. It was due to the successfully developed principles of strategy and tactics that the insurgents could ensure the vitality of their work and life, activity of their units, and, in particular, a long resistance to the invaders.

**The analysis of researches.** Studying of the strategy and tactics in the activity of insurgent structures of MD-4 «Hoverlia» has not been subjected to a complex research in scientific works. Separate aspects of this generalized problem were studied in the works of several contemporary Ukrainian researchers. In particular, the question of the use of various forms of armed actions has been raised in the generalizing works on the history of Ukrainian liberation movement by A. Kentiy, Yu. Kyrychuk, A. Rusnachenko (Kentiy, 1999a; Kentiy, 1999b; Kyrychuk, 2003; Rusnachenko, 2002). Certain aspects of secret activity have been considered in a number of works of the author of this article (Ilnytskyi, 2013a; Ilnytskyi, 2013b). A considerable attention to the illumination of the preparation and carrying out of propaganda raid activities as one of strategic forms of struggle has been paid by V. Vyatrovych and R. Zabilyi (Vyatrovych, 2004; Zabilyi, 2006). The underground's development of tactical schemes «Dazhboh», «Oleh», and «Orlyk» have been considered by D. Vedeniyeiev and Bystrykhin (Vedeniyeiev, Bystrykhin, 2007), and Olexandr Ishchuk (Ishchuk, 2011). The transformation of the Ukrainian insurgents' strategy and tactics has been traced by the working group studying the history of the OUN and UPA in their collective monograph (OUN and UPA, 2005). However, this aspect has not yet received a separate clarification.

The absence of complex works devoted to different directions of this activity predetermines the urgency of the specified researches. The article's purpose is to reveal the basic operative-tactical devices of the insurgents of MD-4 «Hoverlia» (1944 – 1949).

**The statement of the basic material.** The period of the end of 1944 – first half of 1945 was characterized by the greatest number and large-scale of operations. At this particular

time, the UPA departments suffered most serious losses, which induced the OUN and UPA command to turn to new tactics. In May, 1945, the reorganization the UPA came to the end. By the way, TS-21 (Tactical Sector – 21) «Hutsulshchyna», in the fights during IV – V, 1945 disintegrated, but within the following summer the UPA departments gathered again, though, in a much smaller quantity. At the same time, the UPA departments on the territory of TS-24 «Makivka» sustained losses, therefore the command was necessitated to make a reorganization. In 1944 the UPA departments acted mainly as kurins, very often as groups (regiments), and in exceptional cases as bodies of troops (divisions). By the way, thanks to favorable mountain-woody area, in «Hoverlia» the UPA departments most frequently operated as kurins. However, the severe conditions of the new occupational regime, as also the approaching winter forced the UPA command in the end of 1944 – beginning of 1945 to change the tactics and to begin acting in smaller structural links (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 75. S. 92 reverse). Hitherto, in all territories companies were the most effective fighting units in 1944 – 1945, which could temporarily join into kurins for the period of carrying out of various operations. But afterwards the UPA units of TS-24 «Makivka» started operating mainly in platoons: «In the hearth of the struggle, in the heat of insurgent battles, the tactics of small units (section, subsection, group) is formed, in other words, guerrilla group tactics» (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 376. V. 62. S. 125).

V. Sydor, acting commander of the UPA-West, ordered to the staffs and commanders of the Sectors to act in accordance with the instruction (№1/45, issued in February 1945), which prescribed the following: a) to purge subsections for the purpose of elimination of weak and unreliable persons; to start operating in platoons which in cases of necessity should unite in a larger departments; at the same time, tasks were set to squads which, if necessary, could operate independently; c) to liquidate low vitality units (gendarmerie, military intelligence, etc.); d) to liquidate a number of higher command posts, such as kurin and company commanders, who were appointed to command the existing viable units (platoons) or to conduct political work; e) to make raids into foreign and undeveloped territories; f) to conduct not purely fighting, but also propaganda-fighting operations. The new name «Sector» for a military unit was introduced which should not be merged with a territorial unit. Thus, the order was issued that in operations platoons should be used, which – in time of need – could unite into larger departments (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 23. S. 102). Besides, the transition to actions by small groups was also stipulated by the practical experience of military collisions with the repressive bodies. As is clear, in time of open clashes between the UPA departments with the Bolsheviks the large UPA departments were easily found out, encircled and destroyed by the latter's forces of greater strength. As a result of the big losses among the personal and commandment structures in the fights with the NKVD armies, the UPA forces were forbidden to operate in formations with the strength of companies and kurins, and the existing formations had to be deployed by the OUN networks in the following submission: each district leader who served 10 – 15 villages, was obliged to settle one UPA company divided in squads and sections with 10 – 15 riflemen in each in every served inhabited locality. Besides, through settlement chiefs he was obliged to provide them with victuals and clothes, to help them in building concealments, whereas the company commander had to supervise his unit's fighting condition and re-staffing (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 1. S. 63). The soldiers had to store up the foodstuff by themselves. Each responsible appointed to several villages had to collect products from them. The settlement (*stanychni*) and areal (*kushchovi*) chiefs were to collect foodstuffs in villages (SALR. F. 5001. D. 6. C. 52. S. 58; BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 9. S. 30).



Besides, the division of UPA departments for the winter period, which during the summer period again were again united for carrying out of large-scale fighting operations, was practiced as well. The plan to organize in villages reserve departments headed by commandants (village militaries) was one of tactical-strategic tasks. By the analogy to the operating ones, companies were divided into platoons, which were divided into squads, which number in different villages depended on the quantity of males suitable to carry out military service. The companies' riflemen passed independent military trainings (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 1. X. 1–3). Therefore, in the second half of 1945 – first half of 1946 the operations were carried out mainly by separate platoons. So, in «Robert's» order dd. November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1945 it was noticed that according to instructions of February, 1945 (military instructions) the accent once again was made and attention drawn to the fact that kurins and companies were annihilated as military units. For this reason, it was necessary to translate all UPA departments into functioning in platoons which – in case of necessity – could connect into bigger military units, applying terroristic and disturbing methods of struggle.

That is, since 1946, the Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement began to pass from the form of mass insurgent struggle to the form of deep underground struggle. This change of tactics had the following features: the UPA departments were consistently and according to circumstances in separate areas were disbanded, and their members, commanders and riflemen, were translated to the organizational and/or underground networks; the everyday life and work of the undergrounds was deeply conspirated, contrarily to the conditions under which the mass expansion of the UPA actions, which overall purpose was not to allow the enemy to expand its power beyond the region and its districts, was taking place. At that time the political-propaganda and political organizational work was put forward. In Drohobych and Stanislaviv regions the last UPA departments were disbanded in the end of 1949 by the order of the UPA commander-in-chief. After that, the armed underground became the basic form of struggle of the Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement. It operated with the preservation of the strictest conspiracy (BSA SSU. F.13. C. 372. V. 9. S. 138).

The severe winter conditions in 1944 – 1945, and active operations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs departments led to a reduction of UPA departments in 40 %, and by the spring of 1945 the OUN had to liquidate its agents responsible for economy at the expense of its cadres to strengthen the work in other spheres. Considerable losses made the OUN in 1947 to dismiss the UPA to fill up the OUN cadres. The quantitative structure of the OUN staff in Karpatskyi krai became scanty (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 9. S. 19). In separate territories the OUN and UPA force were well preserved and, therefore, for example, the head of Drohobych district leadership of the OUN I. Lavriv had no intention to dismiss the UPA as there was no need to fill up and strengthen the OUN responsible agents (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 9. S. 19). In case of strengthening of repressions it was supposed to shorten their quantity to 15 – 20 and even less. The rest should become legalized and conduct a life of those sympathizing with the power. The others had gone in a deep underground: to make bunkers, to store up products, weapons, and means for printing of the nationalist literature. After this «purge», which took place both among rank-and-file soldier and among officers, in the UPA only efficient riflemen and volunteers should have remained. R. Shukhevych said, that by July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1945, that is, by the closing date of giving up to the law established by the USSR government, this «purge» was already finished. From the UPA some 20 – 25 % of its staff were sent to voluntarily give themselves up to the Soviet justice (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 2. S. 2–3). No doubt, that viewing of the human structure of its all of departments allowed

the OUN's authorities to provide viability to the whole organization. Years of struggle undermined the health of a great number of riflemen, although, at the same time, in the guerrilla ranks there also were ordinary time-servers, who had but the idea of self-preservation, various agents, and even criminals. The dismissal from such a ballast was expected to provide organization and mobility, to raise fighting spirit and, accordingly, to increase the possibility of a successes in the opposition with the Bolsheviks. The governmental campaigns declaring the appearance in court with the purpose to give up considerably helped in this context. A part of the departments' administrative boards was transferred into the areal network or sent to strengthen the weaker administrative-territorial links (for example, D. Vitovskyi-«Zmiyuka» – together with «Zhuravel's» kurin – was sent into TS-24 «Makivka» for reorganization and strengthening of the nationalists in this territory). After that, a special accent was concentrated on the preservation of the riflemen of UPA departments. So, in UPA-West «Hoverlia» order 1/46 (of January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1946) the following was underlined: 1. It is warned against a) engagement and organization of fights in winter period, that is against full-day or several days long fights with the enemy lest they were compulsorily induced or caused buy the position's hopelessness. Even such a ratio of losses as 35: 225 in our favour, is for us – to an certain – decisive, but not for the enemy: b) non-coordination of sectors and military units in time and space during distant raiding, for example, as it was with raid «Dzvony» («Bells»)), made by a whole kurin, which followed the road towards the returning and pursued «Zhuravli» («Cranes») (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 376. V. 62. S. 159).

Order 9/44 of November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1944 already recommended not to use the full force for blowing upon the enemy. As was underlined, weakness of commanders caused desertion, escape from independent activity, and transition under the strong command. As a result, some areas were decapitated, the others, on the contrary, overloaded with cadres. The tendency of striving homeward and individual concealment was noticeable. The desertions of whole squads and even platoons to native places took place. As a matter of fact, this problem was predetermined also by an insufficient quantity of political-education officers. In particular, at the conference of Karpatskyi krai chieftains on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1945, near the village of Sukil of Kozakiv village council (now in the structure of Bolekhiv town council of Ivano-Frankivsk region), M. Tverdokhlib asserted that the worst state of political-education work was in TS-21 (BSA SSU. F. 6. C. 33286fp. V. 1. 6. S. 211). To prove that he used arguments that in TS-21 of «Hutsulshchyna» in the spring of 1945 50 % of insurgents ran away and 25 % deserted, in TS-23 10 – 15 % of insurgents deserted. The second critical moment came after July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1945, when the UPA leaders considered that the Bolsheviks would strike a powerful blow upon the UPA, and it was the cause of a still larger desertion. At the same time, M. Tverdokhlib summarized that those killed and arrested UPA members were substituted by 60 % of capable and approximately 40 % weak participants (BSA SSU. F. 6. C. 33286fp. V. 1. S. 213).

The reduction in strength, however, raised the fighting ability, and, in addition, the need in a widely branched economic network, which thitherto had been extremely necessary for the maintenance of huge UPA departments, became no longer relevant. A network of carefully disguised stores was created, in which all the necessary for the UPA departments was kept (Chyzhevskyi, 1948: 110). At the same time, larger departments remained in the areas where the geographical conditions (woods, mountains) and possibilities for material-food maintenance were more favorable.

These structural transformations did not pass by the attention of special secret-service bodies, which noticed that after the defeat of the large departments during 1944 – 1945, the

UPA military units were rearranged and divided into smaller groups, passed to the deep underground, and did not show considerable activity without a sensible need for it. Historian V. Chyzhevskiy left interesting memoirs concerning the opposition of the Ukrainian liberation movement to the Soviet totalitarian system. Writing about the winter of 1944 – 1945, the scholar remarked: «The expectation of the Bolsheviks that the winter would expel the UPA from woods and would help them to destroy it did not come true. The winter occurred exceptionally warm and almost snowless, so that it made the Bolsheviks say, that «even God is a Banderite, because he gave the Banderites a cozy winter». However, the units already got used to winter conditions in the woods» (Chyzhevskiy, 1948: 100). With the coming of the summer small groups and singles concentrated into bigger units and left the settlements, where they had been during the winter period, went into large forests and began activating their operations (ambushing the repressive bodies and agents, attacks on security departments, military men, collective farms, and enterprises, destruction of premises of village councils and documentary bases) (SALR. F. 5001. D. 6. C. 57. S. 128). Historian Yu. Kyrychuk singled out such basic tactical forms used by the UPA: ambush, attack, act of terrorism, sabotage, raid, exit from the encirclement (Kyrychuk, 2003: 141). As a matter of fact, first lieutenant V. Andrusiak-«Rizun» published the book «How to win» (Part one, June, 1945), in which he described the basic tactical tricks of the behaviour of orderlies, maneuvering of squads, stations of platoons and companies, disposition of raiding groups, camping of platoons in the wood, defence in the wood and break-through from the encirclement, attacks on villages, and fights in localities (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 376. V. 68. S. 70–75 reverse).

In connection with the change of the invader, the primary goals of UPA departments were such: 1) not to allow the creation of the Soviet administrative objects and to destroy the existing ones; 2) to create opposition against the building of economic objects (collective farms, state farms, MTS, etc.); 3) to protect local population from various repressions, evictions, and any advance of the Soviet repressive bodies; 4) to support the spread of schooling, material aid to teachers, to recommend to reject ideological dogmas in training of children; 5) to exert influence on the local administrative institutions.

Maneuvering, avoiding intensive fights, and breaking through from encirclements, the UPA departments tried to cause as many losses to the enemy as possible (Chyzhevskiy, 1948: 94–95). In the autumn of 1945 the UPA departments made a number of offensives on railways and, first of all, on trains carrying out the spanned contingent, property, etc. As to the tactical devices used by the UPA, a branchy enough information is present in an extract from the report of the Department of Fighting Banditism (DFB) of the NKVD of the Ukr.SSR (for the III quarter of 1945), which stated that in July – September, 1945 a change of the UPA tactics took place. Instead of mass subversive and terrorist actions the insurgents took to individual forms of struggle and small group terror, diversions, «disturbing operations», directed to the failure of the basic economic-political actions of the Soviet power, destruction of the Soviet party active, and persons actively co-operating with the Soviet power. An increase in the display of arms from the UPA side in the field of agriculture, such as attempts to undermine the bread supply to the state, hampering grain thrashing, destruction of agricultural machines (tractors, threshers, etc.), arsons of corn-fields and corn stores of «Zahotzerno» was admitted as a characteristic feature of the specified summer-autumnal period. A substantial growth of armed displays in the way of murders by the fighting groups of those who came to the Soviets to give themselves up and their families became another characteristic sign of that period became. The third such feature was a significant number of armed displays connected

with the purge of the OUN and UPA (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 49. S. 79). In particular, by his order – P. 2. of the UPA-West «Makivka» – the commander admitted the next: «In connection with harvesting of the new crop the Bolsheviks would try to force out from Ukraine as much bread as possible in order to divert its people's attention from the struggle for liberation by lowering its vitality to an abnormal vegetative level. With that in view, I order: a) to inform the population that they should tighten the process of harvest gathering, to obstruct grain thrashing, to hide grain, to break deliveries, as the performance of Stalin's norms is a new hunger, ruins, and a tendency to a compulsory «collective-farm building». b) to destroy the crop in state farms and «part-time farms» whether at the root, in sheaves, or in stacks. For complication the export of bread from Ukraine to destroy automobiles, harvesters, threshers, separators, state elevators, receiving centers and their equipment. II... The enemy should be beaten everywhere at day and at night by means of ambushes, attacks, assassinations. We should operate in platoons, platoon halves, and squads, holding a continuous communication with the chieftains so that in case of need they could quickly amalgamate into a company» (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 376. V. 62. S. 225). Despite a reduction of the strength of the departments, their strategy and tactics improved. The commanders learned to carry out effective operations by small groups.

Except intensive fighting activities, in September – October, 1945 the UPA departments made a number of propaganda raids (for example, a school-supporting action in September, 1945 and one on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945, – against celebrating of the anniversary of October revolution). The purpose of carrying out of school actions was the elimination from educational institutions or, at least, reduction of the Bolshevik ideology influence on training of children. Each action was accompanied not only by performances of propagandists, but also by distribution of a significant amount of printed matter (leaflets, appeals, responses, and the like) (Chyzhevskyi, 1948: 123–124). From the spring of 1946 the UPA ceased performing fighting operations, and from the summer of 1946 it started gathering the deserters to prepare them for the coming winter of 1947. According to the instruction of June, 1947, the UPA was dismissed, and its staff was to become responsible workers for State Security and propaganda issues (BSA SSU. F. 13. D. 372. V. 9. S. 29). However, even after demobilization of the UPA departments, the commanders of sectors remained in the districts, so that they could later be used for the performance of concrete organizational work. The rest UPA members were included into the organization for some or other kind of work (State Security combat units, protection of the leaders, responsible for certain works, communication, etc.). At the same time, these actions were undertaken with the observance of severe conspiracy. The demobilized received the information about their new appointments without any explanations (BSA SSU. F. 2-N. D. 57 (1953). C. 1. V. 1. S. 124). So, after the disbandment of UPA departments its military functions were, in fact, taken up by the OUN network. Since 1946, the Ukrainian liberation movement started to pass from the form of mass insurgent struggle to the form of a deep underground struggle. The change of tactics brought about the possibility for the commanders and riflemen of the disbanded UPA departments to pass to an organizational network according to the situation and necessity, the conspiracy of all vital spheres and activity was secured (the main accent was made on preventing of strengthening of the Soviet power in territory). Then the following tasks were set: «1. At any price, to retain our underground organization in the Ukrainian lands within the USSR and, in conformity with the necessary possibilities, develop it furthermore; 2. Through the underground organization and, also, by all other means, to conduct the explanatory propaganda activities among the Ukrainian peo-

ple and the peoples of all USSR; 3. To organize a resistance of the Ukrainian and, as far as it was possible, the other peoples of the USSR against the Bolshevik robbers and exploiters in all spheres of life; 4. To conduct fighting and armed operations necessary to prevent the invaders to fix on our lands, what they wanted to do, and not to allow the Muscovite-Bolshevikthieves and all their hired men to do their evil deeds in relation to the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian liberation movement all the time with impunity» (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 372. V. 9. S. 138–139).

The longest period of time the UPA departments UPA operated in MD-4 «Hoverlia», although those were but subunits of small strength, which underwent constant reductions through perpetual fighting operations. So, in TS-21 of «Hutsulshchyna» the Bohun department (commander Mykola Kharuk-«Vykhor») operated until the summer of 1949, whereas in TS-24 «Makivka» the company «Bassein» kept up operating until the summer of 1949 (commander Vasyl Gudzyk-«Orikh»). The transition of several companies of riflemen from TS Lemko» into TS-24 «Makivka» in the summer of 1947 became a substantial strengthening of the insurgent forces. Therefore, in the end of 1947, five companies, each from 30 to 50 riflemen strong, operated within TS-24 «Makivka». In general, during 1948, the majority of the departments in MD-4 «Hoverlia» were disbanded, and up to the summer of 1949 only the aforementioned links actively operated (Sodol, 1994: 58). On August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1949 the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council made a decision of demobilization, on which basis the Supreme Military Headquarters of the UPA gave out the order P. 2 of September, 3<sup>rd</sup>: «1. By the end of 1949 partly to stop the activity of all the sections and staffs of the UPA. 2. To transfer the right of rewarding of the members of Ukrainian Liberation Movement from the UPA staffs to the underground cells with equal rights. 3. To transfer the right of nominating for higher ranks of the members of Ukrainian Liberation Movement from the UPA staffs to the underground cells with equal rights. 4. To preserve the necessary offices of the Supreme Military Headquarters of the UPA (organizational-personal) for conducting evidence of the nominated and awarded, as also for the nomination for the rank of starshyna of those members of UPA who were not nominated till the end of 1949 for technical reasons» (Sodol, 1994: 59).

For the purpose of debugging of optimum interaction, accurate submission and mutual relations between the OUN and the UPA in Karpatskyi kraï, the leader of the regional leadership Y. Melnyk-«Robert» issued the order on September, 1945, according to which all the insurgent formations, deployed on corresponding territories were subject also to the local OUN leaderships, along with their submission to the military command. Hence, the commanders had to make a double report – to the staff of MD «Hoverlia» and to the district OUN leadership. Nevertheless, the UPA departments continued to fulfil orders, instructions, and training materials of the higher military command. A department's commander independently supervised over his fighting unit, solved the questions of reorganization, personnel rotation, and promotion of riflemen to higher military ranks, encouragement and punishment, but, notwithstanding that, he had to co-ordinate all his actions with the conductor the OUN of the corresponding territory, which was responsible for the political situation. At the same time, as researcher A. Kentiy asserts, such a tendency assisted the strengthening of the relations between the OUN and the UPA and, also, the returning to underground-guerrilla actions. In his opinion, « the UPA was increasing gaining the features of the local, instead of the all-Ukrainian character» (OUN and UPA, 2005: 370).

**The conclusions.** So, strategy and tactics concerned all spheres of the insurgent life without exceptions. The bases, methods, and principles of their strategy and tactics the insurgents



developed on the grounds of their own experience, correcting and completing them according to the struggle conditions. In parallel with the already developed strategy and tactics bases, there was an accurate requirement concerning the observance of the basic, fundamental rules. The working out, implementation, and control over the observance of strategy and tactics provided the underground's viability. All that assisted in the preservation of human and material resources and, eventually, in the duration of the struggle.

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### **IDEOLOGICAL-PROPAGANDA POLICY OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN THE WESTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE IN 1944 – 1953 (ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS OF DROHOBYCH REGION)**

*For its restoration and functioning in the western regions of Ukraine, Stalin's regime used various means of ideological-propaganda «processing» of the population. In contemporary conditions of Ukraine, which suffers a military-political aggression and powerful information war from the Russian Federation, it is important to analyze the mechanisms of distribution of antinational and antistate propaganda in the historical plane within the borders of concrete regions in order to develop effective ways of its counteraction.*

*The period of the restoration of the Soviet system in this territory embraces 1944 – 1945. The local authorities considered to restore the party's activity and state structures as their priority, in order to organize a large-scale political work and to intensify ideological pressure in all spheres of life. The information and propaganda storm should, first of all, prove the impossibility of any successful resistance to the regime, discredit liberation movement, and «to tear off the majority of the population from the influence of the Ukrainian and German nationalists».*

*The cadres from other regions of Ukraine and the USSR were to become the system's support in «the region infected with nationalism» and to carry «the communistic ideology into the masses». Important ideological-propaganda tasks had to be carried out by the party, Komsomol, and trade-union organization which were created at all the enterprises and establishments of Drohobych region. Communists and Komsomol members, as the most conscious citizens, should carry the basic burden of social-political and public-organizational works. For preparation and retraining of cadres for ideological-propaganda work at the republican and regional levels, a system of party educational institutions started to be formed.*

*The press and radio provided the system's information support. The theatre, cinema, and radio also had to become important ideological tools.*

*Carrying out the educational policy of the party, state education structures created conditions of obligatory attendance of all children and teenagers, boys and girls, and could from early age absorb communist ideas. It was realized in various ways, like adopting the law on education for all, accurately outlined and sustained in the spirit of communist moral curriculums, constant expansion of the network of teaching and educational establishments, attraction of children and studying youth to the pioneer and Komsomol organizations, various actions of out-of-class influence on pupils.*

*It is proved that for restoration of a totalitarian regime in the western regions of Ukraine, suppressing of the national-liberation movement, destruction of the Ukrainian national idea and traditions, the Soviet system applied all possible means. A great attention was drawn to propaganda-ideological methods. A whole branched system of ideological-propaganda influence in all strata and groups of the population, including universities, was created. Mass media, evident propaganda, education, culture, attributes of the Soviet way of life were the tools of the Soviet propaganda. However, considering small efficiency of ideological influences on the population of Drohobych region, forceful methods became dominating in overcoming of the resistance to the Soviet regime.*

**Key words:** *Drohobych region, Soviet system, ideological-propaganda policy, social-political actions, means of mass propaganda.*

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## **ІДЕОЛОГІЧНО-ПРОПАГАНДИСТСЬКА ПОЛІТИКА РАДЯНСЬКОЇ СИСТЕМИ В ЗАХІДНИХ ОБЛАСТЯХ УКРАЇНИ У 1944 – 1953 рр. (НА МАТЕРІАЛАХ ДРОГОБИЦЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ)**

Сталінський режим для свого відновлення та функціонування в західних областях України використовував різноманітні засоби ідеологічно-пропагандистської «обробки» населення. В умовах, коли наша держава зазнала військово-політичної агресії з боку Російської Федерації, потужної інформаційної війни, важливо проаналізувати механізми поширення антинаціональної і антидержавницької пропаганди в історичному розрізі у межах конкретних регіонів, щоб виробити ефективні шляхи її протидії.

Метою статті є висвітлення змісту та заходів ідеологічно-пропагандистської політики радянської системи в західних областях України у процесі відновлення радянського режиму в краї на основі матеріалів Дрогобицької області.

1944 – 1945 роки – це період відновлення радянської системи в краї. Першочерговими завданнями влади на місцях було відновити діяльність партійних й державних органів, які мали проводити широкомасштабну політичну роботу, розгорнути ідеологічний наступ на всі сфери життя. Інформаційно-пропагандистський штурм мав насамперед довести неможливість успішного спротиву режимові, дискредитувати визвольний рух, «відірвати основну масу населення з-під впливу українських-німецьких націоналістів».

Політична недовіра до місцевих була однією з причин того, що керівні органи формувалися винятково з присланих кадрів, які вводилися до номенклатури області. Приїжджці з інших регіонів України та СРСР мали стати опорою системи в «зараженому націоналізмом регіоні», нести в «маси» комуністичну ідеологію. Виконувати важливі ідеологічно-пропагандистські завдання мали партійні, комсомольські, профспілкові організації, які створювалися на всіх підприємствах і установах Дрогобицької області. Комуністи та комсомольці, як найбільш свідомі, мали нести основний тягар суспільно-політичної та громадсько-організаційної роботи на місцях, здійснювати ідеологічну обробку населення з ключових для влади питань. Для підготовки та перепідготовки кадрів для ідеологічно-пропагандистської роботи на рівні республіки і областей почала формуватися система партійних освітніх закладів. Основні функції управління агітацією і пропагандою мав відділ пропаганди та агітації при ЦК КП(б)У, а також відповідні структурні підрозділи у компартійних комітетах різних рівнів. Для масового ідеологічного впливу на населення була розроблена ціла система суспільно-політичних заходів. Найбільш поширеною їх формою були лекції. Систематично проводилися мітинги, збори, наради, семінари, бесіди. Основним завданням ідеологічно-пропагандистської політики радянської влади було охопити максимально усі групи тодішнього населення. Особливе значення для партійно-радянського керівництва мала робота серед інтелігенції. Жінок, молоді.

Пропагування комуністичних ідей, забезпечення підтримки політики радянської влади в регіоні, організації ідеологічно-політичної боротьби проти ОУН і УПА здійснювали центральні та місцеві засоби масової інформації. Преса, радіо забезпечували інформаційний супровід системи. Важливими ідеологічними інструментами мали стати кіно, театр, радіо.

Здійснюючи освітньо-виховну політику партії, державні органи освіти створювали умови для того, щоб усі діти, підлітки, юнаки і дівчата відвідували школу, а отже, щоб усі вони з раннього віку проймалися партійно-комуністичними ідеями. Це реалізовувалося різноманітними шляхами: впровадженням закону про всеобуч, чітко окресленими і витриманими в душі комуністичної ідейності навчальними програмами, постійним розширенням мережі навчально-виховних закладів, залученням дітей та учнівської молоді до піонерських і комсомольських організацій, різноманітними заходами позакласного впливу на учнів.

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*Доведено, що для відновлення тоталітарного режиму в західних областях України, подолання національно-визвольного руху, знищення української національної ідеї, національних традицій, радянська система застосовувала усі можливі чинники. Велика увага приділялася пропагандистсько-ідеологічним методам. Була створена розгалужена система ідеологічно-пропагандистського впливу у на всі верстви та групи населення. Інструментами радянської пропаганди були засоби масової інформації, наочна агітація, освіта, культура, атрибути радянського способу життя. З огляду на малу ефективність ідеологічних впливів на населення Дрогобицької області, насильницькі методи стали панівними у подоланні спротиву радянському режимові.*

**Ключові слова:** *Дрогобицька область, радянська система, ідеолого-пропагандистська політика, суспільно-політичні заходи, засоби масової агітації.*

**The statement of the problem.** Stalin's regime used versatile means of information and propaganda to «process» the population and become restored in the western regions of Ukraine. Loud and standard, but falsified accusations of one's «Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism» or «Ukrainian-German fascism» are used even today by Ukraine's enemies for zombiing of the population. In the conditions of the military-political aggression from the Russian Federation and powerful information war, it is important to analyze the mechanisms of distribution of antinational and antistate propaganda to work out effective ways of its counteraction.

**The analysis of recent researches.** The content and directions of the processes of Sovietization in West Ukrainian lands in the first post-war years are clarified in many researches, among which B. Yarosh works (Yarosh, 1995; Yarosh, 1999) deserve to be mentioned first. The role of the party-Soviet administration in the organization of political transformations in the region was studied by T. Pershina and H. Starodubets (Pershina, 2009; Starodubets, 2013). The political-ideological component in the Soviet regime and intelligentsia mutual relations is considered in the works of O. Rubliov, Y. Cherchenko, and T. Marusyk (Rubliov, Cherchenko, 1997; Marusyk, 2002). The ideological aspect in the development of the region's educational sphere during the post-war period is elucidated by S. Svorak (Svorak, 1998). The regime's political and ideological policy is characterized in researches of national-liberation movement (Kyrychuk, 2000, 2003; Rusnachenko, 2002; Kentiy, 2002; Makarchuk, 2002). In details this question is studied in the articles of M. Nahirniak, R. Lavretskyi, and V. Ilnytskyi (Nahirniak, Lavretskyi, 2013; Ilnytskyi, 2012, 2015).

**The article's purpose** is on the basis of materials of Drohobych region to elucidate the content and operations of ideological-propaganda policy of the Soviet system in the western regions of Ukraine in the process of the restoration of the Soviet there.

**The statement of the basic material.** The general situation in Ukraine's western regions right after the German armies were driven away was marked with destructions, economic problems, and demographic losses. The undergrounds of the OUN and armed formations of the UPA, supported by the population combated against the Soviet regime. Local authorities saw as their priority to restore the party activity and state structures which would conduct a large-scale political work in developing of an ideological attack at all spheres of life. The information and propaganda storm should, first of all, prove the impossibility of any successful resistance to the regime, discredit liberation movement, and «to tear off the majority of the population from the influence of the Ukrainian and German nationalists». Official «Appeals» of the republican administration (on January 12<sup>th</sup>, February 14<sup>th</sup>, October 14<sup>th</sup>, and November 27<sup>th</sup>, 1944) became an original form of propaganda and agitation among the local population, that was completely directed against «the Ukrainian nationalists» (Pavlenko, 2001). In these

appeals the power promised to pardon all those participants of the liberation struggle who «would frankly confess in his crimes» and work fairly afterwards (Ilnytskyi, 2015: 101). At the same time, the regime carried out powerful repressions in its struggle against the liberation forces and national-conscious Ukrainians.

The formation of authorities and administration in Drohobych region took place on the basis of a decree of the Central Committee of CP(B)U in which the basic accent was on sending into the western regions of the checked cadres who had worked there before the war. Participants of the Soviet guerrilla and underground movements, demobilized from the army, were actively involved: tempered in battles, they had to combat in the ideological front (Pershyna, 2009: 300). However, political distrust of the local people was one of the reasons why the directing bodies were formed exclusively of the sent cadres, who were entered into the regional nomenclature. In the end of 1944, 1952 party-Soviet, economic, educational, medical, and other workers were directed to the region's towns – Drohobych, Stryi, Sambir, and Boryslav, whereas to the region's districts 928 persons were sent (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 107. S. 1, 5–19). In an overwhelming majority the local cadres from the other regions of Ukraine and the USSR did not know the Ukrainian language and local live peculiarities. However, in order to be closer to the people in the political influence on it, the party and Komsomol active of the region, according to Secretary of Drohobych regional committee S. Oleksenko, had for «the party duty» to speak Ukrainian (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 33).

The important ideological-propaganda tasks had to be fulfilled by the party, Komsomol, and trade-union organization created on each enterprise and establishment of Drohobych region. In the beginning of 1945 in Drohobych region 193 primary, 27 regional, and 4 town party organizations were organized, which consisted of 1716 members and 481 party candidates (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). In documents one can come across divergences concerning the quantity of party members and Komsomol members. For example, Secretary of the regional committee S. Oleksenko in his report said that in the end of 1944 in Drohobych region there were 1200 members of the Komsomol (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 31), whereas in the report to Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U M. Khrushchov, in the beginning of 1945, the number of 919 members of the Komsomol was cited (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). The regional party-Komsomol activists were replenished, basically, by those sent from the eastern regions of Ukraine and the USSR. The majority of the local population demonstrated political apathy. In 1945, of 4970 persons who worked at the enterprises and establishments of Drohobych, only 7% were party members, while the Komsomol organization was 490 members strong, of which 399 were from the eastern regions of Ukraine (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 29. S. 4). The creation of Komsomol cells, particularly, in the village, was braked by the national-liberation movement. In October, 1944 at 864 schools of Drohobych region six teachers' and only one pupils' Komsomol organizations were created (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 86. S. 5). Of 260 regional Komsomol organizations created during this period only 44 were rural (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). As a result of a large-scale activity of the party and Komsomol bodies, and under the pressure of the different circumstances, not always connected with ideological convictions, the West Ukrainian youth gradually entered to Komsomol. However, a certain part with Komsomol tickets simultaneously was a part of the youth groups of the OUN underground (Nahirniak, 2013: 72).

The main burden of social-political and public-organizational work had to be carried by communists and members of the Komsomol, including the brain washing of the population



in key questions for the power. But it was necessary to convince others to have proper theoretical knowledge and educational level, which in the party functionaries and active workers of the region was very low. In the end of 1945, 14 secretaries of the primary party organizations of the region has higher education, 72 secretaries had secondary education, and 81 had a still lower level of education. Among secretaries of district party committees these indicators were, accordingly, 13, 37, and 26 (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 18–19). It is not surprising, that one of the regional party secretaries at a political lesson could not explain the difference between the materialists and the idealists (Rubliov, Cherchenko, 1997: 214). Since 1945, in Drohobych the region party school began operating (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 45. S. 15).

The department of propaganda at the Central Committee of KP(B)U and, also, the corresponding structural subsections in the party committees of different levels had the basic functions of management of propaganda and agitation activities. For a massive ideological influence on the population a whole system of political actions was developed. Lectures were their most widespread form. Also, meetings, rallies, seminars, and colloquiums were regularly held. Carrying out of all mass political actions in the region was accurately fixed and constantly reported. It is difficult to say, how much true the official data is, as they, first of all, ought to fix the mass character of these actions. During August-October, 1944 the by the efforts of the regional party activists, propagandists of the Central Committee of the All-Union CP(B) and lecturers of Drohobych regional committee 436 lectures were read and 3036 reports were made for 313.6 thousand persons (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 53. S. 2). In general, it was officially reported that by February of 1945 in the region 17 thousand meeting were held on different political themes, in which 1 million 300 thousand persons took part, 485 political schools and circles were organized in which 11 thousand communists, members of the Komsomol, and non-parties studied (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). All the questions raised at these mass actions were in details analyzed by the regional party administration. The local power studied the mood of the residents, regularly reported the higher party bodies on it, and on its basis the basic directions of influence were developed (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 4). The constantly operating in Drohobych party seminar for teachers and workers of kindergartens and children's homes 125 persons were to attend, but, actually, in the studying of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism only 50 students were involved. In October, 1945, at a meeting of the region party active the fact of the «badly organized lecturing work» was underlined (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 28).

An important task of the ideological-propaganda policy of the system was to supply the region with the corresponding literature. The department of propaganda and agitation of Drohobych regional party committee (RPC) in the autumn of 1944 addressed to the Department of agitation and propaganda at the Central Committee of the CP(B) with the request to include the region into a network of the centralized supply of propaganda literature (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 1. C. 51. S. 3). For completion of party offices in the region the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and books on the Soviet history, philosophy, and economy were ordered. Stalin's book «A Brief Course of A-UCP» was the most requested (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 1. C. 51. S. 4). It should be read by all – from the housewife to the highest administrator. For studying of the political literature seminars, circles, and conferences were organized, its independent studying was obligatory.

The primary goal of ideological-propaganda policy of the Soviet regime was to capture all groups of the population. Of special importance for the party-Soviet administration was



the work among intelligentsia. The calculation was that it should not only approvingly perceive the policy and actions of the power, but also actively convince the inhabitants of the region in the advantage of the Soviet way of life, to rise «into the first ranks of the struggle against the brutal German-Ukrainian nationalist bands». During this period», for the regional intelligentsia 70 reports were read, 600 meetings were held, but the largest success was demonstrated by the attraction of its 800 representatives to political and public work (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). On January 20–22, 1945 in Drohobych the first regional meeting of intelligentsia took place. It was organized in the traditions of the Soviet meetings, with obligatory performances of representatives of all professional groups of intelligentsia and regional party-state activists, with congratulations from pioneers, artistic performances, appeals to the intelligentsia of the whole land, letters to the highest party-state administration of the republic and the USSR (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 33. S. 20). The report of First Secretary of Drohobych RPC S. Oleksenko «Ukrainian-German Nationalists as the Worst Enemies of the Ukrainian People», with the forged digressions into the Ukrainian history, became the meeting's leitmotif and a display of political problems of the power (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 33. S. 134–166). Contrary to all efforts of the communist it was not possible to reach desirable goals concerning intelligentsia. Secretary of Drohobych town committee Kizium in February, 1945, complained: «When teachers and doctors hold meetings and sessions, they do it very apolitically: I was present at conferences of teachers several times, but not a word against the nationalists was pronounced» (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 152. S. 9). Even advertising its favour to the power, the majority of representatives of the regional intelligentsia did it just outwardly, remaining true to their inner convictions.

Also, a great attention was drawn to the political work among women. In 1945, in Drohobych region about 500 female councils, groups of a female active, sanitary squads, sanitary posts, and shock female brigades were created (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). Female associations directed the work, first of all, on the formation of a «correct» civic stand of women. For working women and housewives lectures were read, meetings and seminars were held. As these actions were organized for female audience, their main themes concerned the role of women in wartime and their contribution to the national economy restoration. The successes of the regional women's organizations' activity, as a rule, consisted in the attraction of women into manufacture, but never in their independent studying of Stalin's works (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 1. C. 34. S. 93–94).

Ideological and political education was spread among the repatriated citizens of the USSR, former prisoners of war, and immigrants who were in filtration camps and emigrant centers. This category of the population which long time was abroad and saw a life different from that in the then Soviet Union, were under special control and the «guardianship» of the power. In 1945, Drohobych RPC attached to the filtration and emigrant centers in Mostyska, Khyrivm and Sudova Vyshnia a propaganda team of 10 persons of the party and Komsomol active each. Besides, 27 lectures were read, at which up to 55 thousand listeners were present, 304 conversations, red corners, and library were organized (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 54–55).

The central and local mass media carried out the promotion of communist ideas, maintenance of the support of the Soviet power's policy in the region, and the organization of ideological-political struggle against the OUN and UPA. In September, 1944, in Drohobych region the work of 15 printing houses were restored, which published the leaflets of the Soviet inform-bureau and other propaganda materials (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 2. C. 51. S. 10).

On August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1944, a first issue of the regional newspaper appeared in print, which was re-named from «Bolshovytska Pravda» («The Bolshevik's Truth») to «Radianske Slovo» («The Soviet Word») (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 6). The Central Committee of the A-UCP(B) confirmed the daily circulation of the newspaper as 20 thousand copies. But for the lack of paper, polygraphic equipment, and experts, by September, 1944 the main propaganda megaphone of the region was published in the number of 5 thousand copies and only three times per week. Since August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1944, it increased to 10 000 daily (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 45). From October 1, of the same year the newspapers began to be published in Stryi, Sambir, Boryslav and some districts of the region (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 10). 28 different newspapers were published in the region in the autumn of 1945 (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 53. S. 11). The content of the issues was supervised by party structures and had an expressive ideological direction. The newspapers' headlines were devoted to the struggle against the national movement, successes of regenerative processes, election campaigns, and publications which should convince the people in the advantages of the Soviet system. Public readings of the press was initiated and newspaper show-windows were established.

The ideological factor also was dominating at the formation of the funds of 80 libraries of the region: «the harmful literature» was eliminated. Besides, the ideological influence was carried out through evident propaganda. In the end of 1944, at Boryslav's oil industrial enterprises 500 slogans, 300 portraits of the Soviet leaders, 150 copies of the text of the Constitution of the USSR, and the appeals to the participants of the UPA were hanged out (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 51. S. 52). In his account of the political-mass work in the region, Secretary of Drohobych RPC S. Oleksenko underlined that «the slogans with appeals to struggle against the bourgeois-nationalists should be in each establishment and in every corner» (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 51. S. 4). The villages and towns of Drohobych region «were decorated» with flags, posters, slogans, and portraits of the leaders on the eve of the Soviet holidays which was obligatory attributes of the Soviet way of life. A number of ideological and political actions was developed for their preparation. In particular, in every village and town, enterprise, establishment, and educational institutions in the region propaganda teams organized reports and conversations about «the historical importance of May, 1<sup>st</sup>», «the espionage essence of enemies of the Ukrainian people», and the like (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 80). During the celebration of May Day in 1945 in towns and villages of Drohobych region 709 solemn meetings and 707 rallies were held, accompanied by demonstrations and wound up by mass celebrations (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 47). In a similar way the celebration of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the «Great October socialist revolution» was spent. On November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945, in Drohobych a parade of the Red Army troops took place in which 3500 military men participated. And in Sambir the OUN underground prepared «a celebratory greeting»: in the night on the eve of November 7<sup>th</sup> the leaflets with the anti-Soviet content were glued around (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 83–84.).

The directions of the organization of propaganda-ideological work amidst the region's population were developed by the highest party-Soviet administration of the republic and served for an index for party functionaries of all levels. On September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1944, the Central Committee of the CP(B) adopted Decree «On the Drawbacks of Political Work Among the Population of the Western Regions of the Ukr.SSR». The Drohobych regional party active was informed in October 1944, that this document underlined the strengthening of the use of «oral propaganda», by which the theatre, cinema, and radio should become important ideological tools (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 1. C. 51. S. 25). Due to the recent war, the majority of cul-

tural-educational institutions were destroyed. In the beginning of October, 1944, in the region 5 cinemas were restored, but they were filled with spectators only for 35%. Bad attendance (in particular, of local residents), to the opinion of the regional secretary for propaganda, was connected with the high prices for tickets, – from 4 to 7 rubles (karbovantsi). The region's administration even addressed to the department of propaganda and agitation at the Central Committee of the C(B) and Department of cinematography of the Ukr.SSR with a request to halve the price (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 1. C. 56. S. 13–14). However, it seems more plausible that the little interest of the local spectator to the cinema was caused by the poor quality of its films, at that time – still black-and-white and narrow-screen. Also, one should not bypass the fact that in countryside the demonstration of ideological films was counteracted by the Ukrainian underground (Heneha, 2011: 121). In 1945, three drama theatres, 500 clubs, recreation centers, houses-reading rooms, and red corners functioned in Drohobych region. During the first year of work of Ivan Franko musical theatre in Drohobych it was visited by 70 thousand spectators (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 240. S. 38). In its repertoire only popular plays of the classical Ukrainian writers were presented: «Zaporozhian Cossack beyond the Danube», «Orderly Shelmenko», «Marriage Engagement in Honcharivka», and other, but no plays on the Soviet subjects, wherefore it became criticized by the regional party administration. The repertoire of the other cultural-art establishments in the region was regulated as well (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 27). Radio also belongs to the means of political influence on the «masses», therefore to its broadcasts should listen as much population as possible. Right after the retreat of the German armies from Drohobych region, it was mostly the party-Soviet administration VIPs who used radio communication to be well informed about military-political events. In due course, radio receiving stations were established in all towns, districts, and in the countryside. By the beginning of 1945 they should have established over a thousand of RRS in the region. The broadcast subjects were developed by the regional radio committee and was discussed by the district structures (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 43).

The adults' illiteracy and insufficient literacy hindered the distribution of the new ideology. Revealing and taking for an account of such people was a priority task for educational bodies. In March, 1945, in Drohobych 112 illiterate and 79 insufficiently literate persons were registered, the majority of which were involved into Liknep educational program. (SALR. F. P-5002. D. 1. C. 51. S. 12). In 1945 in Drohobych region people were taught reading and writing in over more than 10 schools. They were organized at educational institutions and enterprises (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 24). Evening schools for working and country youth opened too (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 92. S. 2). As to the ideological work, the local state security agencies did a constant job against the national movement. In the report on the activity of schools in Drohobych region in 1944/45 educational year, it was underlined that «In great many schools the work on educating the pupils in the Soviet patriotism, materialistic outlook, hatred of German fascism and its supporters as the enemies of the Ukrainian people, of traitors of Motherland, and of Ukrainian-German nationalists was not enough performed» (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 83. S. 24). Only having overcome the organized opposition of the local population, the party-Soviet bodies could have seized the situation in the region and implemented a universal functioning of the Soviet system of school and higher education. In Drohobych teachers' institute Department of Marxism-Leninism had a priority value. Imposing of communist consciousness, selfless love and fidelity to the socialist Motherland «was its primary goal» (SALR. F. The River 2018. D. 7. C. 7. S. 6). From March,

1945, when the training process in the teachers' institute began, a circle of studying of Stalin's book «On the Great Patriotic War» functioned (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 213. S. 28). In the propaganda work the power shamelessly turned to falsifications. All proofs of the heroic past of Ukrainian people had to be liquidated. Decree of Military Council of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ukrainian front on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1944, recommended that on all tombs with «crosses with tridents» and inscriptions «To the fighters for Ukraine's liberty» obelisks should be established, with the Soviet symbols: a red star with a sickle and a hammer, and with an inscription in honour of Red army soldiers. Speeches of representatives of the local population before the obelisks should be in the Ukrainian language and should publicly condemn the OUN members as spies and enemies of the Ukrainian people and Red army» (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 2. C. 51. S. 13–14).

The election in the Supreme Rada of the USSR in February, 1946, ought to become a powerful propaganda trump and a demonstration before the population of the democratic character of the Soviet political system. Actually, in order to hold the election without a choice, in the conditions of military-political opposition to the local authorities, an execution of considerable efforts was necessary. In Drohobych region the campaign for their preparation begun yet in the autumn of 1945. For it the whole arsenal of the aforementioned ideological-political means was used. In the end of 1945, in the circles of studying of the Constitution of the USSR and «Statement on the Election», according to official figures, 261 640 persons were involved (while a total number of voters in the region, according to some sources, was 399 305) and 721 propaganda groups were formed (SALR. F. P-5001. D. 6. C. 89. S. 111).

**The conclusions.** For restoring of a totalitarian regime in the western regions of Ukraine, overcoming of the national-liberation movement, and destroying of the Ukrainian national idea and traditions, the Soviet system applied all possible factors. The great attention was taken away to propagandistsko-ideological methods. A branched system of ideological-propaganda influence in all strata and groups of the population. Mass media, evident propaganda, education, culture, and attributes of the Soviet way of life were tools of the Soviet propagation. Considering a small efficiency of ideological influences on the people of Drohobych region, forceful methods became dominating in overcoming of the opposition to the Soviet regime.

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## THE UNKNOWN DOCUMENTS TO THE HISTORY OF THE ELECTIONS INTO THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR (ON FEBRUARY 10th, 1946)

In the publications the unknown documents are represented, which characterize the oppositions of the Ukrainian liberation movement and the Soviet repressive system during the elections into the SC of the USSR in 1946. Eventually, six unknown documents are presented: in the first two the arrived military units were given the orders to get fixed to the concrete underground combat departments, the third, fourth, and fifth distribute the arrived military units among the concrete administrative and territorial areas, and the sixth document shows the propaganda and fighting activity of Ukrainian nationalists. The specified documents present percentage figures (although, probably, overestimated) of the participation of the population in the elections. More to that, these figures differ from the party «calculations» (with the result of 99.9 %).

**Key words:** Drohobych region, elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR, Soviet law enforcement bodies, Ukrainian liberation movement.

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## НЕВІДОМІ ДОКУМЕНТИ ДО ІСТОРІЇ ВИБОРІВ У ВЕРХОВНУ РАДУ СРСР (10 ЛЮТОГО 1946 р.)

У публікації подаємо невідомі документи, які характеризують протистояння українського визвольного руху та радянської репресивно-каральної системи під час виборів до ВР СРСР (1946 р.). Загалом наводимо шість документів: у перших двох наказами закріплюються прибулі військові підрозділи за конкретними підпільними боївками, третім, четвертим та п'ятим розподіляються прибулі частини на конкретними адміністративно-територіальними одиницями, шостий документ показує пропагандистську та бойову активність українських націоналістів. Публіковані документи наводять відсоткові цифри (хоч на нашу думку завищені) участі населення у виборах. При цьому бачимо, що вони відрізняються від партійних «підрахунків» (із результатом у 99,9%). Саме останній проливає світло на проблему фальсифікацій результатів голосування та підтверджує, що навіть застосування примусу та більш жорстких репресивних заходів не дали владі бажаного результату і чиновники змушені були вдаватися до масових фальсифікацій.

У передвиборчий і післявиборчий процес здійснюючи масштабні перевлаштування західноукраїнського суспільства на радянський зразок прибула адміністрація для залякування місцевого населення і самих підпільників використовувала відкриті судові процеси та прилюдне виконання смертних вироків, виселення, використання численних військових підрозділів, найрізноманітніших спецзасобів (біологічні, хімічні, технічні і бактеріологічні) і т.д. Вибори супроводжувала не

*лише боротьба з визвольним рухом, але й відповідне ідеологічне виховання західноукраїнського населення. Наслідками проведених «найдемократичніших» виборів була тотальна фальсифікація волевиявлення населення. Виборча кампанія була добре спланованою військово-політичною акцією, покликаною, разом з іншими соціалістичними нововведеннями, здійснити прискорену радянізацію західноукраїнських земель. Невід'ємною частиною цих кампаній була боротьба з українським визвольним рухом, не знищивши який, режим не міг розраховувати на перемогу.*

**Ключові слова:** Дрогобицька область, вибори до ВР СРСР, радянські силові органи, український визвольний рух.

**The statement of the problem.** After the end of the Second World War Moscow wanted to get a fixed position on the new western borders as soon as possible and to legitimate its actions before the world. The election campaigns to the Supreme Council of the USSR (1946, 1950), Ukr.SSR (1947, 1951), and the local governmental bodies, which the Soviet power wanted to carry out in accordance with an accurately planned scenario and considered them to be a continuation of the pre-military election campaigns that had to certify the continuity of the Soviet governmental traditions and, at the same time, to show to the world «the triumph of the Soviet democracy», were to become a means to secure the right of the Kremlin to its possession of the West Ukrainian territories. Each of the aforementioned election campaigns should be considered as a well-planned military-political action called, together with other socialist innovations, to carry out an accelerated Sovietization of the West Ukrainian lands. An integral part of those campaigns was the struggle with the Ukrainian liberation movement, was, without destroying which the regime could not count on the victory.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The situation of the first postwar election campaigns was repeatedly elucidated in the Soviet (Vozzyednannia zakhidno-ukrainskykh zemel, 1989) and Ukrainian diaspora (Mirchuk, 1953; Shankovskiy, 1953) historiographies with the radically different political viewpoints. Much more objective are the conclusions made by the contemporary Ukrainian researches in their generalizing works about the past of the OUN and UPA, in which the specified problem is touched (Kyrychuk, 2003; Kentiy, 1999; Rusnachenko, 2002; Tkachenko, 2000; OUN and UPA, 2005). Directly to the issue of the elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR in 1946 the following researches are dedicated: by V. Derevynskiy (Derevynskiy, 2001), V. Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 2012), V. Vyatrovych (Vyatrovych, 2011), and H. Starodubets (Starodubets, 2009). The propaganda aspect of the activity of the OUN and UPA during the first post-war elections was illumined by O. Dmyterko (Dmyterko, 2003).

**The article's purpose is** to enter to a scientific turn of the information on carrying out by the Soviet administration of elections in BP the USSR on February, 10th, 1946 in the West Ukrainian areas of Ukraine and the form and methods of struggle against the Ukrainian national-liberation movement against it.

The statement of the basic material. The first post-war election campaigns in Western Ukraine, by far, but little resembled the peaceful procedures of the expression of the population's volition and were more like the extensive military-political operations, for which execution the power mobilized a huge apparatus of functionaries, party workers, and considerable military forces. Such emergency measures were caused by an uneasy situation in the region, which population, supported by the Ukrainian liberation movement, made an active resistance to the Sovietization of the land. In the beginning of 1946 this movement continued to function at a large scale, and the Kremlin understood that without its liquidation the positive result at the elections wouldn't be possible to achieve, therefore, the basic efforts of the

regime on the eve and during the election campaigns were turned into this direction. After an unsuccessful attempt of the Red Army to liquidate the insurgent forces during its front transition, the power developed an accurate strategy for the struggle against the UPA departments and the nationalist underground. In 1946 – 1947 the Soviet governmental factors adopted over 40 resolutions on the definitive liquidation of the Ukrainian liberation movement, which considerable part concerned the overcoming of the nationalist underground at the moment of conduction of election campaigns.

In order to ensure the unobstructed elections, considerable military forces were sent into the towns and villages of Western Ukraine. In January – April, 1946 over 3 500 garrisons of active armed forces were dislocated there, which strength was above a half-million of fighters (CSAPA of Ukraine. F. 1. D. 23. C. 2966. S. 514). The garrisons' average strength was 20 to 30 fighters and officers, armed with heavy and light machine-guns, tommy-guns, rifles, and grenades. Alongside of the stationary garrisons, there were mobile departments from 20 to 100 persons strong (moving on armored troop-carriers and cars), which had to operatively react to the occurrence of insurgent groups and neutralize them (CSAPA of Ukraine. F. 1. D. 23. C. 2958. S. 21–30). In each major town the destructive battalions were formed of the local inhabitants, and in each village the groups of assistance to those destructive battalions were created. By April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946 in the western regions of the Ukr.SSR 3 593 destructive battalions were formed, which total strength was 63 000 persons (CSAPA of Ukraine. F. 1. D. 76. C. 56. S. 51). For the coordination of military formations for operations in Lviv an operative group was created of the officers of the command of the NKVD armies by which the plan of conducting of unobstructed election campaigns was processed and a number of operations on the liquidation of the OUN and UPA fighting groups were prepared.

The first powerful blow on the underground was made on the eve of the elections into the Supreme Council of the USSR, which took place on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1946. In particular, only from December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1945 to February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1946 against the OUN and UPA 15 562 operations were carried out, with the use of ambushes, baits, provocations, and the network of secret-service agencies, in which result over 4 200 insurgents and underground workers were killed, 9 400 persons suspected in the cooperation with the underground were captured, and 130 armed formations were liquidated. So, the First secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party (CCCP(b) of the Ukr.SSR Mykyta Khrushchov on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1946 sent a governmental telephone message to the Secretary of the All-Union CCCP(b) Joseph Stalin with the request to keep the armies of Lviv and Subcarpathian military districts in Western Ukraine by April, 1946, for the sake of the unobstructed elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR, that had to take place on February 10, 1946, and for ensuring of the success of the following election campaigns (CSAPA of Ukraine. F. 1. D. 32. C. 2564. S. 39–40). Hence, after the «winter blockade» of 1945 – 1946, the power organized a not less active spring-summer campaign against the OUN and UPA. In April-August, 1946, in the territory of Western Ukraine's regions 42 175 operations and ambushes were carried out by the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), Ministry of State Security (MSS), and internal and frontier troops, in which result 3277 persons were killed, 3364 were arrested, and 7225 units of weaponry were taken away (Kentiy, 1999: 18–19). Consequently, due to these two operations the Ukrainian insurgents suffered considerable losses. According to the Ukrainian diaspora researcher L. Shankovskiy, during the half a year before the «great blockade» the underground lost five times more of its strength that during the following three years (Shankovskiy, 1953: 812).

In the pre-election and post-election process an administration group arrived to carry out a wide reorganization of the West Ukrainian society on the Soviet lines and, intending to intimidate the local population and members of the underground, used open litigations, public performances of death sentences, evictions, operations of numerous military units, and multifarious special means (biological, chemical, technical, and bacteriological). The elections were accompanied not only by the struggle against the liberation movement, but also by a corresponding ideological education of the West Ukrainian population.

The total falsification of the will of the population was a consequence of the «most democratic» elections. Their practical boycott did not prevented the official Soviet propaganda to declare in the announcement about the elections' results that they were unanimous and over 99.8 % of the voters voted for the block of communists and non-parties, and that the «workers» of Western Ukraine «follow the Communist party and magnificent Stalin» (Serhiychuk, 1998: 450). Of 3 949265 voters registered in the western regions of Ukraine, 3 936484 alias 99.6 %, voters took part in the elections, of which those who voted for the candidates of the block of communists and non-parties made up 99.08 % (CSAPA of Ukraine. F. 1. D. 16. C. 31. S. 78–89; Serhiychuk, 1998: 449–456). In separate areas, wherein the party administration wanted to make an impression of its ardent service to the state, the voting appeared still more «unanimous» (CSAPA of Ukraine. F. 1. D. 6. C. 910. S. 20, 69–77; BSA SSU. F. 71. D. 6. C. 30. S. 170; C. 54. S. 39; F. 13. C. 376. V. 38. S. 155; C. 372. V. 56. S. 149).

**The conclusions.** The Soviet government was well informed about the anti-Soviet attitude which dominated among the Western Ukrainians and, therefore, was ready to hold the elections according to a military scenario. However, even the application of compulsion and rigid repressive actions did not provide a desirable for the power result and the officials were persuaded to resort to mass falsifications.

The elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR, Ukr.SSR, and the local authorities, were not democratic and free, and equal. Only the candidates of the block of communists and non-parties who put forward by the corresponding bodies of the CP(b) of Ukraine, as well as the managed by it public organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, and the like), got the active suffrage. What concerns the elections of 1946, the majority of people had to vote under an unprecedented moral-psychological, economic, and repressive terror. A mere falsification took place (BSA SSU. F. 13. C. 376. V. 7. S. 485, 487). Refusing to participate in the elections, the inhabitants of Karpatskyi krai of the OUN showed their enemy attitude towards the Soviet administration, and the «elected» deputies could not act as the defenders of their interests (SALR. F. 3. D. 1. C. 480. S. 4–12; UHVR, 1956: 227–228).

Eventually, this publication presents six documents: in the first two the arrived military departments are ordered to get fixed to the concrete underground combat units, the third, fourth, and fifth distribute the arrived military units in the concrete administrative-territorial localities, and the sixth document shows the propaganda and fighting activity of Ukrainian nationalists. This latter is important also as the document presenting percentage figures (probably, considerably overstated) of the population's participation in the elections. At the same time, these figures differ from the party «calculations» (with the result of 99.9 %). thus, the latter document sheds light on the problem of falsifications of the voting results. Unfortunately, the number of documents of this kind is very small.

The document is for the first time entered into the scientific circulation in the source language. In the publication the lexicon, author's and editorial features of the text of the source is as much as possible preserved. The personal and geographical names are presented without

any changes. Only the most evident grammatical flaws have been subjected to corresponding corrections. The document is accompanied with the legend constituting the document's place of preservation (the archive's name, the number of the fund, description, case, pages).

**The document 1**

Сов.секрено  
экз. № 3

**ПРИКАЗ  
ВОЙСКАМ 52 АРМИИ**

10 октября 1945 г.

№ 0010/04

г. Дрогобыч

Разбитые бандиты «ОУН»овского подполя сгруппировавшись в небольшие группы от 10 до 50 человек, перешли к активным действиям методом террора и диверсии против советских, партийных работников, военнослужащих Красной Армии.

В целях более успешной борьбы с бандитами и ликвидации их в кратчайший срок **ПРИКАЗЫВАЮ:**

1. Командиру 73 СК создать подвижные отряды и возложить на них уничтожение бандгрупп следующего перечня:

Наименования банды, район ее действия и численность	Минимальная численность подвижного отряда и от какого соединения	Фамилии представителей РО НКВД и НКГБ прикрепляемых к дан. отрядам
1	2	3
<b>СТРИЙСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«ВЫШНИВЕЦКОГО» – ЛАНЫ СОКОЛОВСКИЕ, ЗДЕДУШИЦЕ МАЛЕ, БАЛИЧЕ-ЗАРЕЧНИЕ – /все пункты 15 км. юго-вост. Стрый/ – 23 человека.	25 человек от 254 сд	НКГБ – Ст. лейтенант Никитин НКВД – лейтенант ПЕТРОВ
«ЧЕРЕМЫШ» – ТЕЙСАРУВ, ЛИСЯ-ТЫЧЕ - /все пункты 10 км. сев. вост. Стрый/ - 15 человек	25 человек от 254 сд	НКГБ – Лейтенант ГРАМОВ НКВД – Мл. лейтенант БИЛЕВИЧ
«ШУМ» – ДОЛГОЕ, ЛИСОВИЦЕ ЗАДЕРБАВАЧ - /все пункты 10 км. южн. Стрый/ - 15 человек	25 человек от 254 сд	НКГБ – мл. л-нт Владимиров НКВД – мл.л-нт ИВАНОВ
<b>САМБОРСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«ЛЕМИК» – «СИРКО» – КОБЛО СТАРЕ ЗВИР, ОЛЬЗАНИК - /все пункты 8-10 км. южн. САМБОР/ – 33 человека	25 человек от 115 сд	НКГБ – СЕРОВ НКВД – лейтенант Прижинский
«Нечай» – ЛАНОВИЧИ, БАБИНА, БЕРЕГИ, ЗАРАЙСКОЕ – /все пункты 8 км. сев.вост. САМБОР/ – 23 человека	25 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – Ст.л-нт ГЕТА НКВД – Ст.л-нт ФОКИН
<b>НОВОСТРИЛИЩАНСКИЙ РАЙОН СТШЕЛИСКА НОВЕ</b>		
«Гонта» – ЯТВЕНГИ, ЛУЧАНЫ, ОРЫШКОВЦЕ, ГРУДКИ – /все пункты 10 км. сев. ХОДОРОВ/ – 35 человек	25 человек по назнач. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – Капитан ЦИМБАЛОВ

1	2	3
«Каленчук» – БОРУСУВ, БОРЫНИЧЕ, ЯМКОВЦЕ, ЦЕРКОВНЕ – /все пункты 12 км. сев. зап. ХОДОРОВ/ – 25 чел.	25 человек по назнач. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – Мл.л-нт ФЕЛЯКИН НКВД – Мл.л-нт ТАРАСОВ
«Вихорь» – «Борода» – ГОРОДЫЩЕ, ДУЛИБЫ, ХРУСЯТЫЧЕ, ЛЕШИН – /все пункты 6–8 км. сев. ХОДОРОВ/ – 25 человек	25 человек по назнач. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – Капитан ЦИМБАЛОВ НКВД – Ст. л-нт ДУДКОВ
<b>НИКОЛАЕВСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Тяпка» – РУДНИКИ, ДОМБРОВА, ЧЕРНИЦА, НАДЯТЫЧЕ – /все пункты 8 км. южн. НИКОЛАЕВ/ – 30 человек	25 человек по назнач. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – лейтенант ГУЗАЕВ НКВД – Мл. л-нт КЛИМОВСКИЙ
«Железняк» – РОЗДОЛ, МАЛЕХУВ, СТУЛЬСКО – /все пункты 8–10 км. юго-вост. НИКОЛАЕВ/ – 20 человек	25 человек по назнач. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – Капитан ЯКИМЕНКО НКВД – лейтенант АЛЕКСЕЕНКО
<b>СЛАВСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Перик» – ПЕРЕНЕЗ, ПОГАР, ст. РОЖАНКА, ЛИБОХОРА – /все пункты 5–10 км. сев. СЛАВСКО/ – 10 чел.	Одна стрел. рота по наз. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – лейтенант ПОГОРЕЛИНКО НКВД – Мл.л-нт МАТЮНИН
<b>СТРИЛКОВСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Саракатый» – ТЫСОВИЦИ, ЛОПУШАНКА-ХОМИНА, СТРИЛКИ – /все пункты 10 км. южн. СТАР.САМБОР/ – 10 человек	30 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – Мл.л-нт ТРУХАНОВ НКВД – лейтенант ТИХОНОВ
«ПРОПАЛО» – ТИХАЯ, НАНЧУЛКА, /все пункты 15 км. к юго-зап. СТАР.САМБОР/ – 10 человек	20 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – лейтенант КОРЖАКОВ НКВД – лейтенант НИКИТИН
<b>ТУРКОВСКОЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Серый» – ПАСЕКИ, ЯВОРА, ЯСИОНКА ЛИСНОВА, ЛАСТУВКИ, СВИДНИК, / все пункты 8-12 км. вост. ТУРКА/ – 60 человек	В прежнем составе по распор. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – ЗАБЕЛИН НКВД – Мл. л-нт КОЧАНОВ
«БАЙДА» – ИЛЬНИК, РОПАВСКО-ВЫЖНЕ, ЗАКОЩЕ, – / все пункты 5-8 км. юго-вост. ТУРКА/ – 15 человек.	20 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – Майор КАТАЕВ НКВД – Мл. л-нт. КУЛИЧЕНКО
<b>СТАРОСАМБОРСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Пидгирный» – ЧАБЛИ, ЗАСАДКИ, СТАРАЯ СОЛЬ, СТРИЛЬБИЧИ, ГУМЕНЦЫ – все пункты 5-10 км. сев. СТАР. САМБОР/ – 20 человек	20 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – лейтенант СУХОВ НКВД – Мл.л-нт. КРУГОВОЙ
«Биль» – БИЛЬЧИ, БУКОВА, ЛЮТОВИСКА, РАЙТАРЕВИЧИ – /все пункты 12-15 км. сев.зап. САМБОР/ 40 чел.	в прежнем составе по распоряж. к-ра 73 СК.	НКГБ-ОВЧИНИКОВ НКВД – лейтенант ШЛЫКОВ
«Железняк» – ТУРКА, РОВЕНЬ, ТУРКА СРЕДНЯ – 35 человек.	25 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – Майор Вольский НКВД – ст. л-нт. КАЗАЧКОВ



1	2	3
<b>МЕДЕНИЧЕСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Хмара» – КРАНИЦА, ИОЗЕФ-СБЕРГ, КАВСКО, БИЛЬЧЕ – / все пункты 5-8 км. юго-вост. МЕДЫНИЧИ/ – 15 человек.	20 человек от 254 сд	НКГБ – Л-нт РЫБКИН НКВД – ст. л-нт. ШИШКОВ
<b>САДОВЫШНЯНСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Жук» – ЧИЖЕВИЦЕ, ВИШЕНКА, ЛЯШКИ, ЗАВЯЗАНЫЕ, ДОБРОВА, МАЛАЯ – /все пункты 20 км. сев. САМБОР/ 20 человек.	25 человек от 116 сд.	НКГБ – Мл-л-нт. КУЗНЕЦОВ НКВД – Мл-л-нт. АРКАТОВ

2. Мероприятия в районах расквартирования воинских частей.

1. Партийно-политическому аппарату частей и соединений развернуть политико-просветительную работу среди местного населения в пунктах расквартирования войск и в населенных пунктах прилегающих к ним, с задачей разъяснения реакционности политики националистов направленной против самого украинского народа; разъяснить местному населению национальную политику большевистской партии и Советского государства в сущность дружбы народов СССР.

Разяснить также классовую сущность украинского националистического подполья и його базы кулачества, способствующее вдохновение это антинародное контрреволюционное подполье.

[...]

2. Установить патрулирование силами войсковых частей в пунктах расквартирования и силами комсомольских и общественных

1	2	3
<b>СКОЛЕВСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Чумак» – КРУШЕЛЬНИЦА, КОРЧИН-ШЛЯХЕЦКИЙ /все пункты 8 км. сев. СКОЛЕ/ – 15 человек	30 человек от 254 сд	НКГБ – Мл. л-нт ЗАПОЛЬСКИЙ НКВД – Лейтенант ЗЫРЯКОВ
«Зуб» – РОЗГУРЧЕ, г. КАДОБНА, /все пункты 15 км. юго-зап. СТРЫЙ/ 15 человек	30 – 35 чел. от 254 сд	НКГБ – Ст. л-нт ДОШИН НКВД –
<b>БОРИНСКИЙ РАЙОН</b>		
«Кармелюк» – ДОЛЖКИ, ЗАДЕЛЬСКО, КРАСНЕ, КРЫВЕ – /все пункты 20 км. юго-вост. ТУРКА/ - 10 человек	20 человек распоряд. к-ра 73 СК	НКГБ – Капитан САФОНОВ НКВД – Лейтенант Кравченко
«Левчик» – БУТЕЛЬКА ВЫЖНА, ФЕДОРОВА, ВЫСОЦКЕ НИЖНЕ – /все пункты 15 км. южн. ТУРКА/ 15 человек	20 – 25 человек от 116 сд	НКГБ – Капитан БЕЛЯЕВ НКВД – Мл.л-нт ЧЕРНЫЙ

2. Отряды укомплектовать за счет разведчиков, автоматчиков и стрелков; специально произведя отбор из числа смелых, энергичных, находчивых и инициативных красноармейцев и сержантов, имеющих опыт действия в бою мелкими группами. Офицерский состав также отобрать из числа наиболее инициативных и энергичных, умеющих быстро принимать решения. Особенно тщательно отобрать и назначить командиров отрядов.

Отбор личного состава в состав отрядов, произвести совместно с представителями ОКР «СМЕРШ». В каждый включить по 3–4 сапера, знающих разминированные и подрывное дело.

3. Отряды вооружить: автоматами, ручными гранатами, 2–3 ручными пулеметами на отряд. Выделить ВВ для подрыва землянок и «схрон». Отряды снабдить автомобильным или конным транспортом, в зависимости от наличия и состояния дорог в районах действий. Заявку на потребное количество горючего представить мне к 12.10.45 г.

4. С личным составом отрядов провести инструктивные занятия как по тактике действий бандгрупп, приемов их ухода от преследования, а также и по тактике действий наших отрядов.

Командиров отрядов, а затем и весь выделенный офицерский состав проинструктировать отдельно.

5. Предупредить командиров отрядов о их полной и персональной ответственности за выполнение поставленной задачи.

Командир отряда командует своими подчиненными, используя данные и в качестве проводников уполномоченных ОКР «СМЕРШ», РО НКВД и НКГБ, представители которых назначены в каждый отряд.

6. По окончании каждой операции представить акты по форме указанной в разосланной инструкции по борьбе с бандами.

7. Для оказания помощи по ликвидации той или иной банды местным органам НКВД и НКГБ или для усиления действующих подвижных отрядов иметь дежурные подразделения и дежурный для них автотранспорт в следующих гарнизонах: г. СТРИЙ, г. САМБОР, г. ДРОГОБЫЧ, г. ДОБРОМИЛЬ, СТАР. САМБОР, м. УСТРИКИ ДОЛЬНЕ. Состав дежурного отряда – 45 человек и 3 грузовых автомашины.

Дежурные подразделения могут быть вызваны через начальника гарнизона первыми секретарями райкома КП(б)У, начальниками РО НКВД и НКГБ.

8. План выполнения данного приказа представить к 12.10.45 г.

п/п КОМАНДУЮЩИЙ ВОЙСКАМИ 52 АРМИИ  
ГЕРОЙ СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА  
ГЕНЕРАЛ-ПОЛКОВНИК  
/КОРОТЕЕВ/

п/п ЧЛЕН ВОЕННОГО  
СОВЕТА 52 АРМИИ  
ГЕНЕРАЛ – МАЙОР  
/КАБИЧКИН/

п/п НАЧАЛЬНИК ШТАБА 52 АРМИИ  
ГВ. ГЕНЕРАЛ – ЛЕЙТЕНАНТ  
/РОГИНСКИЙ/

Верно: НАЧАЛЬНИК ОПЕРАТИВНОГО ОТДЕЛА ШТАБА 52  
ПОЛКОВНИК  
/ГОРЛАЧЕВ/

отп. 3 экз.  
экз. № 1 – в дело  
экз. № 2 – 73 СК  
экз. № 3 – отд. НКВД  
маш. ч.а. № 2227

*Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України [Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine]. Ф. 13. Спр. 442. Т. 2. Арк. 237–241.*

**The document 2**

Сов.секретно  
экз.№ 4

**П Р И К А З  
ВОЙСКАМ 52 АРМИИ**

12 ноября 1945 г.

№ 00164

г. Дрогобыч

**С О Д Е Р Ж А Н И Е:** Об организации дополнительных отрядов по борьбе с бандитами «ОУН»овского подполья

Банды «ОУН»овского подполья активизировали свою террорестическо-диверсионную деятельность.

В целях повышения эффективности борьбы с бандами

**П Р И К А З Ы В А Ю:**

1. Командирам 73 СК и 145 арм.ПАБр организовать дополнительные отряды и прикрепить их для уничтожения следующих банд:

<b>Наименования банды, район ее действия и количество участников</b>	<b>Численность подвижного отряда и от какого соединен.</b>	<b>Представители РО НКВД и НКГБ, прикреп. к отряд.</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
Банда «Гарматый», 10 человек, действует в р-не ОРУВ, Стынава, ВЫ[...]НА, МЕЛЬНИКИ /15 км. юго-вост. Борислав/	Отряд 25 человек от 254 сд	НКВД – Горнин НКВС – Роцин
Банда «Петриченко», 14 человек, действует в р-не СЫНОВУДЗКО ВЫЖНЕ, СЫНОВУДЗКО НИЖНЕ.	Отряд 15 человек от 254 сд	НКВД – Щеткин НКГБ –
Банда «Чернота», 85 человек, действует в р-не ПЛАВЕ, Тухолька, КЛИНЕН, ЛУПАНЕ, КАЛЬНЕ	Отряд 50 человек от частей 73 СК по назначению КСК	НКВД – Мирошничен НКГБ – Батурин
Банда «Ерема», 20 человек, действует в р-не ГОЛОВЕЦКО, РЫКУВ, ГРАБОВЕЦ, СКОЛЬСКИЙ	отряд 20 человек от частей 73 СК по назначению КСК	НКГБ – НКВД –
Банда «Геоач», 30 человек, действует в р-не ТАРНОВКА, ВЫВДУВ, СПОРЕЦ /10-15 км.юго-зап. СЛАВСКО/	отряд 30 человек от частей 73 СК КСК	НКВД – Матюнин НКГБ – Савельев
Банда «Пушкарь», 11 человек, действует в р-не, РОЖАНКА, НИЖНА, РОЖАНКА ВЫЖНА, ЕЛЕНКОВАТЭ, ВОЛОССЯНКА /10 км. южн. СЛАВСКО/	отряд 15 человек от частей 73 СК по назначению КСК	НКГБ – Лукянинков НКВД – Погорелен
Банда «Павлович», 12 человек, действует в р-не. ТИСОВЕЦ, ПОГАР, ОРАВА, КОЗЕВА /20км. сев.зап. СЛАВСКО/.	Отряд 15 человек от частей 73 СК по назначению КСК	НКВД – Баскаков НКГБ – Абрамкин
Банада «Скала», 21 человек, действует в р-не ДОБРОВЛЯНЫ, ДЕМИДУВ, БУКАВИНА /5 км.южн. Ходоров/.	Отряд 15 человек от спец.частей 73 СК по назначению КСК	НКВД – Квитка НКГБ – Горский
Банада «Дуб», 15 человек, действует в р-не, ОТГЫНОВИЦЕ, РУДА, [...] ЧАРТОВИЯ /5-10км.сев.зап. Ходоров/.	Отряд 15 человек от спец.частей 73 СК	НКВД – Дмитриченко НКГБ – Гвоздев

1	2	3
Банда «Береза», 14 человек действует в р-не БАГНОВАТЕ, РЫКУВ, КОЛДАВ-СКО, ЗАВАДКА /20 км.юго-вост. ТУРКА/.	Отряд 15 человек от 116 СД	НКВД – Брюхеров НКГБ – Сафонов
Банда «Остап», 18 человек, действует в р-не ОЗИМИНА, ГОРОДИЩЕ, СЕЛЕЦ, СТУПНИЦА, ПОЛЬСКА, БРОНИЦА /10км.южн.Дубляны/.	Отряд 20 человек от 116 СД	НКВД – Палтусов НКГБ –
Банда «Рысь» 9 человек, действует в р-не ГРУДЫ, ТЫНУВ, РОЛОВ, ВРУБЛЕВЦЫ, ЛЫТЫНЯ /20 км. сев. зап.ДРОГОБЫЧ/.	Отряд 15 чел. от 254 сд	НКВД – Тамбовцев НКГБ – Катаев
Банда «Богун», 50 человек, действует в р-не ПОЧАЙКОВИЧЫ, БОЛЕХОВЦЕ, ГАИ ВЫЖНЕ, ГАИ НИЖНИЕ /10 км. вост. ДРОГОБЫЧ/.	Отряд 50 человек от спец.частей 73 СК	НКВД – Бойко НКГБ – Станков
Банда «Быстрый», 27 человек, действует в р-не ВОЛЯ ЯКУБОВА, МЕДВЕЖА, УНЯТЫЧЕ, ЛИШНЯ /10 км. сев.зап. Дрогобыча/.	Отряд 30 человек от 116 сд	НКВД – Москалец НКГБ – Циркун
Банда «Граб», 30 человек действует в р-не ТРУСКАВЕЦ, ОРУВ, ВОДРОХОСТУВ /15 км. южн. Дрогобыч/.	Отряд 50 человек от 50 сд	НКВД – Гнездин НКГБ – Просфирин
Банда «Бук», 48 человек, действует в р-не ЗАЛОКЕЦЬ, СКОЛЬНА, ТУЖЕ, ЛАСТУВКИ, ВЫСТРИЦА /50 км. зап. Борислав/.	отряд 50 человек от 50 сд	НКВД – Губачев НКГБ – Дундиков
Банда «Байрак», 15 человек, действует в р-не НОВОКРУКИ РЕПЕЖУВ, ВАКОВЦЕ/ 5км. сев. СТРЕЛИСКА НОВЕ/.	Отряд 25 человек от 145 ПАБр	НКВД – Тарасов НКГБ – Савуч
Банда «Бурлака», 20 человек, действует в р-не НЕДЗЕЛИНЯ, ТУЖЕ /20 км. зап. Борислав/.	Отряд 20 чел. от 50 сд	НКВД – Петряков НКГБ –
Банда «Сирко», 11 человек, действует в р-не, ХОДОРКОВЦЕ, ХОЛОГУРЫ, ДЭРТЕШУВ, ПЯТНИЧАНЕ /15 км. сев. зап. СТШЕ ЛЕСКА НОВЕ/.	Отряд 25 чел. от 145 ПАБр	НКВД – Климовский НКГБ – Спехов

2. Из отряда №1, действующего по уничтожению банды «Перик» из'ять 30 человек, оставив 20 человек. Отряд №26 действующий против банды «Серый» в районе НАГУЙОВИЦЕ, ОПАКА, ПОПЕЛЕ, /10 км. сев.зап.БОРИСЛАВ/ усилить до 50 человек. Отряд № 20 перевести из района ТУРКА в район КОБЛО СТАРЕ, ВОЛЯ КОБЛЯНСКА, /10км. юго-зап. САМБОРА/ для уничтожения банды «Железняк», действующей в этом районе. Отряд №13 действующий против банды «Биль», перевести в район СТАРАЯ РОПА против банды «Беркут».

3. Командирам соединений и частей провести подбор личного состава отрядов, назначив командирами лучших офицеров. Инструктаж произвести на месте. Материальное обеспечение – в соответствии с требованиями моего приказа № 00256 от 3 ноября 1945 г.

4. Отрядам прибыть в свои районы и приступить к действиям к исходу 14 ноября 1945г.

5. Об исполнении донести 14.11.45г.

п/п КОМАНДУЮЩИЙ ВОЙСКАМИ 52 АРМИИ п/п  
ГЕРОЙ СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА  
ГЕНЕРАЛ-ПОЛКОВНИК  
/КОРОТЕЕВ/

ЧЛЕН ВОЕННОГО  
СОВЕТА 52 АРМИИ  
ГЕНЕРАЛ – МАЙОР  
/КАБИЧКИН/

п/п НАЧАЛЬНИК ШТАБА 52 АРМИИ  
ГВ. ГЕНЕРАЛ – ЛЕЙТЕНАНТ  
/РОГИНСКИЙ/

Верно: ЗАМ. НАЧАЛЬНИКА ОПЕРОТДЕЛА ШТАБА 52  
ПОДПОКОВНИК  
/РЕБРОВ/  
отп. 14 экз.  
раз. по списку.  
ман. Ч.А.

*Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України [Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine]. Ф. 13. Спр. 442. Т. 2. Арк. 242–244.*

***The document 3***

Секретно.

НАЧАЛЬНИКУ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ КОНТРАЗВЕДКИ «СМЕРШ»  
ЛЬВОВСКОГО ВОЕННОГО ОКРУГА – ГЕНЕРАЛ-МАЙОРА

тов. ПОПЕРЕКА

Записка по «ВЧ»

На Ваш №363/2 от 21.XII.1945 года

По «ВЧ» доношу, что для борьбы с бандгруппами «УПА» и подпольем «ОУН» из числа военнослужащих частей нашей армии выделено и действуют в настоящее время 68 боевых подвижных отрядов, в которых насчитывается личного состава 2057 человек из них 149 офицеров.

Действующие отряды по частям армии распределяются:

1. Из числа военнослужащих 73 СК создано 15 отрядов с личным составом 397 человек, из них 2 отряда по 50 чел., 4 отряда по 15 человек, 6 отрядов по 28 человек., 1 отряд в 29 человек и 2 отряда по 25 человек.

2. Из военнослужащих 254 СД создано 15 отрядов с личным составом 460 человек, из них 8 отрядов по 25 человек, 3 отряда по 15 человек, 1 отряд в 130 человек, 1 отряд в 35 чел., 1 отряд в 30 чел., и 1 отряд в 20 чел.

3. Из военнослужащих 116 СД создано 15 отрядов с личным составом 375 человек, из них 7 отрядов по 25 человек, 6 отрядов по 20 человек, 1 отряд в 50 человек, и 1 отряд в 30 человек.

4. Из числа военнослужащих 213 СД создано 7 отрядов с личным составом 195 человек, из них 4 отряда по 30 человек и 3 отряда по 25 человек.

5. Из военнослужащих 24 СД создано 3 отряда с личным составом 95 человек, из них 1 отряд в 50 человек, 1 отряд в 30 человек и 1 отряд в 15 человек.

6. Из военнослужащих III СД создано 2 отряда с личным составом в 90 человек, из них 1 отряд в 60 человек и 1 отряд в 30 человек.

7. Из военнослужащих 27 зенитно-арт. дивизии создан 1 отряд с личным составом в 30 человек.

8. Из военнослужащих 145 арм. пуш. бригады создано 4 отряда с личным составом в 100 человек по 24 человека в каждом отряде.

9. Из военнослужащих 5-й противотанковой бригады создано 3 отряда с личным составом 160 человек, из них 3 отряда по 30 человек и 1 отряд в 100 человек.

10. Из военнослужащих 50 СД создано 3 отряда с личным составом в 155 человек, из них 2 отряда по 50 человек, и один отряд в 55 человек.

За каждой из вышеперечисленных групп для повседневной работы выделен оперработник НКВД-НКГБ.

Для проведения необходимых агентурно-оперативных мероприятий на место действия боевых подвижных групп периодически выезжают опер. работники отделов «Смерш» корпусов, дивизий и бригад. Однако для повседневной работы в боевых группах никто из оперсостава отделов «Смерш» не закреплен.

НАЧАЛЬНИК ОКР «СМЕРШ» 52-й АРМИИ  
ГЕНЕРАЛ – МАЙОР

/АГЕЕНКОВ/

24.XII.1945 года.

Передал: СТАРШИЙ ЛЕЙТЕНАНТ -

/ЛЕБЕДЕВ/

Принял: КАПИТАН

/ВЛАСЕНКО/

*Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України [Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine]. Ф. 13. Спр. 441. Т. 4. Арк. 260–260 зв.*

**The document 4**

Совершено секретно.

#### ЗАПИСКА ПО «ВЧ»

НАЧАЛЬНИКУ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ КОНТРАЗВЕДКИ «СМЕРШ»  
ЛЬВОВСКОГО ВОЕННОГО ОКРУГА  
ГЕНЕРАЛ-МАЙОРУ

Тов. П О П Е Р Е К А

На № 363/2 от 21/ XII – 45 года

В частях армии создано 26 подвижных отрядов по борьбе с бандитами «УПА» а именно:

- |                       |                                       |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1) От 121 гсд -       | 2 отряда по 40 человек в каждом       |
| 2) От 350 сд -        | 2 отряда по 40 человек в каждом       |
| 3) От 112 сд -        | 7 отрядов по 35 – 40 человек в каждом |
| 4) От 280 сд -        | 4 отряда по 30 человек в каждом       |
| 5) От 395 сд -        | 5 отрядов по 35 человек в каждом      |
| 6) От 172 сд -        | 1 отряд в 40 человек                  |
| 7) От 25 ЗАД -        | 2 отряда по 35 в каждом               |
| 8) От 39 арт. бриг. - | 3 отряда по 30 человек в каждом       |



Согласно Вашего разрешения из числа опер.состава, оставшегося за штатом мною посланы для оперативного обслуживания подвижных отрядов, наиболее активно действующих, следующие оперработники

- 1) В ОКР «СМЕРШ» 280 сд – мл.лейтенанты РЕМИЗ и РУЛЯЕВ
- 2) В ОКР «СМЕРШ» 112 сд – ст.лейтенанты ПАЛИЙ, ДАВЫДЕНКО и ЗУЕВ.
- 3) В ОКР «СМЕРШ» 395 сд – капитан БОГАЧЕВ, старший лейтенант КУКУШИН.
- 4) В 39 ПАБр – один из отрядов обслуживает ст.л-нт ДРАГОВЦЕВ.

Все остальные отряды обслуживаются оперсоставом тех полков, от которых они выделены, причем оперсостав в эти отряды выезжает периодически.

Кроме вышеперечисленных отрядов Военному Совету армии подчинены отряды, выделенные из частей, не входящих в состав Армии, так, например:

- 1) от 10 мех.дивизии – 7 отрядов по 30 – 35 человек
- 2) от 11 мех.дивизии – 4 отряда по 40 человек каждый
- 3) от 13 мех.дивизии – 2 отряда по 30 человек каждый
- 4) от 23 танк. дивизии – 4 отряда по 30 человек каждый
- 5) от 152 УР – 2 отряда по 30 человек каждый

Оперсоставом обслуживаются тех частей, от которых они выделены.

Александров.

№ 40/4

24/ХП – 45 г.

Передал: л-нт ВАСЬКИН

Принял: к-н ВЛАСЕНКО

*Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України [Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine]. Ф. 13. Спр. 441. Т. 4. Арк. 261–261зв.*

#### **The document 5**

Сов. Секретно

#### Справка

О количестве подвижных отрядов по борьбе с бандитами «ОУН-УПА» выделенных из частей 48 стр. корпуса

1. Из III СД выделено два отряда

№ 7 численностью – 25 человек

№ 8 -----»«----- – 44 человека

2. Из 24 корп.артбригады выделен один отряд № 9 численностью – 31 человек.

Все – 7, 8, 9 отряды действуют в Бобриковском районе. Для руководства отрядами выделены командир групп, которому придан резерв – 25 человек.

3. Из состава 24 СД выделено шесть отрядов:

№ 5 численностью – 38 человек

районы действия Жолковской р-н

№ 6 ----- – 44 ----

начальные группы этих троих отрядов

№ 10 ----- – 36 ----

имеют резерв 25 человек

№ 15 ----- – 25 ----

район действия Рава-Русская

№ 14 ----- – 23 ----

начальнику группы придано

№ 16 ----- – 25 ----

25 человек резерва

4. Из состава 213 СД выделено семь отрядов:

№ 4 – численностью – 38 человека действует самостоятельно в Каменко-Бусском р-не

№ 3 ----- 43 -- действует в Поморовском районе

№ 13 ----- 42 -- резерв нач. группы – 25 чел.

№ 2 ----- 43 --

№ 1 - - - - - 33 --

действует в Лопатинском р-не

№ 11 - - - - - 31 --

резерв нач. группы – 25 человек

№ 12 - - - - - 32 --

Отряды приданы автомашины но из-за отсутствия бензина передвигаются на подводах.

Отряды вооружены автоматами, 2–3 ручных пулемёты и каждый боец снабжен по три гранаты.

Личный состав в подвижной отряды из числа лучших бойцов, но не из одного подразделения, а всех полков дивизии.

Оперативного состава «Смеш» в отрядах нет, а придано райотделам по месту их действия.

За период активных действий отрядов имеются следующие результаты:

1. Убито бандитов – 24
2. Захвачено – 164
3. Захвачено пособников – 60
4. Дезертиров КА – 11
5. Уклоняющихся от призыва – 31

Всего – 290 чел

В том числе полностью уничтожены три банды «Грозного», «Хмари», «Чумака». Взят руководитель «Лютый».

Задержанные передаются райотделам НКВД-НКГБ.

Трофеи подвижных отрядов:

1. Ручных пулеметов – 2
2. Винтовок – 20
3. Автоматов – 6
4. Пистолетов – 7
5. Руч. гранат – 20
6. Патронов – 3090
7. Биноклей – 2
8. Мин – 132 (немецких)
9. Склад кабеля – 1
10. Шинелей – 3
11. Ботинок – 7 пар

Ст. опероуполномоченый 2 отдела  
капитан

УКР «Смерш» ЛЬВО  
(Николенко)

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*The document 6*

СОВЕРШЕНО СЕКРЕТНО  
НАЧАЛЬНИКУ ОКР «СМЕРШ» 52 АРМИИ  
ГЕНЕРАЛ-МАЙОРУ  
ТОВ. АГЕЕНКОВУ  
НАЧАЛЬНИКУ ОКР «СМЕРШ» 73 СК  
ПОДПОЛКОВНИКУ –  
ТОВ. МОСКВИЧОВУ.

СПЕЦСООБЩЕНИЕ

9 февраля 1946 года в селе Ляцку, Добромильского р-на, бандитами подожжен дом в 500 метрах от избирательного участка, силами гарнизона и местного населения пожар ликвидирован.

В 22 часа 9 февраля 1946 года в районе Воля-Райнова Старо-Самборского района, вырезано до 600 метров телефонного кабеля.

В 2 часа 10 февраля 1946 года в селе Соломинка Судово-Вишнянского района подожжено два дома, силами гарнизона пожар ликвидирован.

В 3-40 часа 10 февраля 1946 года в селе Острожен, Крукеницкого района подожжен жилой дом и в это же время гарнизон был обстрелян ружейно и пулеметным огнем, потерь нет.

В 3-40 часа тоже самое бандитами сделано в селе Судкивска-Воля Крукеницкого района.

В 6 часов 10 февраля 1946 года гарнизон села Кобля-Старе, Старо-Самборского района был обстрелян с трех сторон ружейно-пулеметным огнем. Ответным огнем гарнизона была рассеяна.

В 8 часов 10 февраля 1946 года в селе Созань Старо-Самборского района обнаружен труп повешенной женщины, причины устанавливаются.

В 18 часов 10 февраля 1946 года в селе Топольница Стрилковского района, патрули пытались остановить подозрительного человека, при окрике «СТОЙ», последний начал убегать, несмотря на предупредительный выстрел не остановился, в результате чего был убит. Органами НКВД убитом опознан-бандит, житель этого села.

В ночь на 8 февраля с/г бандгруппой был подожжен нефтепромысел, в районе севернее 2 км. населенного пункта Стрильбичи Старо-Самборского района из предварительных данных установлено, что ночью группа бандитов численностью в 20 – 25 человек налетела на промысел и стали его поджигать, часть рабочих же находившихся в это время там, собрали в одно помещение под силой оружия и не выпускали до тех пор пока не подожгли вышки. Также сгорел дом директора промысла, сам же он в это время находился в городе Старый Самбор. Промысел выведен из строя на 70 %.

В 2 часа ночи 9 февраля 1946 года в селе Бочина Старо-Самборского р-на был убит гражданин СКУЛИЧ Бронислав, который до последнего времени работал Зам. председателя с/совета Торчановичи. При выезде на место убийства установлено, что к последнему на квартиру зашли неизвестные в военной форме, приказали ему одеться и следовать за ними. СКУЛИЧ дал согласие и примерно в 100 – 150 метрах от своего дома был расстрелян в голову двумя выстрелами.

10 февраля 1946 года в селе Стрильбичи Старо-Самборского района, где начальником гарнизона старший лейтенант КУРБАТОВ, бандитами было похищено маленькая

урна с которой члены участковой избирательной комиссии ходили по домам к избирателям, не желающим явиться на избирательный участок.

Обстоятельства происшествия следующие:

Примерно в 18 часов члены избирательной комиссии жители села Стрильбичи – КОСТАРЕВИЧ Михаил Иванович и десятник ВОРШАНСКИЙ Петр Иванович, без ведома председателя участковой избирательной комиссии и начальника гарнизона пошли по домам к избирателям уклоняющихся от участия в выборах.

Примерно в 20 часов указанные выше лица прибежали в участковую комиссию и заявили, что на них напали бандиты и отобрали избирательную урну, а их избили.

Из сообщения начальника гарнизона в это время был обстрелян избирательный участок бандитами.

Находившийся в селе Стрильбичи председатель Старо-Самборского райисполкома ШУЙНОВА, заявила, что в похищенной урне, якобы находилось 5 бюллетеней.

Ниже привожу результаты голосования по избирательным участкам, в районах дислокации гарнизонов дивизии:

1. Судово-Вишнянский – 93%
2. Крукеницкий район – 98 %
3. Мостицкий район – 87 %
4. Старо-Самборский район – 81 %
5. Стрилковичский район – 95,7 %
6. Дрогобычской район – 99,2 %
7. Добромильский район – 81%

В среднем по Добромильскому избирательному округу приняло участие в голосовании 92,6% избирателей.

В тоже время необходимо отметить, что в ряде избирательных участков, большинство избирателей уклонилось от голосования как например:

Село Волошиново Стилковского района голосовало 15% избирателей.

Село Биличи Стрилковского района 50%

Село Хоростинца Мостиского района 35%

Село Хоростница 1-я ----- 45%

Село Тулиголовы Судово-Вишнянского района 50%

№ 22

ЗАМ НАЧАЛЬНИКА ОКР «СМЕРШ» 50 СД

КАПИТАН /АЛЕКСАНДРОВ/

11 февраля 1946 года.

*Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України [Branch State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine]. Ф. 13. Спр. 441. Т. 6. Арк. 86–87.*

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#### «DALEKIVTSI» AFTER «DALEKYI» (1948 – 1949)

*The article examines the activities of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» members (in Rivne region) after their leader Stepan Yanishevskiy – «Dalekyi», was arrested.*

*It is proven that the weakening of «Dalekivtsi» was exploited by the MDB organs. They enforced their onslaught in a trial to totally destroy the OUN underground network. Together with the lack of opportunities to continue to act on their own that was the main reason which pushed the «Dalekivtsi» to reconcile with the PZUZ OUN leadership.*

*It was established that the union of conflicting Ounivtsi was accelerated by Mykola Kozak – «Chuprynkо» tragic death and an appointment of Vasyl' Galasa – «Orlan», as a new OUN Regional leader.*

*The MDB department tried to prevent the reconciliation of the underground members by organizing various provocations. Nevertheless, they did not significantly affect the general situation.*

*The process of including «Dalekivtsi» into the general underground network took less than a year and considerably strengthened the position of the OUN on Volyn and Polissya territories.*

**Key words:** cleansing, SS, PZUZ, oppositional, «Dalekivtsi», Ounivtsi, reconciliation, union, MDB, provocations, falsifications.

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#### «ДАЛЕКІВЦІ» ПІСЛЯ «ДАЛЕКОГО» (1948 – 1949)

*У статті досліджено діяльність учасників опозиційного Крайового проводу «Одеса» (Рівненщина, Житомирищина, Київщина) після арешту 13 серпня 1948 р. їхнього лідера Степана Янішевського – «Далекого», «Богослова», «Томи», «Погорілого».*

*З'ясовано, що після цієї події більшість «далеківців» продовжували діяти окремо від загальної мережі ОУН на Північно-Західних Українських землях (ПЗУЗ). Частина з них остерігалися переслідувань Служби безпеки, а іншим перешкоджала об'єднатися неоднозначна постать провідника ОУН на ПЗУЗ Миколи Козака – «Чупринко», «Вівчара», «Смока», «Луки». «Далеківці» не могли забути ініційованих ним масових «чисток» в підпіллі ОУН і УПА, а також серед місцевого населення. До цього чинника додалися й нові жертви протистояння між «смоківцями» та «далеківцями». Більше того, майже одночасно з арештом Степана Янішевського, вийшов «Комунікат» суду ОУН із смертним вирокom у його справі.*

*Важкою ситуацією, яка склалася в підпіллі ОУН на ПЗУЗ вирішили скористатися органи МДБ, які розпочали винищення ослабленої мережі опозиційного Крайового проводу «Одеса». Грунтуючись на свідченнях Степана Янішевського, стосовно ймовірного нового лідера «далеківців», вони активізували розшук провідників Костопільського надрайону Івана Кроля – «Зінька» та Корецького надрайону Миколу Климчука – «Максима». Співробітникам МДБ вдалося вистежити останнього з них, який застрілися аби не потрапити до рук ворога. Таким чином новим лідером «далеківців» став «Зінько», який був прихильником якнайшвидшого залагодження конфлікту та об'єднання мережі ОУН на ПЗУЗ.*

*Намагаючись перешикодити цьому, органи МДБ виготовили та поширили в оунівському підпіллі фотоколлаж із «Зіньком», «Далеким» та співробітником МДБ Леонтієм Брушковським. Однак ворожу провокацію «далеківцям» вдалося швидко викрити та нейтралізувати.*

*Доведено, що нові перспективи для примирення відкрила загибель Миколи Козака – «Вівчара». Новий Крайовий провідник ОУН на ПЗУЗ Василь Галаса – «Орлан» слушно обрав мирний шлях вирішення проблеми з «далеківцями». Таким чином вдалося зірвати провокацію органів МДБ щодо взаємного винищення оунівців на Рівненщині, а також впродовж короткого періоду відновити єдність підпільної мережі. Зверхність «Орлана» визнали майже усі «далеківці», включно з керівниками боїв на Житомирщині та Київщині. Останнім високопоставленим «опозиціонером», до загибелі 16 червня 1950 р. в сутичці з оперативною групою МДБ, залишався Микола Мельник – «Павло». Загалом період відновлення єдності мережі підпілля ОУН на ПЗУЗ тривав менше року. Обраний «Орланом» та «Зіньком» шлях примирення, дозволив уникнути кровопролиття та зберегти цінні кадри для продовження української визвольної боротьби.*

***Ключові слова:** чистки, СБ, ПЗУЗ, опозиція, «далеківці», примирення, об'єднання, МДБ, провокації.*

**Problem statement.** At the modern phase of Ukrainian state formation, the study of liberation movement in the 40's and 50's of the twentieth century has not lost its significance. In the context of this study, certain suppressed topics, which have not fitted into the conventional historical representation of those events, are actualized. The activity of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» in Rivne and Zhytomyr regions was one of those topics. Particularly, its functioning from Stepan Yanishevskiy – «Dalekyi» arrest till the time of the union with the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership remains less studied up to nowadays.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Among insufficient number of publications that indirectly refer to the mentioned problem, the following monographs can be distinguished: Dmytro Vedeneiev and Gennadiy Bystrukhin «A duel without compromises» 2007, Oleksandr Ishchuk and Valeriy Ogorodnik «General Mykola Arsenych: Life and Activities of the OUN Security Service leader», the articles concerning the issue: Valeriy Efimenko (2003), Yaroslav Antoniuk (2011), Volodymyr Kovalchuk (2012) and Oleksandr Ishchuk (2017). The basic source of the study is previously unpublished documents from 2, 5 and 13 sections of the Branch State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine. The materials are supplemented by documents issued in the 16th volume of the «Litopys UPA», memoirs of the MDB agents of Rivne region (1988) and the PZUZ OUN leader Vasyl Galasa (2005).

**The publication's purpose.** The purpose of the article is to analyse the activities of the participants of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» after their leader – «Dalekyi», was arrested.

**Statement of the basic material.** The opposition separated into a distinct network as a result of a large-scale cleansing inside the OUN and UPA underground networks on Volyn and Polissya territories, which had been initiated by OUN leader of the Northwest Ukrainian territories (PZUZ), Mykola Kozak – «Vivchar», in autumn 1945. At the end of December 1945, they were headed by a former referent of the Security Service (SS) of theregional leadership «Odesa», Stepan Yanishevskiy – «Dalekyi» (Efimenko, 2003: 214). He announced a creation of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» on the extensive area of Rivne, Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions, in order to escape from the SS execution. «Dalekivtsi» continued to conduct an armed struggle against Soviet authorities over the next three years (Kovalchuk, 2012: 28–34). At the same time, in Volyn region they were involved into a conflict with the «legal» OUN underground regional leadership, «Smokivtsi» (named after one of the nicknames of Mykola Kozak). After a few minor conflicts and couple of attempts on

leaders lives, both sides tried to maintain neutrality and control their own territories (Antonuk, 2011: 132–140). The rumor about the above mentioned events on Rivne territories spread even among Siberian camps. In particular, a certain amount of the convicted Ounivtsi (OUN members) continued to call themselves «Dalekivtsi» (Porendovskiy, 2005: 14). It is assumed that the confrontation between the «Smokivtsi» and «Dalekivtsi» took lives of about 120 underground members (Viedenieiev, Bystrukhin, 2007: 102). Although, the amount of victims appears to be considerably exaggerated, based on well-known sources.

During some period of time, the MDB organs (Ministry of State Security (Soviet Union)) tried to draw «Dalekyi» into cooperation, by blackmailing him with his wife and son, who were kept as hostages. When their blackmail campaign had not succeeded, they went on the offensive. Specifically, during 1947 – 1948, the MDB organs liquidated 6 members of the regional leadership «Odesa», «Dalekivtsi»boivka (a small unit of soldiers) number 91 and 137 underground organizations (which included 1,644 people, in total) (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1324. Ark. 150).

Eventually, on August 13, 1948 in the Medvedskiy forest of Korets district of Rivne region (HDA SBU. F. 5. Spr. 67426. T. 1. Ark. 25), the MDB operational group seized severely wounded Stepan Yanishevskiy (Hladkov, Fedrytskyi, 1988: 37). It is worth mentioning that twelve days after, the OUN Revolutionary Court strictly sentenced «Dalekyi» to «the death penalty without the right of appeal» (Viedenieiev, Bystrukhin, 2007: 479).

The arrest of «Dalekyi» did not stop persecution of his supporters lead by the MDB organs and, on the contrary, even intensified it. For instance, on September 3, 1948 in the forest near Velyka Liubasha village of Kostopil' district, an intelligence-military group of MDB murdered Petro Tarhoniyy – «Vasko» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 913. Ark. 27), a head of the regional leadership «Odesa» communications department. A wounded boivkar (soldier of a unit), Makar Pidvysotskiy – «Lys», miraculously managed to break through the hostile surrounding. However, on October 15, 1948, agent «Smilyi» informed the MDB organs that Pidvysotskiy was cured and died (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 901. Ark. 116–117) in a kryivka(bunker) near Yapolot' village, Kostopil' district.

Simultaneously, the PZUZ OUN regional leadership of the decided to take an advantage of the difficult situation experienced by «Dalekivtsi». They tried to make «Dalekivtsi» to cooperate, by distributing «The OUN court order on the «Dalekyi» case» among the underground members. It declared: «It is the last time the OUN court appeals to all honest and true revolutionaries who are still in the ranks or under the influence of the provocative and sabotaging organization which belongs to the traitor, «Dalekyi». You must immediately: a) leave the ranks of the aforementioned criminal organization, b) subordinate to the true and legitimate leaderships of the OUN which operate in the area, c) submit an individual report on your former activity and explain your participation in a provocative and sabotaging group» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1320. Ark. 27).

A reaction of «Dalekyi» to the previously mentioned events was unknown (Ishchuk, 2017: 125). At that point of time he was under interrogation in the MDB prison (Ishchuk, Ohorodnik, 2010: 117). According to the UkrSSR (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) Prosecutor's sanction since August 28, 1948, the convict, Stepan Yanishevskiy, was announced as Vasyl Ivanovych Petruk, who was born in 1913, in Boryslav, a city situated in Drohobych region (HDA SBU. F. 5. Spr. 67426. T. 9. Ark. 451). Subsequently, for the sake of conspiracy, his personal information was classified under the operative alias «Vysokiy» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1028. Ark. 75).

According to MDB materials, Stepan Yanishevskiy presented his extensive testimonies in the course of their interrogations (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 878. Ark. 126). In particular, «Dalekyi» stated that the OUN leader of Korets subdistrict, Mykola Klymchuk– «Maxym», would probably take his post. That was a reason why MDB organs had intensified their work on his involvement into collaboration. It was revealed that «Maxym» had been re-buying the necessary goods and ammunition in Zhytomyr from a Soviet official, a native of Samostrily village (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1010. Ark. 53). Shortly after those events the MDB officers secretly arrested him and enlisted in cooperation. In September 1948, «Maxym» told an MDB agent that for many years his deputy Dmytro Zalouslyki – «Zeleniy», had been suffering from a wound received in a battle with the NKVD operational group. «Maxym» asked the agent to arrange him with false documents for «Zeleniy» to be cured in the Zhytomyr Regional Hospital. After coordinating his actions with the MDB operatives, the agent helped «Zeleniy» with documents. His connection with «Maxym» was made through Volodymyr Dyadenko – «Volod'ka». After «Zeleniy» recovered from an operation, he handed a secret note over to «Maxym». The note content was unknown to MDB agents. Considering that they assumed their agent had fallen under suspect and their operation should be ended. The next morning, when «Zeleniy» was discharged from the hospital the agents seized him right on the street and delivered by car to the MDB prison. «Volod'ka» was also arrested on the highway when he tried to catch a ride directing to Samostrily village.

During interrogations, «Zeleniy» flatly refused to testify and tried to commit suicide in his cell. Although, shortly afterwards, as a result of torture, he disclosed the hiding places of «Maxym». Immediately after those events, under the supervision of the MDB staff members, «Volod'ka» wrote a note which stated that he had got in a car accident near Novohrad-Volynskiy and resided in a local hospital.

A few days later, «Maxym» summoned the agent to Samostrily. He asked the agent to arrive by motorcycle, for them to be able to drive to the Kyiv – Lviv highway. The MDB department made an ambush and placed two cars on the highway with their agents, who pretended to be kolhosnyks (collective farmers). Under the guise of repairing their car's motor and wheels, the agents made a trap. Nevertheless, in 18 kilometers from Samostrily village, the motorcycle unexpectedly broke down. The agent had to lead «Maxym» by feet to one of the ambushes explaining that he had been forced to leave the runner on the highway. After that, the agent and «Maxym» together with the runner, Mykola Mel'nyk, went to take the motorcycle. Near one of the cars, the agent send a signal and the operational group attempted to capture «Maxym». However, «Maxym» began to fire back using a gun he had hidden under his garment. He received a bullet wound to his leg but at the end he refused to surrender and shot himself (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 984. Ark. 54–60). Finally, the MDB authorities conducted a series of operations, arrested 445 participants of the OUN underground and killed 79 of armed boivkars as a result of «Dalekyi» testimonies (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 875. Ark. 44).

The MDB also used Stepan Yanishevskiy to identify the assassinated leaders of the OUN underground on Volyn and Western Polissya territories. Therefore, the head of the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership, Mykola Kozak – «Chuprynko» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1095. Ark. 16–23), shot himself, surrounded by the MDB operational group on the night of February 8, 1949 in the kryivka (bunker) under the house of Tymophiy Parhomei, a resident of Pitushky village, Mlyniv district.

Initially, based on an analysis of trophy documents, the MDB investigators came to a conclusion that during their operation the victims were Ivan Lytvynchuk – «Dubovyi» and

his two guards. Three days later, their conclusion was reported to the UkrSSR MDB Minister, Lieutenant-General Sergiy Savchenko. However, shortly after it became clear that their precipitate resolution was incorrect. The investigators came to an alternative conclusion that Mykola Kozak (Kovalchuk, Ohorodnik, 2011: 114) was the victim as it was supported by the acquired photographs, descriptions of appearance and other materials.

On February 12, 1949 Major Bykov, who was a 1st Division Head of 2-N MDB UkrSSR, showed the prisoner № 43 – Stepan Yanishevskiy, an image of Ivan Lytvynchuk – «Duboviy», Mykola Kozak – «Chuprynko», and Grygoriy Trotsiuk – «Verkhovynets». The former head of the regional leadership «Odesa» recognized and named them undoubtedly. Right after, the investigators showed the photos of the three OUN victim bodies who were killed on February 7, 1949 to Yanishevskiy. On those photos «Dalekyi» recognized Mykola Kozak, whom he knew well. The identities of the other two killed underground members were unknown to Yanishevskiy. Then he had been taken to the prison courtyard where they showed the previously mentioned bodies. «Dalekyi» confirmed that Mykola Kozak's body was placed between two other victims. As a support to his statement, he mentioned that the victim had two yellow metal teeth implants in his upper jaw. An immediate body review approved that detail (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1061. Ark. 84–85).

Notwithstanding those tragic events for the liberation movement, they had accelerated the reconciliation between «Dalekivtsi» and the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership. A new «Dalekivtsi» leader, Ivan Krol' – «Zin'ko», and the PZUZ OUN leader, Vasyli' Galasa – «Orlan», had quickly reached understanding (Halasa, 2005: 129). What is more, according to the evidence provided by imprisoned «Dalekyi», in June 1948 he discovered from «Roman» that the PZUZ Regional leadership was headed by a new person. He described the leader, who had just arrived from Galicia, as «quite intelligent and educated man..» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1063. Ark. 86). Therefore, it is possible that, under other circumstances, «Dalekyi» and «Roman» would be looking themselves for an opportunity to negotiate with the new PZUZ OUN leader. By that time, there were generally less than 200 «Dalekivtsi» members participating in the OUN underground network on Rivne and Zhytomyr regions (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 875. Ark. 44). They were united into three subdistrict OUN leaderships (Korets – headed by «Maxym», Kostopil' – headed by «Yaroslav» and Sarny – headed by «Chereshnya»), 22 district leaderships and boivkas, 23 underground organizations (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1320. Ark. 25–26).

Vasyli' Galasa recalled that the local Ounivtsi were tired of mutual killings, they were seeking for ways of reconciliation: «The movement participants on PZUZ had experienced various spiritual upheavals at the time of «cleansing» and intelligence forces attacks, they suffered countless terrible tragedies, various profound emotions, which eventually developed the noblest feelings, trembling and loving attitude towards the Organization (as they have suffered immeasurably for it and because of it, endured through so much). Frequently, the story of the «ancient» times began with a long silence, pensive sighs, and only after that a phrase: «What we have lived and suffered through, what tragedies have we seen, that is out of our might to describe or retell». And then a sad story was pouring out. It is also characteristic that, by recalling those events, the PZUZ OUN members had a melancholy veil with tragic sensations upon their eyes; cheerful clear loud laughter was a rarity. Life joy returned to our ranks as the training intensified, a new guidelines were created and the work itself had started» (Ishchuk, 2009: 16).

Syl'vestr Pryiamak – «But'ko», and Volodymyr Kudra – «Roman», who headed the OUN underground networks on Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions, had immediately joined the reconciliation process (Miedviediev, 1992). Due to mediation made by «Mruchka», they received a new district leader (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1274. Ark. 34) and continued their anti-Soviet



struggle (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1275. Ark. 334). Their activity was evidenced by the fact that the MDB department engaged 119 agents and 700 informants to search for «Roman» and «But'ko» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1299. Ark. 98).

The MDB organs were seriously concerned with «Zin'ko» activity intensification. Under interrogation, «Dalekyi» confirmed that it would be impossible to persuade him to plead guilty and start collaboration with MDB. Therefore, they decided to ruin his reputation in the PZUZ OUN leadership circles and use the OUN Security Service for assassinating him. The MDB concluded that «Dalekivtsi» were still under suspicion by analyzing a letter which «Orlan» sent to «Semen». They decided to use that fact to split the underground movement. For that purpose, the MDB operatives made a «brief statement about the embedding of «Dalekivtsi» agents into the «Smokivtsi» environment and the first results of its functioning». The statement mentioned that «Tygr» (the previous alias «Zin'ko») was involved to work as an MDB agent. Allegedly, it was mentioned that he had been assisting to cautiously eliminate the OUN underground leaders. In addition, on the basis of a seized trophy OUN photo, MDB produced a photo collage (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1417. Ark. 207–208) on which the landscape was replaced and «Dalekyi» image was cut and inserted together with «Zin'ko» and Leontiy Brushkovskiy, an MDB operative agent (Ishchuk, 2009: 46). That photo falsification together with the notebook containing the agents attendance schedule, some notes, «Short study of CPSU history» and some pencils were placed into a kit bag. The simulated «ambush» was arranged by the MDB operational group of Sosnivka subdistrict to imitate that the kit bag had been «lost» in Vorobiiivka village in a garden of Roman Pasichnyk, who was an OUN supporter. He did not report to the Soviet authorities that he had discovered the bag with those secret documents. Due to that fact, the MDB agents concluded that Pasichnyk handed it to Ounivtsi (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1417. Ark. 209–211). However, that MDB falsification did not achieve required results. Obviously, the OUN underground members uncovered that falsification immediately as they knew their enemy was prone to falsifications and provocations.

The last «Dalekivtsi» leader who switched to «Orlan's» side in May 1949 was Oleksander Dubovets – «Mukha» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1226. Ark. 113–115), an OUN leader of Hoshcha district. Thus, the PZUZ OUN underground unity was restored.

The only «Dalekivtsi» member that «Orlan» did not accept was Mykola Mel'nyk – «Pavlo». Mel'nyk was not excused for his former cooperation with the NKVD organs and continued to be regarded as a Soviet agent (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1027. Ark. 159). Eventually, these allegations were unjust. On June 16, 1950, on the territory of the Korets district, «Pavlo» died in an ambush which was made by the MDB platoon led by Lieutenant Odintsov (HDA SBU. F. 13. Spr. 372. T. 90. Ark. 114).

Even over a long period of time, the conflict between «Dalekivtsi» and «Smokivtsi» had unexpectedly appeared one more time in August 2015. At the Voronukha hamlet near Shchekychyn village, Korets district of Rivne region a local resident accidentally stumbled upon a metal drum buried in the ground. Afterwards it was proven that the drum belonged to the subdistrict leader Yuriy Bernarchyk – «Chornohuz». All the documents discovered in it were «OUN court orders concerning the «Dalekyi» case» starting from August 25, 1948. Probably, after assassination of «Chornohuz», the location of the documents hiding place was lost for the OUN underground. Only after 67 years, a confrontation incident, which was hidden in a «time capsule», supplemented the whole picture of those distant events (Marchuk, 2015).

**Conclusions.** Consequently, after Stepan Yanishevskiy arrest, the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» continued its activity. The main article thesis is to prove their influence



of an individual on the Ukrainian liberation movement advancement and the aspiration of underground members to unite.

It was proven that after one of the split initiators – the PZUZ OUN leader Mykola Kozak – «Chupryncko», – had died, the process of reconciliation accelerated. That process was considerably supported by the attitude of Vasyl' Galasa – «Orlan», a new OUN leader on Volyn and Polissya territories.

The MDB department decided to use the weakening of «Dalekivtsi». They intensified their onslaught against the underground network and methodically had been assassinating the «Dalekivtsi» leaders. They organized various provocations for the purpose of ruining OUN leaders reputation. At the same time, the MDB agents actively used the testimonies provided by the imprisoned «Dalekyi».

The intensification of assault by enemies and their lack of any prospects to continue the struggle on their own, encouraged «Dalekivtsi» members to seek ways of reconciliation with the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership.

Throughout the year, the participants of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa», including the leaders of the underground network of Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions, established contacts with «Orlan» and joined the OUN common network. The only «Dalekivtsi» member who, until his death, continued to operate on his own, was Mykola Mel'nyk – «Pavlo».

The activity of the «Dalekivtsi» deserves more thorough and complex research. It provides a possibility to show the versatility of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and undermine established stereotypes.

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## THE PERSONALITY OF BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY IN THE SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION OF THE MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORIANS

*The article analyzes the views of the Russian researchers of the early modern Ukrainian history on the figure of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who represent two historiographical directions – traditionalists and modernizers. It is proved that the first wing covers the lion's share of the scientific segment and dominates, forming an appropriate image of the Russian historiography in the world. It seeks to preserve the old great-state basis, the role of which fulfills the concept of «all-Russian culture», «reunification of Ukraine with Russia», «united state», as well as the denial of independence of the Ukrainian historical process. Instead, the modernization wing, the main representative of which is the St. Petersburg's researcher T. Taiirova-Yakovleva, is focused on revision of a great-state model of the early modern Ukrainian history. The modernizing image of the latter offers a volumetric vision of the Hetmanate's history, which fully fits into the latest trends in the scientific development of the relevant issues, echoing in the basic approaches with the Ukrainian and Polish historiographies.*

**Key words:** Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Russian historiography, traditionalists, modernizers, historians.

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## ОСОБИСТІТЬ БОГДАНА ХМЕЛЬНИЦЬКОГО В НАУКОВОМУ ДИСКУРСІ СУЧАСНИХ РОСІЙСЬКИХ ІСТОРИКІВ

*У статті проаналізовано погляди російських дослідників ранньомодерної української історії щодо постаті Богдана Хмельницького, які представляють два історіографічні напрями – традиціоналістів та модернізаторів. Доведено, що перше крило охоплює ліву частину наукового сегмента й домінує, формуючи у світі відповідний образ російської історіографії. Воно прагне зберегти стару великодержавницьку основу, роль якої виконують концепції «загальноросійської культури», «возз'єднання України з Росією», «єдиної держави», а також заперечення самостійності українського історичного процесу. Натомість модернізаторське крило, головним представником якого є петербурзька дослідниця Т. Таїрова-Яковлева, орієнтоване на ревізію великодержавницької моделі ранньомодерної української історії. Модернізаторський образ останньої «пропонує об'ємне бачення історії Гетьманщини, яке цілком вписується в новітні тренди наукового освоєння відповідної проблематики, перегукуючись в базових підходах з українською та польською історіографіями.*

*Водночас між традиціоналістським та модернізаторським образами існують і точки дотику. Обидва табори подають Б. Хмельницького як позитивну постать, що зробила величезний внесок в історію, відзначають особисті таланти гетьмана як політика, організатора й полководця. Гетьман постає правителем зі власними стратегіями, а московський вибір – як одна із альтернатив. Реальний обсяг влади Б. Хмельницького, глибокі розбіжності між його політичним курсом та політикою Москви, проблема турецького протекторату, визнання того, що і після Переяслава 1654 р. розглядався варіант переходу під опіку Туреччини, – усе це зближувало модернізаторський і традиціоналістський образи, хоча кожен із цих напрямів містив низку різноманітних його інтерпретацій.*

**Ключові слова:** Богдан Хмельницький, російська історіографія, традиціоналісти, модернізатори, історики.

**Problem statement.** It is not accepted to exacerbate attention on the question of B. Khmelnytsky's personal talents in contemporary Russian historiography. Today, there are no incentives to speak specifically about the Polish, and especially the Ukrainian historians. Similarly, there is a lack of controversies in Russia, similar to Frantsev in the Polish historiography, with his sharply critical arrows towards the Hetman which played the role of a kind of stimulator to once more address this or the other component of the image of Hetman. A definitely positive and insatiable image of B. Khmelnytsky in the Russian intellectual tradition did its job too, taking away the need for additional explanations. On the one hand, there is no need to specifically emphasize the features of Hetman's character and to assess the extent of his military, diplomatic and organizational talents. Moreover, it is actively engaged in the Ukrainian and Polish historiography and does not contradict the Russian conceptualizations. On the other hand, on the fact that B. Khmelnytsky was a remarkable figure, the representatives of the both camps came together: both traditionalists and modernizers. Such a state of affairs created conditions for overthrows in assessing the personal talents of Hetman between the Russian, Polish and Ukrainian historians. However, with all the similarity of the characteristics given to B. Khmelnytsky, there are nuances, certain emphases and projections, which stem from the difference in conceptual approaches to the assessment of this figure and the Ukrainian National Liberation War of the middle of the XVII century in general.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The main conceptual outline of the Russian image of B. Khmelnytsky remained unchanged throughout the scientific period of the development of the Russian historiography. According to the researches which have already carried out (Brekhunenko, 2003: 605–652), the image of B. Khmelnytsky in the Russian historiography was clearly positive, although with this or those features. In fact, only P. Butsinsky, who accused Khmelnytsky of treachery in the post-Pereiaslav's times of the ideals of the Ukrainian-Moscow union (Brekhunenko, 2003: 628), made a dissonance. But the author of the notorious «The origin of the Ukrainian separatism» – the Russian emigrant historian M. Ulyanov – he angrily called the Ukrainian Hetman «dvurushnym» politician who, «gathering in 1654 to Pereiaslav in council, didn't take off the Turkish coat, wearing a Moscow fur coat over it» (Ulyanov, 1996: 28).

As V. Maslak reasonably shown (Maslak, 2007: 184–182), in Russia under the influence of sudden changes in political, ideological and intellectual circumstances, provoked the fall of the «iron curtain» that separated the Russian intellectuals from the free world, there was a values split among the Russian researchers of the early modern Ukrainian history. There were two main camps – traditionalists and modernizers. The main line of traditionalists is to «adapt the orthodox Soviet concept to new scientific realities without a revision of its basic postulates, most of which, for its part, its roots reach into the thickness of the Russian historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time for the most part, the most odious provisions that sharply contradict accepted today in the scientific community the ideas about the system of evidence and research results are under the pressure from the latest scientific developments and haven't been already defended without obvious reputation damage to the author of the text» (Maslak, 2007: 202–203).

Instead, the modernization wing, the main representative of which is the St. Petersburg's researcher T. Taiirova-Yakovleva, is focused on revision of a great-state model of the early modern Ukrainian history. The modernizing image of the latter «offers a volumetric vision of the Hetmanate's history, which fully fits into the latest trends in the scientific development of the relevant issues, echoing in the basic approaches with the Ukrainian and Polish historiog-

raphies. The starting point for rapprochement was the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian historical process, which put to the orbit the representation of the Hetmanate as an organic expression of the natural self-development of the Ukrainian world, as well as focus on the genesis and the implementation of the state idea, the appearance of a new Ukrainian elite, its worldview imperatives, political concepts, the problem of the Hetmanate's legitimating in the conditions of the stereotypes of the early modern era, strategies for achieving and preserving self-sufficiency» (Maslak, 2007: 251).

**The purpose of the article** is to highlight the main directions of contemporary Russian historical science – of the traditionalists and modernizers, about the interpretation of the figure of B. Khmelnytsky.

**Statement of the basic material.** It is well-known that for the traditionalists, the military, diplomatic and organizational talents of the Ukrainian hetman appear through the prism of his steps aimed at rapprochement with Moscow and the formation of the Pereiaslav-Moscow system. Conversely, the modernizers considered the personality of B. Khmelnytsky in the context of his state-building functions. In 1995 T. Taiirova-Yakovleva declared the statement – «the formation of the Hetmanate was the main political result of Khmelnytsky's period, and its main social consequence was the appearance of a large number of comrades» (Yakovleva, 1995: 56), to this day it serves as a criterion for placing accents during the analysis of Hetman's activity.

The Russian historiography never knew the demonization of B. Khmelnytsky and the invective in his address, like those that he was not cheap, for example, F. Ravita-Havronsky. Therefore, the Russian historians had no need to respond to the previous tradition of hanging different labels on the hetman, because such a tradition simply did not exist. Unlike the Polish society, the Russian society was deprived of the influence of attempts to affirm in him a hostile attitude towards B. Khmelnytsky. If modern Polish historians had to speak about the charges of Hetman, for example, in drunkenness, cruelty or stormy temperament, then for the Russian colleagues, such a problem simply did not exist. That's why when someone threw a word on this topic, then it was without any consequences, for generalizations. In particular, T. Taiirova-Yakovleva noticed that B. Khmelnytsky in anger «might have killed Vyhovsky, on hearing that he had a desire to become a hetman» (Yakovleva, 1996: 77). While speaking about the features of the hetman's way of life, she noted that he had «a difficult independent character, the disease that made him (at the end of life – Yu. S.) more irritable» (Yakovleva, 1998: 58). However, this did not prevent the researcher to highly estimate Bohdan, having raised him, as we shall see below, to the rank of geniuses. Or elsewhere, the researcher, referring to sources of the Polish origin, wrote that after the execution of «beautiful Olena» by son Timosh Hetman «had been drinking vodka throughout the campaign until the battle under Berestechko» but she still admitted that «the strongest side of Bohdan was the ability to capture himself in the most difficult situations» (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 88). Similarly, O. Yevlakhov mentioned about the fact that hetman, «when he was drunk, he called himself the Russian autocrat», but he had been highly assessing Bohdan as a political strategist (Yevlakhova, 2006: 83). It is significant that in the traditionalist camp, even such soft mentions of the negative features of Hetman's character that can be interpreted as a desire to avoid casting any shadow on the figure of such an ideologically advantageous hetman for them, are not even recorded.

In general, Hetman's personality in contemporary Russian historiography is emphasized positively. In both camps he is clearly interpreted as a prominent man of the early modern era.



In particular, for H. Sanin, Hetman – «outstanding political figure», «folk hero, a leader glorified in the dumas, a politician and a diplomat», and «the results of his state activity for the centuries have determined the life of Ukraine and Russia» (Sanin, 2006: 72). For T. Taiirova-Yakovleva B. Khmelnytsky – a «political genius», who «belongs to the most prominent people of the XVII century» (Tairov-Yakovlev, 1995: 76). «His speech was fascinated – the researcher concluded. – Of course, a person who redefined the entire political map of the Eastern Europe and was able to make obey hundreds of thousands of rebel peasants, had extraordinary abilities» (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 49).

The key element that specifies the greatness of B. Khmelnytsky is the hetman's power as a politician. For the traditionalist camp, the criterion is the fact of the formation of the Pereiaslav-Moscow system in 1654. All other manifestations of successful political and military strategies are threading on this rod. For example, M. Rohozhyn and H. Sanin associate their thesis about B. Khmelnytsky as a prominent figure with the following logical series: «But until 1648, when the liberation war of the Ukrainian people had already begun, and in Russia, and in Ukraine, there was an awareness of historical community of destiny and understanding of the necessity of state unity with Russia. These sentiments prevailed in the Ukrainian people and gradually began to penetrate the circle of the Cossack elite and upper sectors of the Ukrainian clergy. Bohdan Mykhailovych Khmelnytsky was well versed in all this complicated confusion of internal disagreements, wars and diplomacy» (Rohozhyn, Sanin, 2005: 334). Elsewhere, H. Sanin himself emphasized that B. Khmelnytsky was «truly a state mind and a political thinker» (Sanin, 2006: 65). Of course, this mind was embodied in the idea of the Ukrainian-Moscow combination.

The main feature of B. Khmelnytsky-politician H. Sanin proclaims, as already mentioned above, the loyalty to the oath, which serves as the main argument in relation to the arbitrariness and the final choice of hetman in favor of «reunion of Ukraine with Russia» and the opposition of the other hetman-traitors to B. Khmelnytsky. «As it does not seem to be paradoxical, – the researcher wrote, «but in those years (1620 – 1630's, Yu. S.) such a feature of Khmelnytsky's character as a loyalty to this word and oath (as opposed to Mazepa) manifested himself, which allowed him to become a prominent political figure of his time» (Sanin, 2006: 72). To strengthen the pathos, the researcher noted that B. Khmelnytsky remained loyal to the King of Rich Pospolyta, and generally dared to rebel after receiving a veiled permit by Vladyslav IV: «Thus, Khmelnytsky had been serving the king of faith and truth for 32 years, even when he was forced to raise an uprising for the rights of the Ukrainian people, sought to achieve these rights in the beginning, preserving loyalty to the oath and unity with Rich Pospolyta» (Sanin, 2006: 74). And so the decision to «move under the high royal hand» was conscious and final. Only H. Sanin does not take into account that B. Khmelnytsky did not value «faithfulness» to Jan Kazimir, and even in April 1649 he spoke to the Moscow ambassadors that «we did not choose the king, and did not crown, and did not kiss the cross. ... and by the will of God we became free from them» (Reunion of Ukraine with Russia, 1953: 152). For contrast, T. Taiirova-Yakovleva uses this plot to conceptualization of the image of B. Khmelnytsky (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 75).

H. Sanin noticed the undisguised idealization of Hetman even in the traditionalist camp. During the discussion of the report of the researcher A. Vinogradov criticized the author for excessive varnishing of the figure of B. Khmelnytsky, which makes the latter appear to be such a «knight without fear and reproach». It was emphasized that «to approach him (B. Khmelnytsky – Yu. S.) from this point of view (in opposition to Mazepa) is unlikely to



be useful only from moralizing traditions» (Sanin, 2006: 94). The researcher rightly objects to H. Sanin ignoring the information that contradicts his concept. In particular, B. Khmelnytsky informed the Crimean Khan Islam-Hiray about anti-Turkish and anti-Tartar plans of Vladislav IV, who, for its part, refutes the thesis of loyalty to the oath. A. Vinogradov rightly proposes to write B. Khmelnytsky's personal virtues in the context of behavioral strategies of other Ukrainian hetmans, but he doesn't notice that he falls into politicized judgments. Here is the same reason that forced H. Sanin to do the great-state approaches. The actions of the Hetmanate rulers are valued through the rigid Russian great-state prism, as a result of which hetmans in the eyes of A. Vinogradov «have been losing» the right to a strategy for all the early modern rulers (including the Moscow tsar), because these latter in the execution of hetmans contradicted the intimate interests of Moscow. It is about a policy of maneuvering, shrewd foreign-policy combinations, a game of ambitions, a change of overlords in search of a better position, a better prospect for a led state, etc. «Nevertheless, if we look carefully at all Ukrainian hetmans, – A. Vinogradov remarked, – we will see that their policies have a certain falsehood, a tendency toward political maneuver, the desire to sit at the same time on several chairs, and the end of most of these characters, these hetmans are known, with the exception of Khmelnytsky» (Sanin, 2006: 94).

To the honor of H. Sanin, he admitted that, with a purely ideological purpose, consciously healed the problem of loyalty to oath of B. Khmelnytsky: «Yes, I agree that in my presentation Bohdan Khmelnytsky now turned out to be a knight without fear and reproach. But I explain this to the task that was set before me: to compare the personality traits of Zinovii-Bohdan Mikhailovich Khmelnytsky and Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa. And it seemed to me that I overestimated the moral features of Khmelnytsky and opposed them to the moral features of Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa» (Sanin, 2006: 96). Consequently, the author admits quite legitimate manipulation for the sake of a pre-set ideological goal. In other words, the research credo of the scientist quite allowed the placement of a vision from above and its illustration on arbitrarily selected material. Such an approach led H. Sanin to a very strange conclusion that B. Khmelnytsky «used the methods of honest and open diplomacy and war for the sake of achieving high political goals» (Sanin, 2006: 72). Therefore, the Ukrainian hetman appears to be just the unique ruler of all time and nations, because diplomacy, by its very nature, involves trickery, maneuvering, dual play and the ability to squeeze political or military decisions in one way or another. H. Sanin recognized it by himself (Sanin, 2006: 97).

Instead, the modernization camp did not resort to grotesque panhiryky to B. Khmelnytsky. Typologically, like the Polish and Ukrainian historians, the greatness of B. Khmelnytsky is not looking in line with the geopolitical interests of one of the neighbors, but in the ability to give advice to external and internal political problems for the approval of the Hetmanate. It is put at the forefront the Hetman's pragmatism, ability, taking into account the multi-vector factors, to work out a favorable strategy for advancing his interests, the main of which was the development of the Hetmanate. S. Antonenko noted that «the Ukrainian hetman from the very beginning of the war proved to be a pragmatic politician», and «in his foreign policy he remained a cunning old Cossack» (Antonenko, 1999: 68). T. Taiirova-Yakovleva notes the flexibility of B. Khmelnytsky's strategies, which resulted from his remarkable talent as a politician and administrator: «To achieve this goal, before the opposition Bohdan sometimes had to pretend a «simple Cossack», before Moscow he had to act as a leader of the oppressed Orthodox, and before the Poles he had to be a Polish nobleman, who by his will contacted the rebels» (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 92).

Such characteristics resonate with the estimations of the Ukrainian and Polish researchers who in one voice have marked the political talent of Hetman, which allowed him in extremely unfavorable foreign policy conditions to protect the Hetmanate from destruction. It is enough to mention the thesis of Y. Kachmarchyk that «Khmelnysky proved that he was alien to any doctrinal bias and was able to effectively use the principles of political pragmatism» (Kachmarchyk, 1996: 123). At the same time, the Polish historians Y. Kachmarchyk, H. Litvin, M. Nahelsky were more generous in epithets concerning B. Khmelnytsky's able steps in the international arena, as it had already been mentioned.

Instead T. Taiirova-Yakovleva, in contrast to them, placed the main emphasis on B. Khmelnytsky's ability to cope with the Ukrainian society, stirred up by the National Liberation War. If the contemporary Polish image (and the Ukrainian) of B. Khmelnytsky is much depleted on this component, then the Russian modernizer, on the contrary, understands it. T. Taiirova-Yakovleva appealed to him repeatedly, which very strongly prompted the need to understand the causes of the civil war that covered the Hetmanate after the death of B. Khmelnytsky and fruitful study of which the researcher at one time advocated a path to the leadership in modern Russian historiography of early modern Ukrainian history.

T. Taiirova-Yakovleva departed from the ancient Russian tradition (which rather resembled the ideologue) to assert the fundamental commonality of the interests of B. Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks. As in previous times, such a position in the form of a thesis on the authority of hetman in the masses is extrapolated to the modern historiographic space by the traditionalists in order to provide the Pereiaslav Council in 1654 with a wide range of support in the Ukrainian society (Zaborovsky, 1997: 42). The researcher seeks to present the realities in which Hetman had to act, rebuilding the state. And her assessment of B. Khmelnytsky's skills on the internal front was no less compliant than the enthusiastic words of the Polish scholars regarding the skillful foreign policy strategies of hetman. Interpreting the intra-Ukrainian problems that the Ukrainian Hetman faced in 1648 (sharp contradictions between revered, registered, gentry and clergy), the researcher did not stint: «It was necessary to be a real political genius so that, being among the three fires, not only to stay survive, to keep power, but also to unite all the advanced forces of society and lead them behind himself» (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 67). According to her «none of his successors (even P. Doroshenko) could be good in such a cleverly managing Cossack mass, as Bohdan did» (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 49). It was this talent that allowed B. Khmelnytsky to avoid large-scale rebellions of comrades and devastating serfs' intrigues, and the riots that arose, suppressed by an iron hand without excessive damage to their authorities and Hetmanate in general.

As a result, the verdict of T. Taiirova-Yakovleva regarding the talents of Hetman is very clear, he is closely interwoven with the current trends in the Ukrainian and Polish historiography: «A strange genius politician and diplomat allowed Bohdan Khmelnytsky to create a strong team of adherent people, who in a short time built, albeit unrealistic, but effective administrative and judicial system, united disparate «detachments» of the rebels in the victorious army, conducted complex diplomatic work, built what lasted nearly one hundred and fifty years» (Taiirova-Yakovleva, 2011: 118).

Only one important aspect did not fall into the field of view of the Russian historians in the context of representing the personality traits of B. Khmelnytsky – the ability of the commander. In the mentioned component, the Russian historiography falls out of the general trend. If in Poland and Ukraine the conceptualization of the issue of military talents of Hetman is given to the attention (especially the first one), then in Russia this is said to be

very concise. This is due to the lack of a purely research interest in the military history of B. Khmelnytsky's time: it is undoubtedly dominated by the Polish historians. At the same time, given the specifics of the approaches of the majority of the Russian researchers to representing the image of hetman, one cannot ignore the influence (even psychological) of the fact that the role of the military component in the great-state explanation is insignificant, we can say, marginal.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the specificity of the modern interpretation of the figure of B. Khmelnytsky in the Russian historiography consists in elaboration of two fundamentally different models – traditionalist and modernizing. The first is the genetic heir to the Soviet concept, based on the spirit and the letter «Tez» from 1954. The second breaks with the Soviet historiographical tradition, offering a version that is as far removed from the Russian great-state and close to modern Ukrainian and Polish interpretations.

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## PROSPECTS OF PEASANT STUDIES AS AREAS OF RESEARCH OF MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The article is devoted to the tasks currently encountered by Ukrainian historians – researchers of peasant issues. The author sees their solution in several areas: first, by attracting a new spectrum of visual sources (photos), and also through the use of epistemological approaches offered by the latest European (world) humanitaristics. It promises good cognitive perspectives for peasant studies, in particular the elimination of a noticeable gap that has long existed in Ukrainian historiography between interpretive models of the «traditional village» and «modern» city of the late nineteenth and first third of the twentieth century.

**Key words:** peasant studies, methodology, history, historiography, traditional society, Naddniproianshchyna.

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## ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ СЕЛЯНОЗНАВСТВА ЯК СФЕРИ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ СУЧАСНОЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

Пізнавальні парадигми, що отримали прописку в сучасній історичній науці, потребують фахової оптимізації. Автор бачить її в кількох площинах: насамперед у залученні нового спектру візуальних джерел (світлин), а також у використанні епістемологічних підходів, які напрацювала новітня європейська (світова) гуманітаристика.

У статті звернуто увагу на, так би мовити, «національний характер» українського селянства доби модерності. В останні десятиліття тут спостерігався відчутний спротив істориків, які працюють у сфері селянознавчих студій із огляду на вимоги постмодерної візії. Сам наголос на модерному понятті «українське» щодо його вживання в контексті з традиційним селянським світом виявився напрочуд провокаційним. Проте в першу чергу не ця невідповідність спонукала діяти критиків. Більшою мірою їх турбувала сама спроба робити акцент на етнічній стороні справи. В умовах новітньої історії України, яка почалася в 1991 р., також пожевлення євроінтеграційних процесів вони тлумачили такі зусилля виключно як підтримку конкретних політичних амбіцій. Частково погоджуючись з опонентами, автор вбачає в такій критиці передусім намагання знехтувати особливим етнокультурним світом селянства на догоду новій кон'юктурі, яка відносно швидко сформувалася в науковому (навколо-науковому) середовищі.

Добрі пізнавальні перспективи він вбачає в ліквідації помітної прогаллини, яка існує в українській історіографії між інтерпретаційними моделями «традиційного села» і «модерного» міста кінця XIX – першої третини XX ст. З-поміж інших, корисними тут мають стати методологічні поради Ю. Габермаса про те, що нові життєві світи, які приходили на зміну традиційним світам, створювалися радше шляхом рефлексії самих традицій, котрі де поволі, а де порівняно швидше втрачали свою самотність.

**Ключові слова:** селянознавство, методологія, історія, історіографія, традиційне суспільство, Наддніпрянина.

**The statement of the problem.** Cognitive paradigms that «have received a residence permit» in modern Ukrainian historical science, require a professional inventory. The long-standing practice of formal understanding and presentation of theoretical and methodological principles of research led to the marginalization of this section of science. In the sphere of practical use and until now there has been a stereotype of Soviet historiography. For example, by substantiating the epistemology of scientific research, the authors write something like «the methodological basis of the study is...» and this phrase is limited to the theory of concrete knowledge. And although in the last decade the situation has changed considerably, the inertia of the declarative attitude to «principles and methods» has been mostly preserved. Now the notion of «multivariate methodologies» is often used, but the situation can not be substantially improved so far.

The abovementioned does not exhaust the range of problems involved in the methodological support of modern peasant historical studies. Moreover, solution of these problems should not be considered as an end in itself. But with this research, I propose, first of all, an urgent refusal of extreme aspects, when the researcher only outlines the methodology of the proposed discourse as «promising» or, on the contrary, «outdated», «unproductive».

**The analysis of researches.** Since the abandonment of the monopoly on «Marxism-Leninism», the methodology of historiography of the peasantry has developed unconvincingly. For most researchers, the power of inertial thinking remained characteristic, and it was extremely difficult to overcome it. Only a small fraction of Ukrainian historians kept the course on «explaining the past states of life and aspirations» of the peasantry «in specific historical conditions and in a concrete socio-cultural environment» (Zashkil'niak, 2007: 104). Andriy Zayarnyuk, Oleksandr Mykhailiuk, Vasyl Marochko, Yuriy Prysyzhnyuk, Vadym Bondar are among those, who responded to such a challenge. A peculiar historiographical summary of their work, which simultaneously contains a range of problems that require additional clarification, became the article of the latter two in this list of researchers «Modern historiography of the post-reform peasantry». It was published in 2011. Among the opinions expressed in the article, attention is drawn to precisely the reflections on the prospects for the creation of new syntheses on the principles of «cultural modernization of the traditional village» (Bondar, Prysyzhnyuk, 2011: 201).

**Purpose.** The purpose of this article is determined by the desire to expand the range of cognitive capabilities (perspectives) of peasant studies by attracting a new set of sources and interpretative approaches, based on modern humanities. At the same time, the author localizes the chronological limits of his exploration in the XIX – the first third of the twentieth century, and the geography of the study – in Naddniprianska Ukraine.

**The statement of the basic material.** The explicitly increased interest of Ukrainian historians in the past peasantry is based upon several circumstances. Working for many years in this area of research, I eventually came to somewhat paradoxical conclusions for myself (apparently, to a lesser extent, they became such for my colleagues, especially the representatives of the younger generation, focused on the demands of the new world humanitaristics).

One of them is connected with the «national character» of the Ukrainian peasantry. And I must admit that here I felt a special resistance from historians working in the field of peasant studies. The fact that the very emphasis on the modern concept of «Ukrainian» regarding its use in the context of the traditional peasant world was surprisingly provocative. However, in the first place, this discrepancy did not encourage my criticizers to act. To a greater extent, they were concerned about the attempt to focus on the «ethnic side» of the case. Like the traditional peasantry of peoples is close in its uniformity, therefore why to single out Ukrainians as carriers



of something special. In the conditions of national-state history, which began in 1991 for the contemporary Ukraine, they interpreted such attempts solely as support for specific political goals and their own ambitions. I, partially agreeing with my opponents, considered such a criticism as an attempt to neglect the special cultural world of the Ukrainian peasantry in order to take advantage of the new state of affairs, which was formed in the scientific environment.

In a slightly different interpretation of this problem, the situation looks like that the author is not inclined to ignore ethnocultural identity of Ukrainians, but rather on the contrary, sees in it a feature that is worthy of special attention. And it is not a matter of any unnatural, as for a scientist, love of «his national culture», but in the intention to trace the ethno-cultural uniqueness, which had to be quite definitely reflected in the historical process of the last centuries, moreover, of not only Ukraine. The characteristics of this uniqueness include those realities that in the far («pre-romantic») year of 1772 made the English traveler Joseph Marshall write about the Ukrainian village: «...Ukrainian peasants are the best farmers in the whole of Russia...» (World about Ukraine and Ukrainians, 2016: 225). Somewhat later, in 1807, the Danish geographer Conrad Malt-Brun added to these words the following considerations: «Peasants in Ukraine are more economical than the Moscow ones: they do not damage their woods in a destructive way. Houses of Ukrainian peasants are good and strong, none of them wears bast shoes, as in Moscow region. They are more solid-bodied and more educated than peasants of, for example, Lithuania» (World of Ukraine and Ukrainians, 2016: 227). And if the quote regarding education looks somewhat contraversial (because today there is an evidence of the opposite state of affairs), there is little doubt about the «general tidiness» of Ukrainian peasants. The memoirs of Englishman Edward Daniel Clark contain the following data typical of the views of those times: «There is greater tidiness at the table of a Ukrainian peasant, than at the table of the Moscow prince» (World of Ukraine and Ukrainians, 2016: 227).

It is clear that the image of the Ukrainian peasants, which was reflected in the commentaries, periodicals, reflections and memoirs of foreigners of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is far from completely positive. They find themselves in the «innate lazyness of the Little Russians», and their «strong stubbornness». But, in my opinion, it only strengthens the factor of ethnic identity. Moreover, the «outside critics» who pointed to «national flaws» of Ukrainian peasants were not too concerned about disguising their cultural difference. When the situation changes, they, logically, will start vividly talking about the versatility of traditional culture, «Slavic unity» and so on.

Thus, within the limits of the selected chronological boundaries, it should be noted that the «cultural face» of the Ukrainian peasantry of the Naddniprianschyna, their livelihoods represented the then rural way of life. Villages, their inhabitants were the islands of the traditional world, which in the XIX – the first third of the twentieth century had to live along with rather turbulent urbanization processes that developed in society synchronously. The completion of the industrial revolution, emergence of powerful factory and trade centers, relatively rapid construction of railways, cooperative movement and other radical changes clearly and unambiguously confirmed the fact of the historically irreversible formation of an industrial society.

Based on the approach to distinguishing the stages of social progress proposed by Max Weber, we have the reason to state that the prospects of development are increasingly becoming a modern society in which human behavior was driven by economic expediency (beneficial), current laws (the role of state regulation of social processes was incomparably increasing), the activity of the state institutions and various social structures. However, the historical feature of «Ukrainian-like» modernization was, as noted above, the passive preservation

of the traditional village, which still clearly dominated both quantitatively and culturally. It is worth recalling that more than 80% of the Naddniprianschyna population lived in the countryside. In other words, this percentage of the population remained directly related to the agricultural sector of production.

According to their basic characteristics, these two worlds (traditional and modern) represented essentially different historical epochs. But they could not coexist autonomously from each other. Ukrainian historians have applied a lot of efforts to find out the forms and extent of their interactions. Numerous studios convincingly testify that at the turn of the twentieth century. «Traditional idyll» of the Ukrainian village (the term «village» is understood not as a locality of non-urban type, but as an actual cultural world represented by its inhabitants) was already substantially underestimated.

However, it is precisely in historiographic practices, besides various scientific schools, that stable biases have emerged, reflected in the desire to somewhat artificially, as it seems, accelerate the flow of historical progress. The role of a peculiar «catalyst for progress» is given to various factors: capitalism, industrialization, modernization, sometimes referred to as education, cooperation, revolution, migration, the First World War, and the reform. Such absolutization of «progressive changes» significantly alleviates the interest in the village itself, its cultural identity in the broadest historical and anthropological meanings, which prompts again to return to the analysis of this problem.

Given the real state of affairs and general trends in development, and both society and science, we will emphasize the following: the history assigned the role of «material» to peasantry of the turn of the twentieth century, from which intellectuals, workers of «creative professions» were called to build up modern images of this distinctive socio-cultural world (often with certain risks for their professional reputation and even personal safety). Exactly these segments of the urbanized population had to mentally transform the peasant traditional culture into Ukrainian, now a national one, provide it with «strengths, determine the nature and directions of its development» (Babak and others, 2014: 126). The analysis of such a phenomenon, inherent to the Ukrainian culture of the end of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a typical folklore activity, testifies the way it happened in particular.

Recently (2014) I have been directly involved in the creation of a unique edition of «Rural photography of the Middle Naddniprianschyna» (total volume of 718 p). It represents important «everyday trivialities» of the life of the Ukrainian peasantry of Central Ukraine on the background of the epochal events of the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The group of humanitarian scholars – historians, philosophers, cultural scientists, folklorists, ethnologists, philologists – led by Mykola Babak, scientifically demonstrated the historical and social value of rural photography, its importance to understanding Ukrainian traditional culture, and most importantly, showed the «evolution of ceremonial-folklore, ideological and social traditions of the Ukrainian village», reflected in the photographs (Babak and others, 2014: 14). In other words, this book proved to be a successful attempt «to trace the development of the village... in the context of the impact of civilization processes and socio-ideological attacks on it» (Babak and others, 2014: 14). The broad genre and thematic mosaic of the peasant world, both the personal life of people and their social life, as well as the industrial sphere, have been received. The sub-topics, according to which the classification of photos has been made, are of a particular interest. If the Soviet period is represented by the plot sections «collectivization», «Soviet village», then the pre-Soviet – by the announcement of «beliefs and customs», where these beliefs and customs reflect «the traditional way of life of the inhabitants of the Naddnin-

pianschyna villages associated with the prominent role of the Orthodoxy...» (Living in modern city, 2016: 119).

Researchers should be interested in the fact that rural temples, as well as priors with parishioners, and often church choirs, were the most demanded photography objects in pre-revolutionary (up to 1917) photographs. And already in the pictures of the Soviet era, which neglects and forbids faith in Lord God and corresponding traditions, persecuting them, new rituals and customs are proposed, most often – registration of newborns in village councils (authorities), demonstration of loyalty to the political regime, exaltation of the party leaders. At the same time, steam-threshing machines that are fantastic at that time will become popular, which, even at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, will be of particular interest to local authorities, «nationalized» peasants (collective farmers), their children. However, the communist (Stalin's) modernization will be compromised in its own way, because the «pagan ideas of the world» of the peasants and those who fixes them in photographs, will not completely disappear (Living in modern city, 2016: 119). The Malanka feast, farewells to winter, memorials at cemeteries etc., will be preserved in a somewhat altered form.

Perceiving the photos as a source of research for the Ukrainian peasant world of the chosen historical period, we draw attention to the various aspects of life of rural people. Such, which, on the one hand, remained traditional in terms of content and purpose, but significantly changed in ways and methods (plowing of soils, sowing, harvesting, hay collection), on the other hand, were new phenomena in the lives of peasants: agronomy, veterinary medicine, electrification, broadcasting, collective «shock» brigades and units, agricultural exhibitions, political information and political training, awarding of transitional flags to the winners of the socialist competition, send-off ceremonies and service of young men in the Red Army.

With the intention to expand the cognitive prospects of peasant studies, in this case – to deeper understand the meaning of peasant photos that are at our disposal, it is advisable to take advantage of the theoretical work of contemporary European humanities. In particular, the writings of Jürgen Habermas, representative of the German «Frankfurt school» of philosophers. Known for his work on social philosophy, he was able to substantially expand his knowledge of «communicative action, discourse and rationality», essentially laying the foundation for a new humanistic foundation for an actual critical theory. Relying on the provisions, proposed by M. Weber, to present «rational» as a process of demythologization, «which in Europe led to the release of the secular (high society. – Auth.) culture from the religious pictures of the world, that were disintegrating» (Habermas, 2003: 19). So it turns out that with the coverage of cultural and social rationalization of everyday life, the traditional (primarily communicative and economic) forms of life were destroyed. In future, given the policies of the «great turning point» introduced by Stalin, these processes will only accelerate.

By involving Emile Durkheim and George Herbert Mead in his studies, J. Habermas offers a very interesting idea: new life worlds that replaced traditional worlds were created rather by the reflection of the traditions that lost their identity. In other words, this was due to the universalization of «norms of action and generalization of values that liberated situations of «wider opportunities», and communicative action from constrained contexts; after all, with such socialization samples, designed for the formation of abstract self-identities and forced individuation of the younger generation» (Habermas, 2003: 21). According to Habermas, this is «in general, the image of the modernist, as depicted by the classics of the theory of society» (Habermas, 2003: 29). It remains to add that such a methodological technique passed by the attention of historians who are investigating the past of the Ukrainian peasantry. And it

seems to us promising, especially given the extremely slow and fragmentary «rozselianennia» (decomposition of the peasant class during capitalism. – Auth.) of modern Ukrainian community (Graziosi and others, 2010: 8–44). Therefore, in order to find out the corresponding processes in the Ukrainian village, the concept of «modernization» is justified not as a certain universal (Western European) standard, but in the light of neutral (potentially Ukrainian and others) «spatially-temporal» correlation of properties (Habermas, 2003: 49).

In view of the above, the modernization of the Ukrainian (Naddnyprianschyna) village was carried out by depriving its natural ritual and historically existential components inherent in it. Beliefs and ceremonies did not disappear, but, as O. Nayden notes, «the traditional content of unconditionally naive trustedness» vanished, «the elements of theatricality, external decorative visibility became more intense» (Babak and others, 2014: 126). Village made barely noticeable to contemporaries, but still a significant step towards the city, at least in the sense that in both cases «the rite became external formalized and theatrical performance». The attention to locally-familial intimacy, the clan-carnival genre was gradually vanishing, and «mass fashion was being introduced» instead. The intellectuals, different in terms of their mental activity, paid more and more attention to «structured communication principles» and «strategies for choosing life values», changes in the «philosophical foundations of everyday behavior» of peasants, all of which showed that the traditional village gradually disappeared into past. At the same time, intellectuals responded to the invasion of «eclectic-cultural lack of culture» to the peasant everyday lives (Babak and others, 2014: 126), had an opportunity to observe and represent the process of sublimation of profound traditions, their formalization, and basically, destruction of moral and spiritual criteria of life, established by millennial evolution.

In the context of the tasks facing Ukrainian historiography, creation of the image of a traditional-modern village is expected to revive. In the process of creating narratives, it is worth taking into account the hypothesis proposed by the British cultural historian Peter Burke. He believes that in the pre-industrial (agrarian) era, there was no modern understanding of leisure, because then «there was no regulated division between working and free time»; he suggested the term «festive culture» for an adequate interpretation of life «without leisure» (Living in modern city, 2016: 112). Its obviousness in the photos adds additional motivation for us to think so.

In search of signs of the destruction of the festive culture of Ukrainian peasants, it would also be useful to take advantage of the arguments of the Russian sociologist Mykola Khrenov, that during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was not only a «blurring of the boundaries between humdrum and festive life» in the city, but also the formation of a stereotype in the rural population (including that part that fell into the whirlwind of urbanization) that the city was a kind of «continuous holiday» (Hrenov, 2005: 460). This stereotype will prove to be so stable that its recurrence can be observed even at the beginning of the XXI century, but it is important for me to find out the «traces» of its fixation and comprehension in the vision of the Naddnyprianschyna intellectuals of the last decades of the nineteenth to the first decades of the twentieth century. The answers to problems of intellectuals' interpretation of private cultural space of peasants, massification of their leisure time, emergence and operation of new civic organizations that set to previously unknown daily care of «lower» layers and stratas of the population, can be fruitful. They include dissemination of newspapers (press), books, photographs (potentially – cinema), in fact anything that will increase the role of reading (wider – informing) and will expand the horizons of rural people.

**The conclusions.** Therefore, this refers to the demand for «continuation of the age» of peasant studies by strengthening them with theoretical approaches of modern humanities. This

opens the prospects for further thematic studies of the «uncomfortable» mass (peasant) history, progressive filling of those gaps in knowledge that have emerged in Ukrainian history.

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### CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY OF INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA IN THE NAVY OF UKRAINE

*The main idea of the article is to study the historiography of information and propaganda in the Navy of Ukraine.*

*Information and propaganda support of the Navy of Ukraine during 1992 – 2014 evolved in the anti-Ukrainian environment, in fact under conditions of the information war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, remaining an important factor in the development of the national navy, the training of military seamen in the national and historical traditions of the Ukrainian people, and the only effective tool for influencing the consciousness of naval servicemen.*

*During the years 1992 – 2014, the Navy of Ukraine gained a considerable experience in organizing information and propaganda support. Unfortunately, ignoring the experience of the previous years of building the national navy has led to the fact that today we are forced to take into account the problems of organizing information work in the forces in the context of hybrid warfare, and to reassess its place in providing troops through the prism of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.*

*The analysis of the research shows a certain interest of our scientists in the history of the creation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, its Naval Forces, the formation and development of the structures of moral education and the organization of moral and psychological support. Instead, the historical experience of organizing the information and propaganda support of the Navy of Ukraine during 1992 – 2014 remains unexplored. The peculiarities of the information work organization during the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation in February-March 2014 remain little explored.*

*The study of historiography makes it possible to argue that previous researchers considered information and propaganda support mainly in the field of practical work in specific periods, without touching on a historical retrospective. The organization of information support in the Armed Forces of Ukraine is mainly covered in educational literature. The scientific works mainly covered and detailed those conceptual approaches that were already laid down in the guidance documents, and did not touch on the issues of information and advocacy in the context of the conduct of warfare.*

**Key words:** Naval Forces of Ukraine, information support of troops, information and propaganda support, historiography.

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### СУЧАСНА ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНО-ПРОПАГАНДИСТСЬКОГО ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ У ВІЙСЬКОВО-МОРСЬКИХ СИЛАХ ЗБРОЙНИХ СИЛ УКРАЇНИ

*Стаття присвячена вивченню історіографії інформаційно-пропагандистського забезпечення у Військово-Морських Силах Збройних Сил України.*

*Вказано на певний інтерес вітчизняних науковців до історії створення Збройних Сил України, Військово-Морських Сил, становлення і розвитку структур виховної роботи та організації морально-психологічного забезпечення. Також предметом наукових пошуків став історичний*



досвід окремих складових морально-психологічного забезпечення Збройних Сил України. Праці українських вчених за тематикою морально-психологічного забезпечення та виховної роботи в переважній більшості висвітлювали та деталізували ті концептуальні підходи, які вже були закладені в керівних документах. Вони відображали радянсько-російський досвід та мало торкалися питань інформаційно-пропагандистського забезпечення бойових дій.

Доведено, що в переважній більшості до вивчення інформаційно-пропагандистського забезпечення зверталися науковці вищих військових навчальних закладів, які готували фахівців відповідного напрямку, а наукові роботи виконувались переважно колективами авторів та використовувались в навчальних цілях.

Натомість історичний досвід організації інформаційно-пропагандистського забезпечення Військово-Морських Сил Збройних Сил України впродовж 1992 – 2014 років залишається недослідженим. Малодослідженими залишаються особливості організації інформаційної роботи під час анексії Криму Російською Федерацією у лютому – березні 2014 року.

У Військово-Морських Силах Збройних Сил України впродовж 1992 – 2014 років накопичено значний досвід організації інформаційно-пропагандистського забезпечення, який до цього часу не вивчався і не враховувався в сучасних умовах російсько-українського конфлікту. Питання організації інформаційно-пропагандистського забезпечення у Військово-Морських Силах Збройних Сил України в зазначений період не набуло всебічного висвітлення в історичних дослідженнях.

**Ключові слова:** Військово-Морські Сили Збройних Сил України, інформаційна робота у військах, інформаційно-пропагандистське забезпечення, історіографія.

**The statement of the problem.** After the loss of the Crimea and in the conditions of the armed aggression of Russia the restoration of Ukraine's naval force capabilities is a defining condition to ensure its national safety. The Navy of Ukraine restores its fighting potential in the conditions of military operations in the east of the country and conducting an information war with the Russian Federation. The firmness and resoluteness of patriotically driven naval officers and other ranks in these conditions are supported by effective informational work. It demands studying and generalization of historical experience of the organization of information and propaganda as a component of the general support of the armed forces, which integrates in itself all forms and method of an organized influence on consciousness and mentality of the personnel by means of information.

**The analysis of the recent researches** testifies to a certain interest of our scientists in the history of the creation of the Armed forces of Ukraine, its Navy, formation and development of structures of educational work, and the organization of moral and psychological support. At the same time, the historical experience of the organization of information and propaganda support of the Navy of Ukraine during 1992 – 2014 remains unexplored. The peculiarities of the organization of information work during the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in February March of 2014 have been studied but very insufficiently.

**The purpose of the article** is to study the historiography of information and propaganda support in the Navy of Ukraine and to define the available approaches and views of domestic researches.

**The statement of the basic material.** The analysis of the scientific works dealing with the subjects of information and propaganda support in the Armed forces of Ukraine shows that in the overwhelming majority the question of the army support was studied by the researches of higher military educational institutions preparing experts in a corresponding sphere, whereas the scientific work was carried out mainly by collectives of authors and was used for educational purposes.

An important place should be allocated to the works of the researchers of the National university of defense of Ukraine in which experts in information work in the army are prepared.

The general bases of information and propaganda support and peculiarities of communicative processes in military collectives have been investigated in the researches of V. Maliuha, V. Osiodlo, and O. Khodanovych (Maliuha, 2002), (Maliuha, Khodanovych, 2003), (Osiodlo, 2006), (Khodanovych, 2002).

The essence, purpose, and tasks of information and propaganda support is most successfully and scientifically grounded in a research of collective authorship «Moral and psychological support in the Armed forces of Ukraine». Information and propaganda support and public relations are defined as a complex of purposeful actions of information influence on the consciousness of the personnel with a purpose of forming a stable and controlled morale mood, necessary morale and fighting qualities of the staff, and an adequate understanding of military-political, social, and fighting conditions, tasks of the armed forces and conditions of their performance. It is important, that the authors analysed the historical experience of organization of information work in the armies in the wars and confrontations of the 20th and early 21st centuries (Vylko, et al., 2012).

A question of the organization, basic forms, and methods of information-propaganda maintenance, their place in the general system of educational work in the Armed forces of Ukraine is successfully enough elucidated in the textbook «Educational work in the Armed forces of Ukraine» (Kobzar, et al., 2010).

The essence and content of information and propaganda support of the preparation and conducting of combat operations on the basis of studying of an experience of local wars, confrontations, and peace-keeping operations of the late 20th century are well clarified by the authors in the book «Organization of information and propaganda support of the personnel», published in 2003. Also, the demonstration of forms and methods of information work during the military actions of small groups (sentry posts, block posts), which was characteristic of the operations in Afghanistan and the Chechen Republic and now gains urgency in the present-day conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war (Lytvynovskiy, et al., 2003).

In the context of introduction of the state humanitarian policy into the Armed forces of Ukraine for the sake of humanitarian and social support within the university's precincts in 2005 the research work «Organization of information and propaganda support of daily activities of the armed forces» of the code «Propaganda» was conducted, in which a historical analysis of establishment and development of information work in the army is made, basic tendencies of development of information and propaganda support of the daily activity of armed forces, including the foreign experience, are defined, methodological and applied aspects of contemporary technologies of information and psychological influence are revealed, the current state of information and propaganda support in the Armed forces of Ukraine is studied, and the practical recommendations of its improvement are substantiated (Propaganda, 2005). The main results of the research work became the basis of a textbook for training of communication specialists (Osiodlo, et al., 2007).

In the recent scientific work, written by the university experts, scientific and practical basis of communicative processes in the Armed forces of Ukraine as well as the basic theories and mass communication and propagation concepts are considered. The illumination of the essence and peculiarities of communicative processes in the army with an account for the challenges of the time and transition to the NATO standards, changes in the organization of information and propaganda support on the basis of the experience of 2014 – 2017 deserves close attention (Chornyi, et al., 2017).

The collective of researches of the Military institute of Taras Shevchenko national university in Kyiv made a contribution to the study of information and propaganda support by a

collective monograph «Organization of information and propaganda support of the personnel of the Armed forces of Ukraine», published in 2007. There, the main principles and methods of information and propaganda support of the army's everyday activity at a stage of the development of the Armed forces of Ukraine are cleared out. Also, the authors highlighted certain peculiarities of information and propaganda support of combat training of the Navy of Ukraine (Zon', et al., 2007).

A considerable contribution to the research of problems of information and propaganda support was made by the group of researches of the Research centre of humanitarian problems of the Armed forces of Ukraine. Their works, published after 2014, elucidate separate aspects of realization of information influence on the army and the population, they are very topical in the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (Ahaiev, 2014; Ahaiev, et al., 2015).

The training-methodical textbook «Information and propaganda support of the armed forces in the conditions of a military political conflict» is the latest work on the subject in view. There, as a results of the research work under the same title, not only the domestic and foreign experience of information and propaganda support is analyzed and generalized, but also the peculiarities of modern communicative technologies are clarified and the experience of information work in the Armed forces of Ukraine during the time of the antiterrorist operation is generalized, as also practical recommendations on its improvement in terms of modern tendencies of information struggle are presented (Kholokh. et al., 2017).

Besides, the scientific works which elucidate separate aspects of information work in the army should be mentioned. The peculiarities of the organization of information and propaganda support of the participation of subsections of the Armed forces of Ukraine in the international operations for maintenance of peace and security were investigated by I. Huzenko and O. Serhiyenko (Huzenko, 2013; Serhiyenko, 2005).

O. Zozulia investigated problems of estimation of information and propaganda support efficiency in the Armed forces of Ukraine and defined key indicators of that estimation (Zozulia, 2017).

As information and propaganda support in 1992 – 2014 was one of the core component of educational work and moral and psychological support, the scientific works, devoted to the formation and developments of a system educational work, introduction of humanitarian policy, and moral psychological maintenance of the Armed forces of Ukraine are of great significance for the study of its role and place in the general system of education.

The process of formation and development of structures of educational and social-psychological work in the Armed forces of Ukraine throughout 1991 – 2011 became a research object for V. Aleshchenko, M. Herasymenko, A. Kobzar, Y. Kostenko, and V. Maliuha. In their works the authors notice that the main efforts of educational work in the specified period were directed at the formation of a patriot soldier's personality, capable to defend and protect their country's interests: after all, the Armed Force were, probably, a unique effectively operating subject of patriotism formation and national consciousness in the state. According to the authors of these works, the information and propaganda support was the basic direction of work of educational structures in that time. An important conclusion is that permanent reforms of the structure of educational work in the Armed forces of Ukraine, the primary goal of which was the organization of continuous moral psychological influence on the personnel and administrative bodies during the construction of the forces, had not lead to the expected results. It had not been possible to eliminate important disagreements in questions of the organization of educational work in different conditions of activity the armed forces, whereas the conceptual documents laid into the basis of this work, demanded further specification and consistency. Also, the authors assert that,

despite difficult processes of building of armed forces in Ukraine, in general, a sufficiently effective system of specialist training for educational and social-psychological work was created (Aleshchenko, 1999; Aleshchenko, 2000; Kobzar, 2012).

In H. Temko's works the history of formation of Ukraine's Armed forces in 1991 – 1996 and the educational work mainstreams at that time, as well as the historical experience of educational work in the army of the Ukrainian National Republic during the time of liberation struggle are considered. No doubt, the development of the Armed forces of Ukraine during the specified historical period took place under the most suitable condition – in the time of peace. Also, it is necessary to agree with the author's statement that no military reform is possible without the change of human consciousness and an account for human factor, and that the development of Ukrainian Armed forces should be accompanied by the return of the national historical appearance. Considering the model of educational work existing at that time in the Ukrainian army as transitive, the author noticed that information work and military patriotic education of the personnel is one of its basic directions (Temko, 1996; Temko, 1997).

Questions of creation and functioning of a social-psychological service are highlighted by V. Muliava, V. Bezbakh, and A. Papikian (Muliava, 1992; Bezbakh, 2003; Papikian, 1999). In particular, in A. Papikian's research stages of formation and lines of activity of educational structures during 1991 – 1998 are outlined, an idea about the creation of nationwide system of moral and psychological support of preparation of the population, Armed forces, and paramilitary formations for the defence of Ukraine is put forward. Actions of psychological defence and military patriotic education, propaganda, information, psychological, and military social support could become its basic directions. Partially, these views were reflected in statutory acts on organization of educational work.

The questions of moral psychological support of the staff of peace-keeping subsections of Ukraine's Armed forces became the object of research for H. Hozuvatenko and A. Khabchuk (Hozuvatenko, 2010; Khabchuk, 2016). In the latter's dissertation peculiarities of moral psychological support of national contingents of the Armed forces of Ukraine involved in performance of tasks in the international operations on peace-keeping and safety in 1992 – 2006 are examined. The author demonstrates a change of priorities in the work with the staff from the moral stimulus to the material one. He also establishes, that conditions of task performance in the remote regions stipulated the appearance of a new direction in the work, namely, spiritual guidance. The introduction in 2003 of officers in concern of religion into the staff of contingents, as well as his further replacement by clerics, which fact underlined the importance and necessity of satisfaction of religious requirements of military men for the fighting conditions is considered as positive. Besides, operative reporting on any changes of conditions which was conducted daily, was also a novelty. Among the drawbacks of the organization of information work the author noted irregular delivery of periodicals and the absence of the Internet resource. As it is clear, the organization of information and propaganda support of peace-keeping units in 1992 – 2013 was a unique source of practical experience of information work under fighting conditions. The personal experience of the author of this article points out a resemblance between approaches to the organization of information and propaganda support of peace-keeping units of the Navy of Ukraine in the course of restoration of fighting efficiency after the re-deployment from the temporary occupied territories and during the combat in 2014.

Also, historical experience of separate components of moral psychological support of the Armed forces of Ukraine was clarified. The questions of formation and development of cultural and educational work in the Armed forces of Ukraine are elucidated in the disserta-

tions of Y. Romanovskyi and S. Stanislavchuk (Romanovskyi, 2006; Stanislavchuk, 2004). The process of formation and development of the system of social protection of military men was investigated by S. Koroliiov (Koroliiov, 2006). The specified works are important as they illuminate the basic stages of formation and development of the system of moral psychological support in the Armed forces of Ukraine and peculiarities of development of its separate components (Instruction, 2017).

It is necessary to notice, that works of the Ukrainian scientists on subjects of moral psychological support and educational work in the overwhelming majority elucidated those conceptual approaches which had already been put into supervising documents. They displayed the Soviet-Russian experience and but to a little extent mentioned the questions of information and propaganda support of fighting actions.

Nevertheless, among the Ukrainian scientists there were also other view at the organization of moral psychological support of armies and its components. In M. Variy's researches the basic attention is drawn to a moral psychological condition of the troops, the process of its formation, and display in the conditions of military activity. However, enough attention is paid also to the theoretical consideration of problems of moral psychological support of the army, which is considered by the author as an important task of the Armed forces of Ukraine. The author singles out a moral psychological environment of the Armed forces as a sphere of both moral psychological conditions of ability to live and functioning of the army. Grounding on the views of American military, displayed in instructions on psychological processing of the troops of both parties, the author places an emphasis on the fact that to most successfully make an ideological influence on consciousness of people is possible by help of psychological means, and moral psychological support is identified with the struggle in spiritual sphere, that is, a psychological war of nerves which includes actions of propaganda influence on the person's consciousness. Therefore, the author singles out the function of orientation of consciousness with which help the staff forms an accurate outlook orientation. Though the author does not outline separate components of moral psychological support, he defines its elements, in particular, the moral psychological preparation of the staff (general, special, target), moral psychological processing (psychological operations, other forms and methods), the counteraction to the influences of the enemy on the army. At that time views that the formation of ideological-national convictions as the base for the further formation of all the rest necessary strong-willed and moral-fighting qualities is necessarily to be put in the basis of the general moral psychological preparation were considered progressive, whereas special and target convictions are merely psychological by content, and they form an ability and habits of behaviour in the fight. For formation of ideological conviction the author considers necessary to apply various actions, such as humanitarian preparation, informing, lessons of patriotism, commemoration evenings, lessons of hatred, relays of generations, literary parties, in short, a whole set of forms and methods which used today in information work in the army (Variy, 1996; Variy, 1999).

Works of direct participants of the creation of the Navies of Ukraine, – V. Bezkorovainyi, A. Danylov, M. Mamchak, A. Naumenko, M. Savchenko, and S. Sokoliuk, – are very important, because in them, on the basis of memoirs and their own reflexions, documents, and publications in mass media, the structures of social-psychological service of formation of the Navies of Ukraine and carrying out of information work among military men and the population of Crimea are discovered (Bezkorovainyi, 2012; Danilov, 2000; Mamchak, 2013a; Mamchak, 2013b; Naumenko, 2016; Savchenko, 1997; Sokoliuk, 2012).



Also, it is necessary to note the presence in Ukraine of scientific works which display social-philosophical views of domestic scientists on the army's spiritual component and ideological work in the Armed forces of Ukraine.

In particular, in V. Chorny's works the socially-philosophical analysis of the origin and evolution of military formations during the newest period of Ukraine's history is carried out and a stable tendency to modelling of the Soviet and Russian schemes in military building is defined, which was actual also for the information work. On the basis of philosophical views of the past and present, the attention is focused on spiritual potential as an important subsystem of the military organization of the state. Also, the primary goals of ideological work in the Armed forces are disclosed (Chorny, 2009; Chorny, 2013).

The questions of spiritual potential of the army and ideological work was also considered by V. Abramov, V. Baranivskyi, and L. Krymets (Abramov, 2005; Baranivskyi, Krymets, 2014).

M. Shevchenko carried out a socially-philosophical analysis of the phenomenon of ideological work in the Armed forces of Ukraine and regularities of its information-propaganda support, formulated the requirements to the organization of information and propaganda support in the Armed forces of Ukraine in conditions of their conformity to the NATO standards (Shevchenko, 2016a; Shevchenko, 2016b).

The conclusions. The historiographic analysis gives grounds to assert that the previous researchers considered information and propaganda support mainly in a plane of practical work during concrete periods, without concerning a historical retrospective. The organization of information work in the Armed forces of Ukraine is elucidated mostly in the educational literature which publication, occasionally, was preceded by carrying out of research works. Scientific works basically revealed and detailed those conceptual approaches which had already been put in supervising documents, reflected the Soviet-Russian experience, and hardly concerned the questions of information and propaganda support in conditions of conducting military operations.

On the contrary, the question of organization of information and propaganda support in the Navies of the Armed forces of Ukraine during 1992 – 2014 has not got an all-round illumination in historical researches. Also, no all-round analysis of a standard-legal base of information and propaganda support of the fleet and formation and developments of the administrative structure have not yet been carried out, the questions of acquisition and preparations the cadres and supply with technical with means are not yet properly clarified. Also, the experience of the organization of information work in the Navies under the conditions of a permanent information war with the Russian Federation and during its occupation of the Crimean peninsula are not generalized. All that confirms in the necessity of a historical research into the specified aspects with an accounting for the historical experience in the process of the restoration of Ukraine's naval capabilities.

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### AT THE BEGGININGS OF ACADEMIC LEMKO STUDIES: THE «LEMKIVSHCHYNA» PHENOMENON

*The article investigates the phenomenon of the journal «Lemkivshchyna». It has been found out that the constant constituents of the journal were «Art and Culture», «Folk Traditions», «Memories», «Life organization», «Bulletin of the World Federation of Ukrainian Lemkos' organizations». It has been summed up that the journal was the evidence the upgrade of Diaspora Lemkos studies to the academic level of investigating of the ethnic community, as its editors paid special attention to cartographic, analytical and source materials that formed the necessary basis for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of Lemkos ethnic group in its material, spiritual and civilization representations.*

**Key words:** «Lemkivshchyna», Orest Pytlyar, Lemkos studies, deportation, Ukrainian diaspora, history, culture.

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### БІЛЯ ВИТОКІВ АКАДЕМІЧНОГО ЛЕМКОЗНАВСТВА: ФЕНОМЕН «ЛЕМКІВЩИНИ»

*В статті досліджено наукознавчий феномен журналу «Лемківщина». З'ясовано ідейні засади видання, що виходили з розуміння одвічної українськості лемківського субетносу. Розглянуто особливості рубрикації та змістового наповнення журналу. З'ясовано, що традиційними складовими часопису були «Культура і мистецтво», «Народні традиції», «Спогади», «З життя організації», «Бюлетень Світової федерації українських лемківських об'єднань». Виявлено, що оперативній комунікації редакційної колегії зі своїм читачем сприяли рубрики «З листів до редакції» та «Листування». Вони містили як епістолярні роздуми читачів видання з приводу опублікованих на його шпальтах різнопланових матеріалів, так і численні прохання-звернення лемків з усього світу про допомогу чи поради у численних клопотах щоденного життя, що їх спіткали. Підсумовано, що «Лемківщина» стала авторитетною медійною трибуною тієї частини діаспорного українства, котре було представлене переселенцями з Надсяння. Вказано, що виконуючи важливі просвітні й інформаційні функції, це видання трансливало своїм читачам пам'ять про втрачену батьківщину, разом із тим наголошуючи на її органічній єдності з усіма українськими етнічними землями. Відзначено, що поряд із цим, журнал став свідченням виходу діаспорного лемкознавства на академічний рівень вивчення цієї етнічної спільноти, адже його редактори значну увагу приділяли картографічним, джерельним та аналітичним матеріалам, котрі сформувавши необхідне підґрунтя для всебічного осмислення лемківського феномену у всіх його проявах – матеріальному, духовному та цивілізаційному. Наголошено, що цей вагомий інституційний статус «Лемківщини» став ключовим аргументом для перенесення видання до материкової України після здобуття нею незалежності.*

**Ключові слова:** «Лемківщина», Орест Пятляр, лемкознавство, депортації, українська діаспора, історія, культура.



**Problem statement.** The leading importance of scientific periodicals in the process of formation and development of any academic field is universally recognized. Indeed, in the process of establishing of research traditions, periodicals play the role of a significant institutional factor, which in most cases precede the emergence of heterogeneous scientific societies as institutions in the usual sense of the word. Periodicals acquired particular importance with the specialization of the research field of ethnographic studies, when the appearance of a particular branch was marked by the publication of an article dedicated to it. A striking example of these processes is the institutionalization of Lemko studies as an interdisciplinary trend. These were the Lemko studies periodicals that became the forerunners of the formation of a new experimental field and established the tradition of studying the history and culture of Lemkos in the Science studies of the twentieth century. At the same time, unfortunately, even nowadays this aspect did not merit the importance on the part of Lemko studies researchers. By drawing the attention of our colleagues to the necessity of studying the mentioned periodical, we will demonstrate the importance of such an analysis on the example of the magazine «Lemkivshchyna»— the leading speaker of diasporian Lemko studies.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Considering the significance of the magazine «Lemkivshchyna», it has been in the field of the researchers' attention of the Rusyn subethnic for quite a long time. The materials or references to it appear in many works of contemporary Lemko scientists. At the same time, there is no independent analysis of this publication as an institutional phenomenon. This defines the topicality of our research. At the same time, we will focus on the diaspora period of the journal's existence, when it performed not only scientific but also significant popularization-educational and ideological functions.

**The purpose** of the paper is to study the institutional phenomenon of the «Lemkivshchyna» magazine, to elucidate the ideological foundations of the publication, the features of its heading division and content.

**Statement of the basic material.** «Lemkivshchyna» is a Ukrainian-language magazine, which was issued quarterly in 1979 in New York. The publisher of the magazine was the International Foundation for the Study of Lemkos, sponsored by the World Lemko Federation, the Lemko Defense Organization and the Lemko Association of Canada. The journal was run by the chairman Orest Pytliar, and members of the editorial board were famous activists of the Lemko community in emigration Ivan Gvozdz, Kateryna Mitsio, Melania Chaykivska-Kudelia and Mikhailo Cheresnovsky until the mid-1980's. Later on they were replaced by the younger generation of Lemkos. From 1984, the leadership of the «Lemkivshchyna» editorial board passed to Mykola Duplyak. In terms of the genesis of the journal, the magazine considered itself to be a continuation of the newspaper «Lemkivski Visti». It should be noted that such a transformation of the newspaper into the journal was the evidence of the institutional maturity of the diaspora Lemko studies, its transition to a higher academic level.

The key ideological foundations of the magazine were issued as a slogan on the back of the title in its first edition: «Our goal: the unification of Ukrainian ethnographic lands in the free Ukrainian state». Details of the tasks and objectives of the new edition were given in the editorial board's appeal. In particular, it was emphasized at the need to unite the representatives of the Lemko intellectuals, scattered in emigration groups, who should act as the only organized force to overcome the numerous challenges that the history destined for the Rusyns. Among the main tasks was the struggle against «hostile Polish and Muscovophile biased ideas» – the attempts of Ukrainian enemies to use Lemkos to split of the unity of the Ukrainian people in its ethnographic borders and the diverse unity of regional identities

(Dorogi zemlyaky, 1979: 1). Hence, the main task of the publication was proclaimed: «to consolidate the members of the union and promote the love for Ukraine, encourage them to participate in other Ukrainian organizations in order to protect them from the influence of the Muscophile movement be it the old or new stream» (Dorogi zemlyaky, 1979: 1).

Another important goal of the journal was to launch the counterpropaganda as a necessary response to the ideological sabotage by Polish politicians of different parties, united in their objective to «cling to a sense of inferiority among the Ukrainian youth and to compliment traditional Polish contempt and hatred of everything that is Ukrainian» (Dorogi zemlyaky, 1979: 2). Encouraging Lemkos to support the new edition financially, the editors expressed the credo of the new magazine: «From our magazine, as if from the top of Lemkivsky Beskydy, you will discover, Dear Readers, unknown paths of the historical past of Lemkivshchyna and its competition for unity with Ukraine. You will get to know the prominent people of Lemkivshchyna who have fostered our path to education and national consciousness. You will also meet those who sacrificed their youth and life to gain our freedom. You will find out about the villages where the forest grows now, about the churches that left no trace, you will find a poem, a song or a fairy tale that you have never known or heard, or forgotten» (Dorogi zemlyaky, 1979: 2).

The implementation of the newly mentioned tasks and goals was facilitated by a well thought out structural architectonics of Lemkivshchyna. At the same time, we note that the headings division of the journal became the subject of a long-term creative search for its editors, who, in close communication with its readership, comprehended the optimal logic of the material arrangement. If the first issues did not have a clear content heading, then in the future – thanks to the benevolent advice of its subscribers – the following permanent headings were established: Culture and Art, National Traditions, Memoirs, Life of the Organization, Bulletin of the World Federation of Ukrainian Lemko associations». Independent meaning was attributed to artistic design of the journal, especially its cover, which always exhibited the visual images important for each Lemko, including the following: landscapes of a native land, photographs of churches and cultural institutions, and, finally, the iconography of the honored figures of the Lemko movement. It should also be noted that a well-thought-out distribution of the new edition – in the short term, the journal, in addition to the American continent, was spread to the countries of Europe, and illegally got into the countries of the socialist camp and, of course, Ukraine. An example of this was the separate non-periodic section «We are read in Ukraine», where the letters of the Ukrainian Lemkos were presented with their impressions about the new magazine.

Popularization of the publication, not only in the environment of Ukrainian emigrants, but also among the broad circles of readership in the countries of Western Europe and the American continent contributed to the introduction in 1980 of the English language content of the publication. The appropriateness of such a marketing decision is evidenced by the emergence from the second day of 1981 of the rubric «English-language correspondence», in which their compatriots who forgot their native language, having long left their parental homes, or foreign friends of the Rusyns, could share their impressions about the reading.

Among the issues that were presented in the journal, we first of all point out at the distinct domination of historical essays devoted to the most important aspects of the past of Lemkos. These essays, created by authoritative experts in the subject, were supposed to inform the reader about the history and culture of their small homeland, raising the reader's awareness on the one hand, and understanding of the uniqueness of their subculture on the other hand,

the unity of the historic destiny of Lemkos with the entire Ukrainian nation. Let us recall here the most resonant articles by Kateryna Mitsio (Mitsio, 1979a; Mitsio, 1979b; Mitsio, 1980), Maria Ostromyra (Ostromir, 1979), Mykhailo Bryk-Devyatnitsky (Bryck-Devyatnitsky, 1979), Orest Pytliar (Pytliar, 1980; Pytliar, 1981; Pytliar, 1979; Pytliar, 1979b; Pytliar, 1983), Ivan Rad (Rad, 1980), Harasim Lemko (Lemko, 1981), Pavlo Lopata (Lopata, 1982; Lopata, 1984; Lopata, 1986; Lopata, 1982), Yulia Sanotska (Sanotska, 1982), Vasyl Borodach (Borodach, 1985). A lot of these materials concerned the greatest tragedy of the Lemko world – the destruction of the original material culture in the interwar period by the Polish, the unequal liberation struggle with the enemy in the Second World war and post-war deportation campaigns that had all the features of an ethnocide.

The pages of «Lemkivshchyna» contained the local materials that were aimed at keeping Ukrainian emigrants in touch with their little homeland. Subsequently, these reports were transformed into a separate section «From «Lemkivshchyna» and about Lemkivshchyna». The historical essays on villages Vilka (Village Vilka, 1979), Sianik (Sianik, 1979), Lissko (Lissko, 1979), Mushina (Bogun, 1979), New Village (Nove Selo, 1980), Pantna (Bogun, 1980) and others. The popularity of such essays among the readers was an impulse for the creation of section «Materials to the history of Lemkivshchyna». At that time, the readership especially admired the essays of Irina Bohun, later united in the cycle «From the journey to western Lemkivshchyna».

Even more attention was paid to the popularization of the life and activities of prominent figures of the Lemko movement. The pages of «Lemkivshchyna» highlighted talented biographical essays of the genius artist Nikifor Drovniak (Mikhailov, 1980; Pasyk, 1984), the Father Vasyl Hrynyk (Gotsky, 1979), public figure Petro Shcherba (Skomsky, 1979), professor of Art Studies Damian Gonitkevich (Memory of 1980), journalist Julian Taranovich-Beskid (Vasiliev, 1981) writer Ivan Filippach (Dibko, 1981), icon painter Lev Gets (Lopata, 1982), artist Vasyl Shalida (Lopata, 1984), carver Ivan Stefaniak (Lopata, 1986) and many other prominent promoters of Lemko history and culture.

The personal experience of the life and activities of the contemporary Ukrainian people was presented by the tradition of publishing memoir and diary materials, as well as numerous interviews with the then leaders of diaspora Ukrainians. We can recall here the memoirs of Mykhailo Chereshnovsky (Such, 1979), Ivanna Savitska (Savitskaya, 1980), Volodymyr Olgovich (Olgovich 1980), Natalya Leontovich-Bashuk (Leontovich-Bashuk, 1980), Omelyan Mazurik (Omelyan Mazurik, 1981) Ivan Kornafel (Kornafel, 1981), Oleksiy Galushchak (Galushchak, 1982), Bogdan Morohivsky (Morohivsky, 1985) and Yaroslava Fil-Marta (Fil-Martha, 1987).

A lot of attention was also paid to the biographies of those Ukrainian cultural figures who were tempted to escape from the other side of the «Iron Curtain». For example, already in the first issue we observe greetings to Valentin Moroz on the occasion of «liberation from Russian hard labor» (Congratulations, 1979). In a short time, he became an active figure in Diaspora Ukrainians and Lemko life in a foreign country.

Instead, information about the new arrests of dissidents in the Soviet Union is provided in especially emotional way. The campaign of informing the world community about the scandalous arrest and the exile of Mykola Horbal, Lemko by origin (Arrested, 1979), was particularly broad. The matter of his release from Soviet captivity was a subject of numerous meetings, in which representatives of the governments of countries in which Lemkos lived on emigration were invited (Orp., 1981).

Alongside with the well-known figures of Lemko cultural life, a lot of attention was paid on to the cult figures of Ukrainian culture of national scale. A lot of materials concerned the popularization of the creative genius of Taras Shevchenko (Barsky, 1980; U. L., 1979), Ivan Franko (Krasovsky, 1980) and Bogdan-Igor Antonych (Kudlik, 1988; Pytliar, 1979b). The journal reflected the eighty-year anniversary of B.-I. Antonych in 1989 (Kikta, 1989; Lucuch, 1989). At the same time, interestingly, the authors of the abovementioned essays tried to trace the attitude of the heroes of their paper to the cultural world of Lemkivshchyna, or even trace their origin to Lemko roots.

The orientation of the «Lemkivshchyna» editors to the broadest circle of readers was seen in the meticulous attention to the literary component of the magazine. On its pages, along with the generally accepted classics of our literature (Lesya Ukrainka, Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Bogdan Lepky, Vasyl Symonenko), the works of such well-known masters of the Ukrainian artistic word as Valentin Moroz (Moroz, 1979a; Moroz, 1979b; Moroz, 1980), Bogdan-Igor Antonich (Antonich, 1979a; Leonid Poltava (Poltava, 1979), Anton Verba (Verba, 1979), Ivan Golovchak (Golovchak, 1979) and Jerzy Gerasimovich (Gerasimovich, 1985) were also highlighted. Political changes in the Soviet state since the second half of the 1980s resulted into the publication of texts of Ukrainian literary headliners of the second half of the twentieth century: Lina Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Vasyl Stus, Volodymyr Barna, Igor Kalynets.

Given the important communicative tasks, there was also a block of informational materials in «Lemkivshchyna». On the pages of the publication, along with the acquaintance with the novelties of the Lemko movement, for the first time among the Ukrainian editions, there appeared official materials that covered the activities of the heads of Ukrainian diaspora institutions and organizations. This information was provided in the rubrics «From the life of organizations» and «From Comrade Chronicles».

In general, the information under headings was aimed at the defense of the cultural and public rights of Lemkos on the territory of their compact residence. Such materials were published in the rubric «The Chronicle of Lemkivshchyna and Posyaniya», divided into two explicitly named subheadings – «On the native land» and «In a foreign land». At the same time, the editorial board paid special attention to the situation of their fellow countrymen on the territory of Poland, which in the future, despite the change of political force, was engaged in compulsory assimilation of the Rusyn subethnic. On the pages of the magazine we see the appeals of Ivan Gvozd (Gvozd, 1981; Gvozd, 1979; Gvozd, 1979b; Gvozd, 1982), journalistic essays by Valentin Moroz (Moroz, 1980) and Vasyl Pasichniak (Pasichniak, 1982), Orest Pytliar's analytical reports (Pytliar, 1980; Pytliar, 1981; Pytliar, 1979; Pytliar, 1979b; Pytliar, 1983) et al. At the same time, the authors of the magazine were very supportive towards the Polish opposition movement «Solidarity», whose leaders unanimously condemned the state's deportation and assimilation policy, calling on the communist government to restore the humanitarian rights of the Ukrainian minority (Liko, 1982).

The operative communication of the editorial board with its reader was facilitated by the sections «From Letters to the Editor» and «Correspondence». They contained both epistolary reflections of the readers of the publication on the various materials published on its pages, as well as numerous requests from Lemkos from all around the world for help or advice in the many troubles of everyday life that they encountered.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the carried out analysis makes it possible to convincingly assert that «Lemkivshchyna» became the authoritative media platform of the part of the diaspora Ukrainianness, which was represented by migrants from San part of Ukraine. In carrying

out important educational and informational functions, this publication broadcast its readers the memory of a lost homeland, at the same time emphasizing on its organic unity with all Ukrainian ethnic lands. Alongside with this, the magazine testified to the emergence of diaspora Lemko studies to the academic level of studying this ethnic community, as its editors paid a lot of attention to cartographic, source and analytical materials that formed the necessary foundation for a comprehensive understanding of the Lemko phenomenon in all its manifestations – material, spiritual and civilizational. This significant institutional status of the «Lemkivshchyna» has become a key argument for transmitting the publication to mainland Ukraine after it gained independence.

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